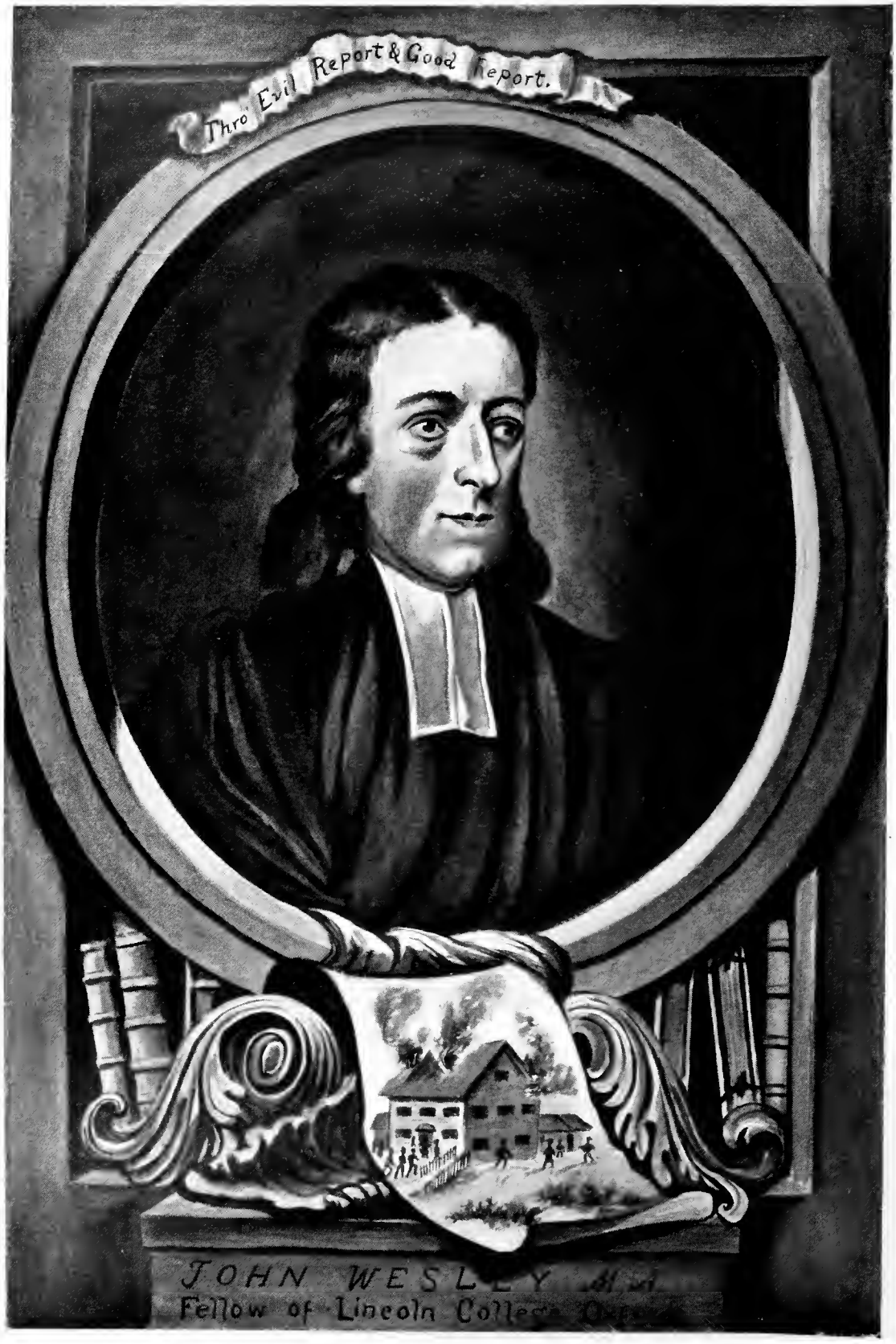

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THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF METHODISM

The Story
Of the Origin and Progress of the Methodist Church, from its Foundation by John Wesley to the Present Day.

WRITTEN IN POPULAR STYLE AND ILLUSTRATED

BY MORE THAN

ONE THOUSAND PORTRAITS AND VIEWS OF PERSONS AND PLACES

IDENTIFIED WITH THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF METHODISM.

BY

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PREFACE.

THE authors of this work, in adding another to the existing histories of Methodism, believe that there is a distinct place for a volume which shall carry in a richly illustrated narrative a complete and accurate history of this great movement. Its purpose is clearly indicated by its title; it is an "Illustrated History of Methodism"—a history of Methodism as a whole, and not of any particular branch of it—a history in which the events of the rise and progress of this great world-movement are set forth in their essential order, in true perspective, and in just relation to the progressive life and thought of the world.

The scope of Methodism is world-wide. John Wesley's declaration, "the world is my parish," is one of the sublimest of human utterances. It echoes the commission which the ascending Lord gave to His disciples: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature;" and has become the rallying cry of the increasing hosts of Methodism. A few years before his death Mr. Wesley wrote in his Journal: "I was now considering how strangely the grain of mustard seed, planted about fifty years ago, has grown up. It has spread through all Great Britain and Ireland, and the Isle of Man; then to America, from the Leeward Islands, through the whole continent into Canada and New Foundland." In the century which has passed since these words were written, Methodism has crossed the Pacific Ocean, carrying the gospel to Japan, to India, and to China. It has raised its altars in the heart of Africa and upon the remote islands of the sea. In fact, in an ecumenical conference of Methodism the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ may be heard in almost all the languages of the world. In these pages will be found a graphic portrayal of this march of spiritual conquest around the planet.

The history of Methodism cannot be faithfully written without due attention to the work of its pioneer itinerants. No romance of chivalry, whether it be adventures of Crusaders or of the Knights of Arthur's court, can surpass in fascinating and thrilling interest the faithful and simple record of these heroic lives. What the Pilgrims in the cabin of the "Mayflower" were to New England, that the Christmas Conference of Methodist itinerants at Baltimore was to the rising commonwealths of the South and West.

"The Methodists," says the historian Bancroft, "were the pioneers of religion; the breath of liberty has wafted their messages to the masses of the people, encouraged them to collect, white and black, in church and greenwood, for counsel in Divine love, and in full assurance of faith, and has car-

ried their consolations and songs and prayers to the farthest cabins of the wilderness." A better service cannot be rendered to the youth of the Church than to make them acquainted with the character and work of such Christian heroes as Asbury, McKendree, Lee, Garrettson, and a host of others, who, as they journeyed throughout the country, bore the evangel of a new order.

Methodism, like the City of God, lieth four-square, fronting human life on every side. There was developed first of all an evangelistic movement by which the glad tidings of a free and full salvation were carried swiftly everywhere; then followed in quick succession an era of organization, by which individuals were gathered into classes and societies; these again were formed into circuits and stations, and churches were erected wherever needed, like the fortifications of an army of occupation. Then succeeded what has proved to be one of the most far-reaching and beneficent of all the influences of Methodism—its service in behalf of Christian Education. Religious tracts, periodicals, magazines, books, and all kinds of wholesome literature were circulated far and near; institutions of learning were planted of every grade—academy, seminary, college, and university—according to the need and promise of the Church, until new and growing communities were permeated through and through with the wholesome leaven of religious conviction and moral earnestness. In due time the philanthropic movement emerged in Methodism in the form of hospital equipment and service, the deaconess movement, and various industrial and institutional enterprises. These and other developments will be duly chronicled and related in this history, and Methodism will be accorded its true place among the social and moral forces of the century

One of the conspicuous features of this history will be the fullness, accuracy and artistic excellence of its illustrations. Expense has not been spared in securing illustrations that will not only please the eye, but will interpret the narrative and make it lucid. Europe, America, and every country where Methodism flourishes, have been laid under contribution to furnish appropriate and satisfactory illustrations for this work. We are confident that the result will surprise and delight every Methodist reader. The work has been undertaken with a desire not only to render a substantial service to our common Methodism by telling again, and in a way made luminous by all the wealth of art, the wondrous story of its growth and achievement, but also to furnish a new bond of fellowship between its various branches. Methodists have a heritage of which they may well be proud, and the object of this story is to unfold the glories of that heritage.

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THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF METHODISM.

CHAPTER I.

WHEN ANNE WAS QUEEN.

WITH a generation which has chosen to house itself for the most part in those comfortable residences built in the "Queen Anne style," it should not require a great effort of the imagination for one to suppose himself in the England of the last of the Stuarts. One noble edifice, well known to all, remains as a striking memorial of her time. Visitors to London, greatly as they may be impressed by Westminster Abbey, may well find in St. Paul's a more thoroughly typical London structure. Its massive dome, the masterpiece of Sir Christopher Wren, and possibly the finest in existence, dominates the whole city. No one can think of London as a single picture without making it cluster round this grandest of its edifices. Begun in 1675, as a successor to the Gothic structure which perished in the great fire of 1666, it was not finished until the eighth year of the reign of Anne. A statue of the queen, scepter in hand, occupies the stone terrace in front and carries the mind back two centuries, to the days of Addison and of Marlborough.

Many of the other English cathedrals may be more majestic, more romantic, more haunting to the imagination than St. Paul's, but in general harmony, in individual dignity, in essential suitability to the lordly civic life around it, St. Paul's will yield to none. It is one of the few structures of the kind which belong to one period only, and to one master mind. The same bishop held the see of London at the laying of its foundation stone and at its completion; the same architect who drew the plans carried them to their final execution, thirty-five years later; the same builder began and finished the structure.

The period to which it belongs is one of the most interesting in the history of the English race. It saw the ar-

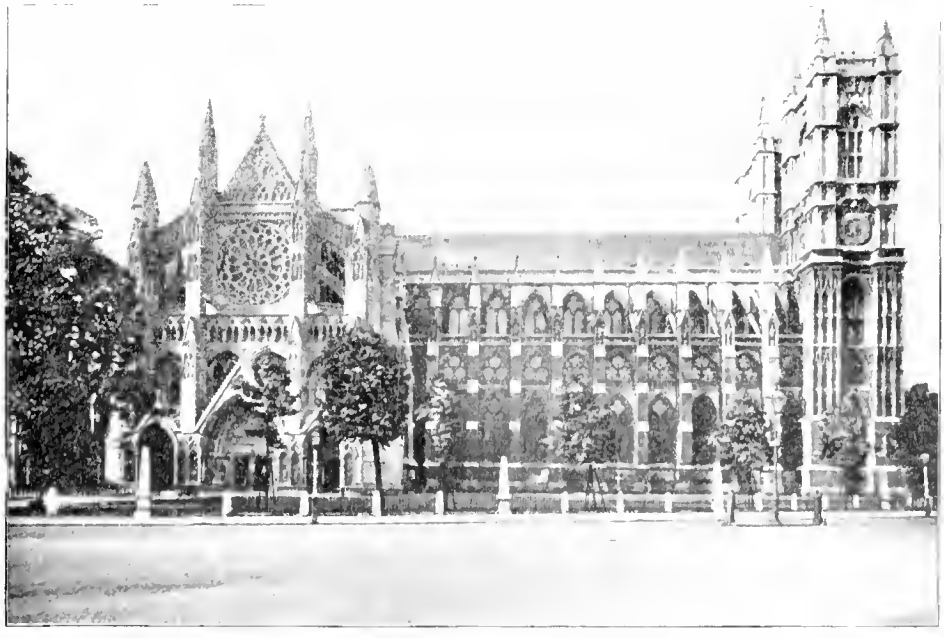
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON.

bitrary personal rule which succeeded to the inheritance of feudalism pass away and give place to the constitutional monarchy which is but a veiled republicanism. The commercial greatness of England, rendered possible by the defeat of the Armada, but delayed by the long struggle of the civil war, now began to assert itself. Those changes which were to make London the commercial center of the world, that is to say its real center in very many respects, were now in progress. The spirit of England was aristocratic-republican, like the great commercial cities of mediæval Italy. It was fitting that the architecture of the typical edifice of the age should be borrowed from the country of the Medici.

Few sovereigns have come to the throne under better auspices than Anne. She was from the first the queen of a united nation. The death of her father, the narrow-minded and stubborn James the Second (to whom she had been, in truth, not an overdutiful daughter), happened, fortunately for her, the year before her accession. The last twelve years of his life were spent in exile, a punishment for his arrogant and fruitless attempt to thrust Catholicism upon the English people. But, bad sovereign as he was, Papist as he was, many good churchmen had thought it their duty to acknowledge him as their rightful sovereign, even in exile. An archbishop and seven bishops, together with a considerable following of the inferior clergy, had resigned their positions in the state church rather than acknowledge the authority of William III. To them William III. was not the "Lord's anointed," but a usurper like Cromwell. With Anne the position of these nonjurors was hardly tenable. She was in the direct line of succession; her father was dead; her brother, the legitimate

heir, had never been *de facto* sovereign of England. And so Anne was essentially a national queen. The superstitious reverence for the person of the sovereign, dormant during the reign of the Dutch William, revived with her. She touched for the king's evil, and her touch was supposed to cure. One recalls the pathetic story of little Samuel Johnson, who, as a child of three, was brought from Litchfield to the capital, and there saw a lady in diamonds, wearing a long black hood. She touched the boy and gave him one of the little medals of St. Michael, distributed on such occasions; but, as we know, the scrofula never left him.

Anne was the first thoroughbred English sovereign since Elizabeth. The first James and Charles were both natives of Scotland; the second Charles and James were true sons of a French mother, and passed the most impressionable



WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

period of their lives under French influences. William III. was a Hollander; but Anne was the daughter of an Englishwoman, and the granddaughter of a true-blue Cavalier. She was reared in England, was baptized and confirmed in the national church, and she remained all her life one of its most devoted adherents. She well knew the intense national hatred of Popery, fanned into a flame by jealous dread of the overweening spirit of Louis XIV., by far the most powerful monarch of his time. Sympathy for the worthy Huguenots, driven into exile by the harsh measures which followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, still further excited the antipathy of the people. Bishop Compton, who is identified with the building of St. Paul's, spent his money freely in assisting these unfortunate victims of a merciless persecution. This immigration was a great benefit to England in many ways—in religious life, in commerce, in manufactures. Its immediate effect was to make the nation ultra-Protestant.

Never before or since in the history of the nation has the Church of England been in so advantageous a position. She had the support of all that was powerful in the state; she was torn asunder by no

internal disturbances; she was rapidly absorbing the most desirable adherents of the other sects which had menaced her very existence in the previous century.

THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, LONDON.

While many of the Presbyterian communities drifted into Unitarianism, most of the members, of whom the excellent Bishop Butler was one, returned to the fold of the national church. Any attack on her liberties or privileges was warmly resented by the people, who were in full sympathy with her. The traditions of the Restoration remained in an unfavorable attitude to the claims of Puritan Dissenters; for the people were determined to have no return of the rule of the saints. Practically, Protestant Dissenters and Papists were classed together as persons who were politically dangerous. The cry of "Church in danger!" always met with a ready response. This very popularity of the church was a distinct weakness. Her magnanimous rule, imposing few restrictions on life and conduct, was associated less with religion than with feasting and reveling. The may-poles, which had been neglected during the period after the Revolution, once more became popular, and other ancient sports associated with license and brawling were revived. The splendid victories which were won by Marlborough early in Anne's reign furnished abundant material for national rejoicing, and such festivities were frequent.

Let us suppose ourselves in London one fine summer morning in the second year of good Queen Anne's reign. We are anxious to get a sight of the great cathedral now approaching completion, and we wend our way thither from the neighborhood of the Tower. As we pass through East Cheap, crowds of citizens are hurrying northwards in high excitement, many of them carrying wreaths and bouquets. We inquire the cause of the excitement, and learn that Daniel Defoe, the author of "The True-Born Englishman," is in the pillory before the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. No rotten eggs or old cabbages, however, are thrown at this apostle of political liberty, this martyr to the cause of a free press! A harsh and spiteful Tory ministry, stung by his

well-aimed shafts, have sent him to prison, and this fine morning in July he has been brought out to undergo the disgraceful punishment of the pillory But the people are with him, and his punishment is a triumph. Bouquets decorate the pillory, as if it were a seat of honor, and round about him the citizens are drinking ale or sipping wine to the health of the "true-born Englishman." When he returns to his cell in Newgate, the newspaper he edits will not be discontinued; Defoe is too indefatigable for that. And, happily, so free is the British citizen, that the government cannot prevent his manuscript from reaching the printer. As we gaze upon the figure of the immortal author of "Robinson Crusoe," standing there in the pillory, the admired of all admirers, we have before us the embodiment of the spirit of the new era; free speech, free discussion, free publication. He is the creator of a new power in the state, the power of the press! Note him well.

We turn from the scene, and pass along Cheapside toward St. Paul's. Three men, two of them elderly, the other a youth, are ahead of us, bound for the same destination. "That little, spare man with the stoop is the great Sir Christopher," we are told; "the lad is his son, and the other elderly man is Thomas Strong, who is doing the masonry" We follow them to the great structure, which has been used for worship these six years or more. Let us get on the roof and view the city westward. Behind us, enclosed in scaffolding, is the still unfinished dome. Seven years hence the last stone of the edifice will be laid in position by young Christopher. To our left is the river, busy with wherries which carry passengers up and down the stream, eastward ho! or westward ho! as the case may be. Across the river lies the small, insignificant village of Southwark, where, in the old Globe theater, William Shakespeare used to bring out his plays. But that was burned down long ago, and Drury Lane theater, down in the Strand—one of Sir Christopher's edifices—has taken its place as the chief theatrical resort. At our feet, leading into the Strand, is the busy thoroughfare of Fleet street, between which and the river lie the quiet courts and gardens of the Temple, given over to the study of law. North of Fleet street a striking pile of Gothic buildings catches the eye. This is none other than the famous Charter House School, the best institution of the kind in London. When the big dome rising behind us is complete, there will come to the Charter House, from Lincolnshire, a little boy who will change the face of society in England. From the play-ground down there, he will gaze up at the great gilded ball which tops the cathedral, and dream of the time when, in priestly vestments, he will address a congregation of worshipers gathered within. To this day the play-ground of the school is one of the spots best seen from the roof of St. Paul's.

If we would see the great philosopher of the age, we must go down into the country. John Locke is now a feeble old man of seventy-one, tenderly cared for at Oates, in Essex, by his friends, Sir Francis and Lady Masham. Quite recently he held an official post in London, but he had to resign it, and in a year more he will be in his grave. In these latter days he has quit the study of most other books, and has devoted himself to the Holy Scriptures. He is a devout man; and yet, strange fate, his philosophy is to be the source and fountain of skepticism and materialism. He is to have even more influence in France than in his native country, and his successors there will be the men who pull down and destroy all institutions, civil and religious. But the good old man cannot

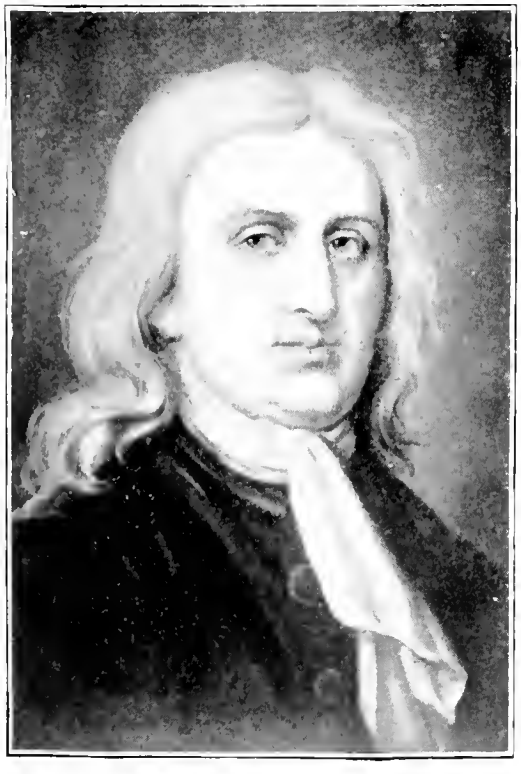
foresee this. There he sits in his invalid chair, sunning himself at the porch.

To get a look at another of the most interesting men of the time, the writer with most gall in his pen—Jonathan Swift—we must take the coach to Bristol and cross the Irish channel by boat. Swift has a parish at present, not far from Dublin; but, as he often visits the capital, there will be no trouble in meeting him there. He is fond of paying his respects to Lady Betty, daughter of Lord Berkeley, the viceroy, a bright, sensible woman. There goes his tall figure out of the castle gate; he is on his way to Faulkner the bookseller's, to get the latest publications from London. He is a type characteristic of the age—a mixture of priest, politician, poet and pamphleteer, who expects his reward for partisan work in obtaining church preferment. Impure as a poet, having none of that reverence for humanity which is the bulwark of real religion, he is yet likely to get his reward and be appointed by worldly statesmen to the office of the bishopric—the cure of souls. But honest Queen Anne will not consent, and so Swift never obtains any preferment higher than that of dean, and dies a disappointed man. He will be dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and no more.

We have returned from Dublin, and are again in town at the close of the year. Again we wend our way from our lodging near the Tower, and, entering East Cheap, turn north on Grace Church street. This leads into Bishopsgate street, where is Gresham College. The streets are badly lighted, and we stumble frequently over stones and rubbish as we pick our way to our destination. There is to be a memorable function in the quaint old college this evening. Here are the rooms of the famous Royal Society, where all the learned men in London congregate and discuss the latest theories and inventions; and to-night

ST. JAMES'S PALACE.

Isaac Newton, who has been a fellow of the society for over thirty years, is to be elected its president. Henceforth, for twenty-four years in succession, the same annual ceremony will take place—but not always at Gresham College, for the society will remove to Fleet street. Until his death it will have no other head than the great and good Sir Isaac. There he sits in the chair of honor, his square-set jaw showing how strong a will he possesses. With such a president the society is sure to grow in public esteem. If we are to believe Richard Steele, it was not too highly venerated during its early years (and when he wrote, it had not yet attained its jubilee). Its existence was justified, inasmuch "as it turned many of the greatest geniuses of that age to the disquisitions of natural knowledge, who, if they had engaged in politics with the same parts and application, might have set their country in a flame. The air-pump, the barometer, the quadrant, and the like inventions were thrown out to these busy spirits, as tubs and barrels are to a whale—that he may let the ship sail on without disturbance, while he diverts himself with these innocent amusements."



SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

For the next quarter of a century the farmer's son from Lincolnshire will make London his residence, and in one of its suburbs he will sink to rest at a good old age. Westminster Abbey will receive his bones. This very year of his inauguration as president, there is born, down in his native Lincolnshire, a boy who will also win immortal fame, and, living to a ripe old age, find his last resting-place also in the busy metropolis.

Anxious to get a sight of Joseph Addison, we are told that the best chance to see him is to take a boat up the river to Westminster, and visit Christopher Catt's coffee-house. It is fifteen years since Addison left the Charter House School and went up to Oxford to make a brilliant reputation there. Of late he has been traveling on the continent, and has just returned, with very little money in his pocket. It is said he lives quietly up three flights of stairs in a lodging not far from Charing Cross; but that is not the best place to hunt him up. At the Kit-Kat Club he will be found in all his glory, the center of an admiring circle of friends. Christopher Catt's coffee and mutton pies are famous, and have attracted a number of Whig politicians and literary men. The great bookseller of the time, Jacob Tonson, was founder of the club, and among its members are the Macœnas of his time, the courtly Earl of Halifax, as well as other notabilities. That short-faced man in the corner, with the genial presence, is Joseph Addison, whose able pen will, in a year or two, make him secretary of state. At present he has the reputation of being the ablest Oxford graduate of

THE TOWER OF LONDON.

his time. Look well at him, ladies, for it is he who, in the *Spectator*, will present a new and higher ideal of woman to the public, as one who adds grace, charity, and refinement to domestic life.

It is an age of societies, for now that the army has become a profession, and its officers hold the queen's commission, ordinary men have leisure for quiet discussion. We have seen Sir Isaac Newton presiding over a scientific society, and Addison shining in a literary-political society among the titled and the great. Let us now cross the river from Westminster to Lambeth Palace, and attend the sederunt of a religious society. The noble old pile, where the archbishop, like his predecessors for centuries, has his official residence, is well worth a visit.

In one of its halls Archbishop Tenison is in conference with a number of serious-looking men, members of the new Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This organization is but two years old, and has enjoyed the active support and patronage of his Grace of Canterbury. Tenison is a somewhat dull-appearing man, but he is high-minded and conscientious. He has now been primate for over three years; and two years after his coming into office he deprived the Bishop of St. David's of his post for the offense of simony. At present he is much concerned over the religious condition of the American colonies and plantations; and this is the subject of discussion in the meeting. Thirty years later the society will send out as one of its missionaries to Georgia the greatest apostle of modern times. All Archbishop Tenison's labors will be amply repaid by results.

Back again to Westminster in the smooth-going wherry! The Houses of Parliament are in session, and we have tickets to the Lower House. It meets under the shadow of the great abbey, on the second floor of an ecclesiastical-looking building, once a chapel. The room of assembly is gloomy and even cavernous in appearance. In the center stands one great table, and back of that are five tiers of horseshoe benches, on which, with their hats on, and in all kinds of unconventional attitudes, are seated the members of the greatest deliberative body in the world. Robert Harley, a man of

noble literary tastes, wears the full-bottomed wig of the speaker; on a bench near are Robert Boyle, Addison's friend, Sir Simon Harcourt and Sir John Levison, both decided Tories or "High-flyers," and others less known. Anon, a young man of twenty-five rises to his feet, and begins to speak on the subject of the day—a petition from Ireland for an Act of Union. Soon every one is attentive. It is Henry St. John, a young Tory, who has the floor. Eminently handsome in person and graceful in attitude, he has all the gifts that will insure him popularity, except moral stability. As he winds dexterously into his subject, the whole audience is fascinated, and the ear is tickled with the play of wit and fancy in the speaker's honeyed words. Anon, he rises into impassioned eloquence as he describes the dangers by which the country is menaced through the ambitious schemes of the French king. Young as he is, he will be offered high office before another year has passed, for oratory like this is indispensable to ministers, who rule by persuasion and not merely by favor of the sovereign. A century ago, in Elizabeth's time, ministers had not to win the popular ear by any rhetorical accomplishments; but the intervening century has changed all that. It has given birth to a new race, the succession of British orators. In that line of succession Henry St. John occupies a sure place. But he is tainted with the scoffing spirit of the age. His philosophy, which inspired the sparkling couplets of Pope's "Essay on Man," is shallow, specious and unspiritual. Like most of the politicians in the historic House, he trusts too much to finesse, too little to high moral principle. And that is sure to bring its Nemesis, as soon as a crisis shall arrive.

As we leave the House of Commons, a heavy figure enters a coach. It is Lord Godolphin, the first English prime minister. With him really begins the history of modern constitutional England. Like almost all the political characters of the time, he bears an indifferent character for moral and religious sincerity.

As we return by wherry to St. Katherine's by the Tower, we inquire of our guide if there is any concert which we can attend in the evening. His reply is disappointing. Since Henry Purcell's death, eight years since, the love of music seems to have died out in the country. The "quality" go to hear the Italian opera, without well understanding the words as they are sung; while educated folk are too much taken up with political discussion to spend time on music. In the taverns or mug-houses, frequented by the lower classes, they are fond of hearing some good tenor troll Tom D'Urfey's songs; but these are hardly to the taste of a refined gentleman. As for musical instruments, very few people ever touch the harpsichord; and the common people are quite pleased with the simple music of the pipe and tabor. We notice in the churches how the people seldom sing hymns, contenting themselves with a very unmusical version of the psalms which they drone forth. It strikes us forcibly that this state of matters ought to be changed. And it will be changed, happily, before the century is half-way through. As an English audience, forty years later, listens for the first time to the magnificent strains of Handel's "Messiah," it will be so transported with the glory of the Hallelujah Chorus, proclaiming that the Lord God reigneth forever, that, undemonstrative as the people are, they will rise spontaneously to their feet and join in a great act of worship. The press, oratory, music—all will be em-

QUEEN ANNE.

ployed in the promotion of God's kingdom before the century has grown old. But this time had not yet arrived when the good Lady Anne was queen.

What interesting times these were! Some one has called them the ten most interesting years, upon the whole, in English history, unrolling before us, on a large scale, and in brilliant colors, the two most important dramas which can be acted by civilized nations—a great and successful struggle against a foreign foe, and a great constitutional struggle between rival parties, where generals and statesmen are worthy of the occasion.

There is still a prominent figure on the national stage whom we have not yet considered—that of the great Marlborough, perhaps the greatest of English generals. His triumph comes in the summer of 1704, when the victory of Blenheim is won. When the news arrives in London a great thanksgiving is ordained for the seventh day of September. From Temple Bar to St. Paul's the streets are lined with scaffolding. At Temple Bar the lord mayor, sheriffs and aldermen, dressed in scarlet robes, with caparisoned horses, meet the queen in state. Ablaze with jewels, she is seated in her coach of state, drawn by eight horses; her sole companion being the Duchess of Marlborough, the hero's wife, who is dressed very plainly. Heralded by all the bands in the city, the procession moves on to St. Paul's, where Dean Sherlock preaches a sermon. After that the court and nobility are feasted by the civic authorities, and there is a general illumination in the evening. Never since the defeat of the Armada have the people been so delirious with joy; not again, until the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, will they show equal delight. These are spring-tides in the history of a nation when the national spirit is at its highest.

CHAPTER II.

A LINCOLNSHIRE PARSONAGE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THERE is no county in all England more characteristically English than the county of Lincolnshire. Occupying a stretch of low-lying country between the Humber and the Wash, it is distinctly agricultural in its aspect and in its population; a land of wind-mills, of barns and of meadows, and of rustics in blue smocks. The long stretch of sea-coast between the estuaries of the Humber and the Wash is broken by no harbor, and the coast thus forms a long, unbroken wall; actually a wall in many places, where the land, being at a lower level than the sea, is preserved from destruction, as in Holland, only by high dikes. Bordering on the sand-hills of the seashore is a broad tract of fen country, intersected with canals, from which gradually rises the undulating district known as the wolds. This distinction of wold and fen enters into the scenery of Tennyson's "In Memoriam," much of which was written in Lincolnshire. Tennyson's birthplace was at Somersby, which nestles in amongst the wold country These lines describe Lincolnshire:

Calm and deep peace on this high wold,
And on these dews that drench the furze,
And all the silvery gossamers
That twinkle into green and gold:

Calm and still light on yon great plain
That sweeps with all its autumn bowers
And crowded farms and lessening towers
To mingle with the bounding main.

So flat is the country north of Boston that the tower of the great parish church there, St. Botolph's, is visible far inland, and is a landmark to the people of the wolds round Somersby

Lying too much to the east to be traversed by any of the main roads or railways of the kingdom, Lincolnshire has retained to this day, unchanged, many of the characteristics of the past centuries. It has moved but slowly with the times, and for long has been essentially conservative. At the Reformation epoch its people were active and troublesome. The sturdy Danish blood which flows in their veins manifested itself on various occasions in opposition to royal arrogance, so that Henry VIII. quite lost temper with them as "brute and bestial." A century later it was in Lincolnshire and its borders that the stern Puritans, who sailed for Holland and eventually arrived at Plymouth Rock, had their homes. John Robinson's congregation which gave so many "Pilgrim Fathers" to this country, was at Scrooby, not ten miles from Epworth, in the northwest of the county, though itself situated in Nottinghamshire, within a score of miles of the cathedral city of Lincoln.

The center of the county is the ancient Roman city from which it takes its name. Of that city the glory is the gothic pile, in some respects the finest of the kind in existence; that

August cathedral, where, from high,
The cold, clear moon in the mosaic stone
Comes glancing in gay colors gloriously,
Through windows rich with glorious blazonry.
Gilding the niches dim, where, side by side,
Stand antique mitred prelates, whose bones lie
Beneath the pavement where their deeds of pride
Were graven, but long since are worn away
By constant feet of ages day by day

Such is Tennyson's boyish description of it in the earliest volume he published. At one time the diocese over which the Bishop of Lincoln ruled was princely in extent, and stretched from the Humber

southward to the Thames. It is one of the very oldest and most splendid of English sees. The county is peculiarly ecclesiastical in its aspect. Nowhere else in England is the landscape dotted with so many church-towers and spires. The lover of quaint church architecture will find more to invite him in southern Lincolnshire than anywhere else in all England. And yet, strangely enough, building stone is not quarried in the district, so that the pious founders must

REV. JOHN WESLEY, GRANDFATHER OF JOHN WESLEY.

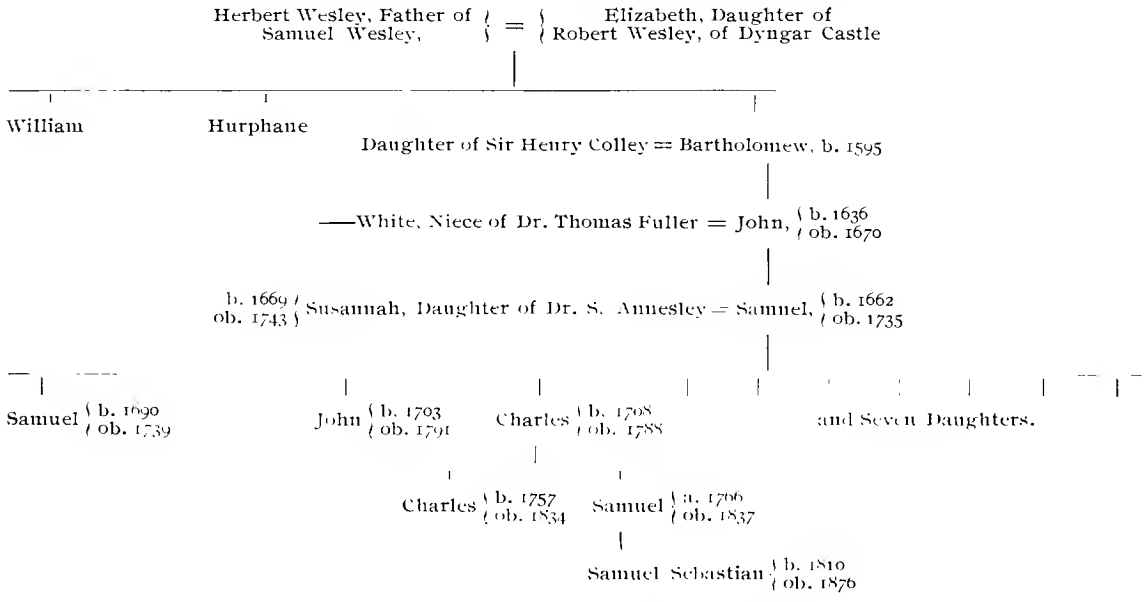
have imported all the stone. So much greater was their religious zeal, so much more devout the spirit in which they built.

It is not, however, with southern Lincolnshire, but with the northeast corner that we have particularly to do. The broad river Trent, which empties into the Humber, flows out of Nottinghamshire, and for many miles serves as a boundary between the two counties. The border line, however, soon takes a sudden bend to the left, to join the Yorkshire line, while the river continues its northerly course. A triangular section of the county is thus formed, bordered on the south by Nottinghamshire, on the west by Yorkshire, and separated from the rest of Lincolnshire by the deep waters of the Trent. In the center of this section is situated the village of Epworth, twenty-four miles northwest of the cathedral city of Lincoln.

To this village there came as rector, in the year 1692, a young clergyman named Samuel Wesley, and his wife, Susannah Wesley. It was not their first experience of a Lincolnshire parish. A short time before he had been appointed by the patron to the living of South Ormsby, in the center of the county, not far from the town of Louth, and in the immediate neighborhood of Somersby, where, a century later, one of the greatest of English poets was to be born and bred in the peaceful rectory. The story that he resigned because of the immoral life of his patron, the Marquis of Normandy, is unsupported by facts. The marquis did not reside at Ormsby, was not patron of the living, and remained friendly with him.

The young couple had become acquainted with each other in the capital, where they were married in the first year of the reign of William and Mary. They both came of good stock. Their maternal grandfathers had both served in the Westminster Assembly of Divines. She was the daughter of the Rev. Samuel Annesley, LL.D., and grandniece of the earl of Anglesea. Her father had suffered for conscience' sake in the troubles of the Restoration, and had been ejected from the parish of St. James in London. Possessing private means, he had not to undergo the privations which came upon other nonconformists; and

among these he was an honored leader and benefactor. While scarcely more than a child, his daughter had seen fit to change her convictions and became warmly attached to the state church. Her future husband had also been brought up as a dissenter, and had also, from conviction, joined the state church. He came of good old English stock, as the family tree will show. The Wesley family can be traced back much further, however, than this Herbert, who lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth:



John Westley (for so he spelt his name) had been educated at Oxford, had studied medicine there, and had afterward been rector of a parish in Dorsetshire. He, also, like Dr. Samuel Annesley, had been ejected in the memorable year of persecution, 1662. For the remainder of his life he supported himself by practicing medicine. The younger of his two sons, left an orphan while still a child, was educated in a dissenting school, conducted by a Mr. Veal, at Stepney, a suburb of London. When he began to form opinions for himself, however, he saw fit to become a zealous churchman, and made his way to Oxford. Entering as a poor scholar at Exeter College (at this time he signed himself Samuel Westley), he supported himself there by writing epitaphs, elegies and epithalamiums; and this habit of versification clung to him through life. A volume of his, entitled "Maggots; or, Poems on Several Subjects Never Before Handled," appeared in print the year after he left Oxford. Ordained deacon by the Bishop of Rochester in 1688, he received priest's orders next year from Doctor Compton, Bishop of London, and was holding a curacy in London at the time of his marriage. In regard to the expulsion of James II. and the revolution settlement of 1689 which placed William of Orange and the Princess Mary on the throne, he held different opinions from his wife, who continued to regard James as her lawful sovereign. The death of James, in 1701, just before the close of William's reign, at length removed this element of discordance in their political sympathies, and both acquiesced in Anne's succession.

It was a wonderfully congenial alliance, and the record of the married life of the Wesleys for the next forty years in the Epworth parsonage can be dwelt upon with singular satisfaction by those

who admire domestic felicity of the highest kind. Not that troubles, greater and less, were absent. Of nineteen children

REV. SAMUEL WESLEY.

born to them, but ten appear to have survived, three of them sons. The rest all died in infancy. Deeply must Susannah Wesley have sympathized with the sorrows of Queen Anne, who also bore nineteen children, not one of whom reached maturity; a boy, the Duke of Gloucester, attained the age of eleven, and then succumbed to disease. Another source of worry was the insufficiency of the income to support the household. Most of his life Samuel Wesley was in debt, and at one time he was actually imprisoned as a bankrupt in Lincoln Castle. His enforced attendance at Convocation in London, where he was one of the representatives of the diocese, by adding considerably to his outlay, probably induced this unfortunate condition of affairs.

The castle of Lincoln is associated with stirring historic memories, which must have been present to the mind of so widely-read a man as Samuel Wesley as he entered its portals. Under its walls, in the twelfth century, was fought a fierce battle between the adherents of the Empress Matilda, who held the place, and King Stephen. It ended in the defeat and capture of that monarch. Seventy years later, in the last invasion of English soil by a foreign army—a legacy left to his young son Henry by the dastardly John—the French invaders were defeated at Lincoln, and their leader, the Comte de Perche, was slain. Again seventy years, and the viscera of the good Queen Eleanor of Castile, consort of Edward I., who died near Lincoln on her way north to Scotland, were brought to the cathedral for interment. The castle at this time was a royal residence; but it ceased in the next reign to have this distinction. In the thirteenth century it passed into the possession of "old John of Gaunt, time-honour'd Lancaster," and has remained attached to the duchy of Lancaster ever since. The castle jail had nothing to do with prisoners from the city, but was set apart for the custody of felons within the county

The very year in which Samuel Wes-

SUSANNAH WESLEY.

ley was incarcerated for debt the bishopric fell vacant through the death of Doctor Gardiner. He was succeeded by Doctor

Wake, a man of character and ability, who was later translated to the primacy at Canterbury Probably Wesley's enemies took advantage of the absence of a protecting friend at Lincoln to secure his imprisonment; but Archbishop Sharpe, of York, happily stepped in to befriend him. Formerly the see of Lincoln was very much larger than it is at present, its size having been reduced in the course of the last century. At one time it stretched as far south as the Thames, and its revenues were princely. Through appointing a subservient bishop, Henry VIII. was able to appropriate most of these revenues and reduce its income to a fraction of what it once was. In mediæval times, through the miracle-working reputation of one of its bishops, the famous Saint Hugh, Lincoln was the scene of yearly pilgrimages like those made to the shrine of Thomas à Becket. Several excellent men served as bishops of Lincoln, notably Robert Grostête, who, at a time when the Pope was overriding the consciences of men, dared to stand up against his authority. He protested at the Council of Lyons against sending Italians to fill the highest offices in the English Church. "Pastors," he said, "who do not preach Christ, even if they have no other sin, are anti-Christ and Satan transformed into an angel of light; but these pastors add all sorts of sins besides." For eighteen years he remained bishop, and a center of spiritual life and organizing energy in the community; a real "shepherd of the flock." After his death the University of Oxford petitioned that he might be canonized, but their request was not granted.

Very dear must the cathedral have been to Samuel Wesley associated as it was with such men as Grostête and with the saintly life of the past. At this time lofty spires crowned the towers, and pointed heavenward; but these were removed a hundred years later. The town in his day was laid out in a confused manner, with straggling, uneven streets. Its population amounted to five thousand, or about an eighth of its present size. The bishop's palace had been in ruins for half a century.

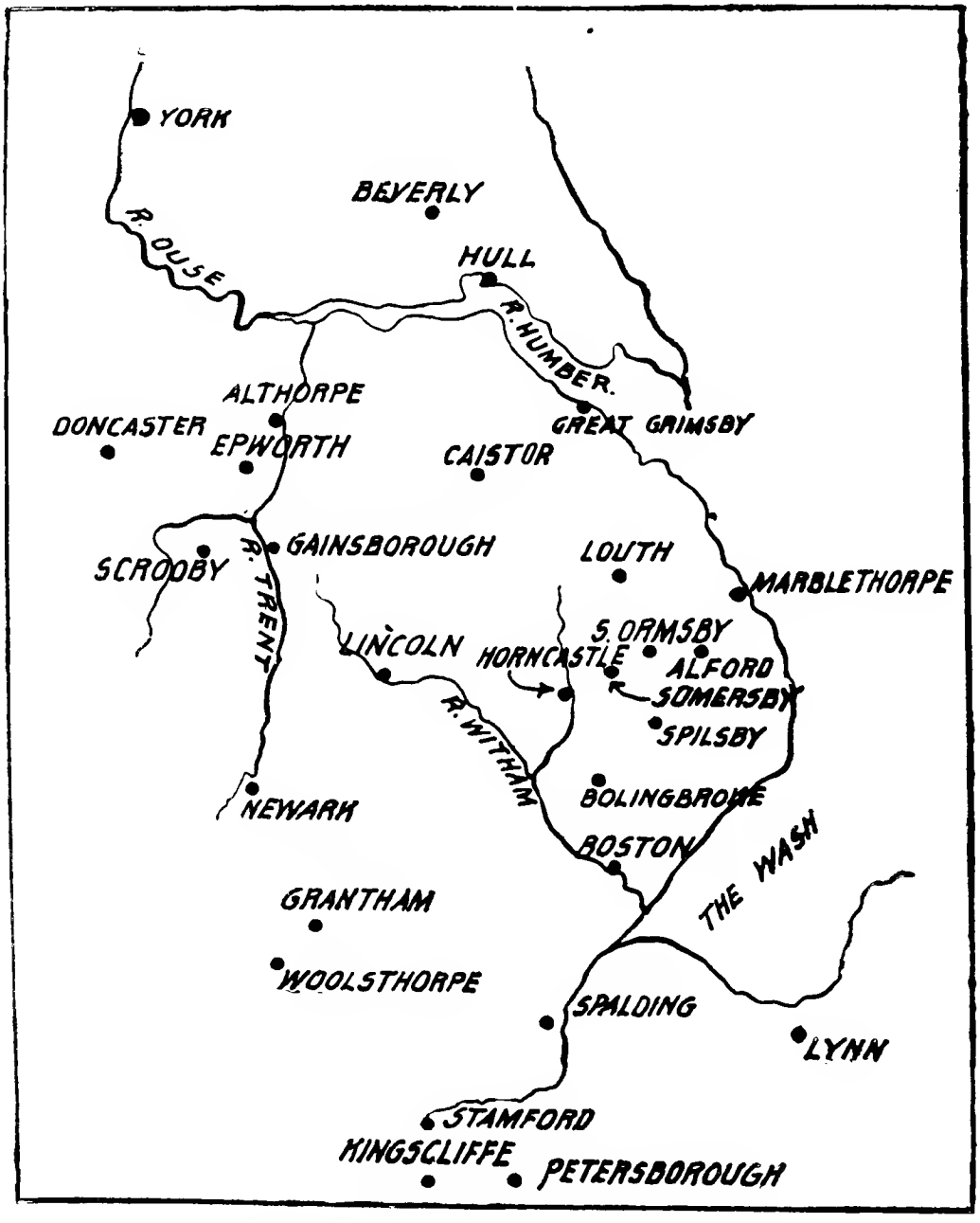
To return now to the family at Epworth. The earlier period of Samuel Wesley's pastorate there was not by any means wholly unfavorable to religious effort. The archbishops and bishops

BAPTISMAL FONT IN EPWORTH CHURCH WHERE THE WESLEY CHILDREN WERE BAPTIZED.

of the English Church were, in these days, for the most part, able, sincere and godly men. At Epworth the Wesleys were almost as close to York as to Lincoln; indeed, it was much easier in rough weather to reach York, because of the broad, unbridged Trent that bounded the parish on the east. Occupying the primate's seat there was the excellent Sharpe, a man certainly after Samuel Wesley's own heart, and an ideal archbishop; a prelate of whom it might truly be said that he preserved the unity of the

spirit in the bond of peace. A vigorous movement for the reformation of manners, the spread of Christian knowledge and the conversion of the heathen was

agation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, known as the S. P G., the diocese of Lincoln, under Bishop Gardiner, took a prominent part.

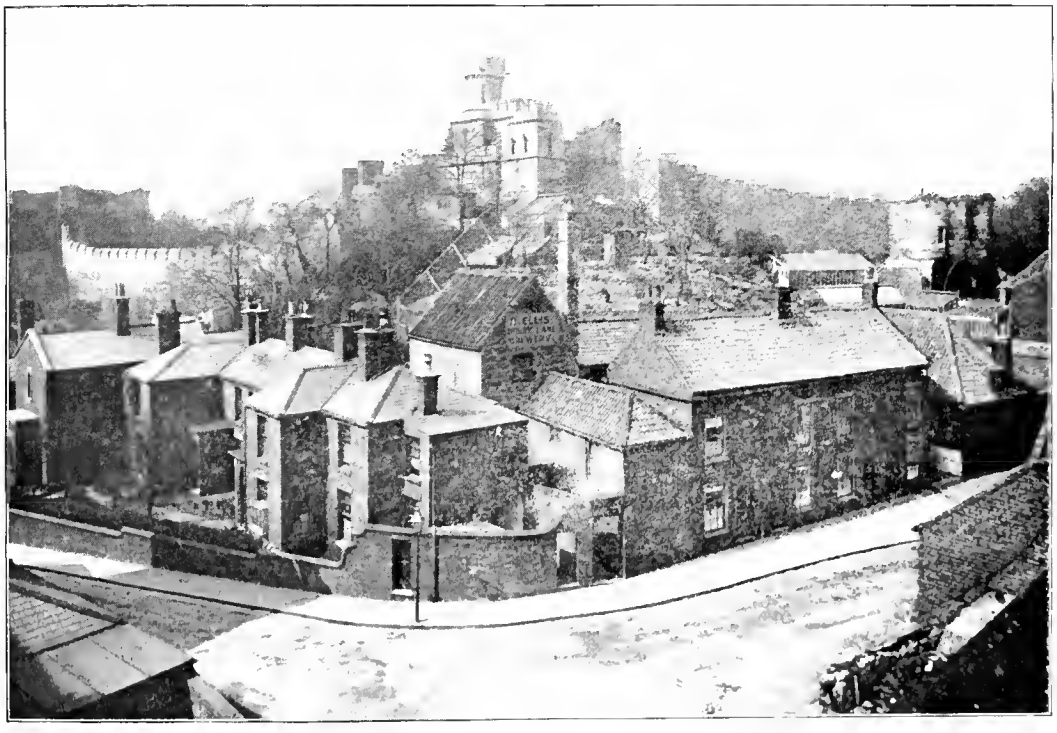


MAP OF LINCOLNSHIRE TO ILLUSTRATE WESLEY'S EARLY LIFE.

fostered by the archbishop and his friends. In the founding in 1695 of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, still vigorous and known as the S. P. C. K., and in 1701 of the Society for the Prop-

The circle of Samuel Wesley's acquaintance—Robert Nelson, Dr. Thos. Bray, Gastrell, Bishop of Chester, Sir Richard Blackmore, Halley, the astronomer—were at one in their desire to advance

God's kingdom on earth. Toward the close of Queen Anne s reign, unfortunately, things were to change for the worse. The tone of the episcopate was perceptibly lowered; Christian zeal was in great measure supplanted by the bitter spirit of ecclesiastical faction; the Church sank measurably in public esteem. Had the promise of these bright years, when Samuel Wesley was still young in the ministry, and his pious and high-minded friends were holding positions of influence, been fulfilled, there would have been less work for his son to do later. Whether it was that the times were hardly ripe, or that no leader fitted for the task presented himself, it is certain that the enthusiasm which founded these societies was allowed to die down in a lamentable way, and that an era of religious listlessness supervened.



LINCOLN CASTLE.

But the day of noble enthusiasms does not shine in vain. When, in the year 1703, the boy John Wesley was born in the Epworth parsonage, he fell heir to all these noble enthusiasms. He grew up proud of his county, proud of his Church; an intensely devoted churchman. A sympathetic biographer has noted that he was all his life what Epworth made him. Neither his school life at the Charter House, nor his college life at Christ Church, Oxford, had anything like the influence upon him of his early years at Epworth. Born in a remote parish, he was not isolated from the highest type of character. His father's friends were among the foremost in learning, as in piety His mother was a worthy daughter of a man so noted for his gifts as to be called the "St. Paul of the nonconformists."

The parish of Epworth contained at that time about ten thousand inhabitants, many of them engaged in the culture and preparation of flax and hemp, which they spun, and then wove into sacking and bagging. Their spiritual wants seem to have been neglected, for Mr. Wesley found them in a profligate con-

THE CASTLE GATEWAY, LINCOLN.

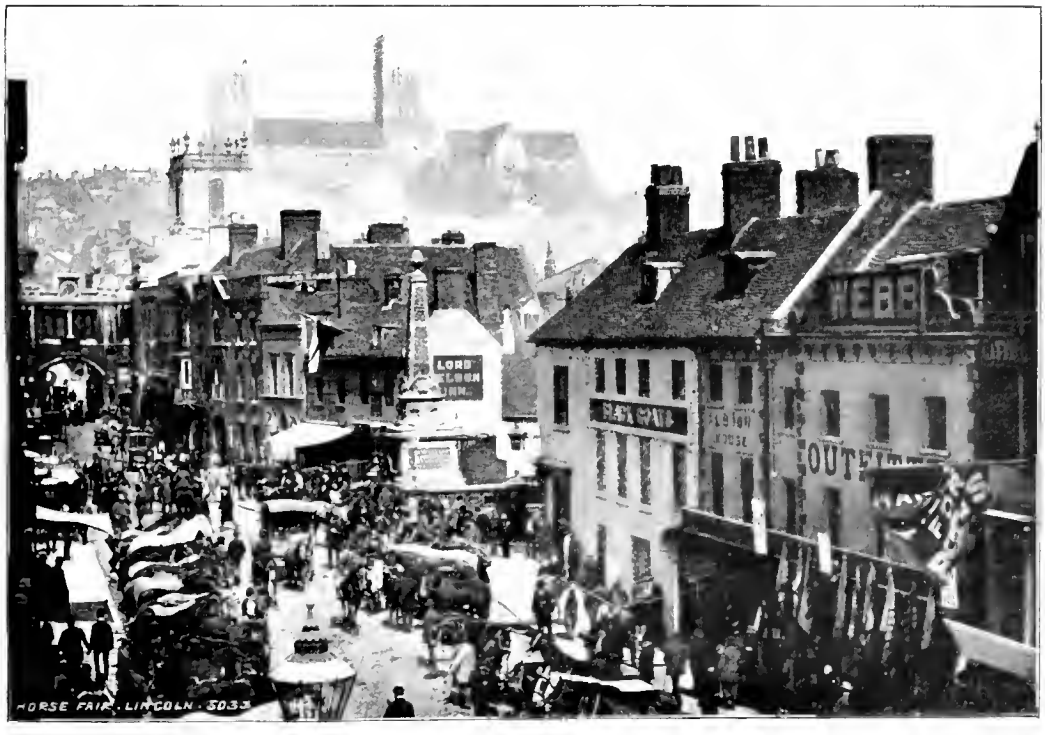
dition, indifferent or hostile to religious influences. His exhortations were received with demonstrations of dislike; and so bitterly did some of the baser sort resent his interference with their vices, that they determined to burn down the parsonage. In this they finally succeeded, after two unsuccessful attempts. One winter night, early in the year 1709, when John was a child of six, the house was discovered to be ablaze. Mrs. Wesley was out of health at the time, and sleeping in a room by herself. Her husband awoke her, bade her and the two eldest girls flee for their lives, and then hurried off to the nursery to look after the five younger children, who slept there in charge of a maid. In the confusion, John, who was a very sound sleeper, was forgotten; and, to the horror of all, his cries were heard from the nursery when it was almost too late to save him. Happily, the window where he stood, though on the second floor, was low, and, one man having hoisted himself on the shoulders of another, the little lad was rescued just an instant before the roof fell in. Later in life he referred pointedly to himself as a "brand plucked from the burning."

His brother Charles was then an infant barely eight weeks old, from whose premature birth the mother was slowly recovering. Born just a week before Christmas, 1708, he lay for a month wrapped in soft cotton-wool, without opening his eyes or uttering a cry.

In reading Goldsmith's inimitable "Vicar of Wakefield," one notes with interest how many parallels are to be found in it to the story of Epworth parsonage. In the good *Vicar* we have, it is true, many of the traits of Goldsmith's own father, and in *Mrs. Primrose* are reproduced many of the characteristics of his mother, both of whom were Irish; and yet the story is not Irish at all in its details or setting. It deals essentially with English life; it is laid in Yorkshire, at no great distance from Epworth. The eldest son of the household is attending Oxford University, just as Samuel Wesley was; there are two younger boys, corresponding to John and Charles. The

Vicar is imprisoned for debt in the county jail, which, like Lincoln Castle, had formerly been used, as the author informs us, for the purposes of war. The parsonage, moreover, is burned down, and the children are rescued with difficulty "I gazed upon them and upon it (my family and the blaze) by turns, and then looked round me for my two little ones; but they were not to be seen. O misery! 'Where,' cried I, 'where are my little ones?' 'They are burnt to death in the flames,' said my wife calmly, 'and I will die with them.' That moment I heard the cry of the babes within, who were just awaked by the fire, and nothing could have stopped me. 'Where, where are my children?' cried I, rushing through the flames and bursting the door of the chamber in which they were confined!— 'Where are my little ones?' 'Here, dear papa, here we are!' cried they together, while the flames were just catching the bed where they lay I caught them both in my arms, and snatched them through the fire as fast as possible, while, just as I was got out, the roof sank in." The whole passage suggests the explanation that Goldsmith had enjoyed the privilege, at Dr. Johnson's or elsewhere, of hearing John Wesley relate some of the details of his early life, and the trials his good father had to undergo. The dramatic incidents impressed the sympathetic little Irishman, who worked them into the story so dear to every lover of literature. The character-drawing is, of course, taken from Goldsmith's more immediate circle of relatives and friends.

The Rev Samuel Wesley was a particularly busy man, the worthy father, in this respect, of a son remarkable for prodigious power of work. His time and attention were fully taken up with the cares of his parish and with literary labors. He was a prolific writer, and published works in prose and in verse, in English and in Latin. Besides writing a heroic poem on the "Life of Christ," he versified the history of the Old Testa-



THE HORSE FAIR, LINCOLN.

POTTER GATE, LINCOLN.

ment and of the New, and wrote a treatise entitled "Dissertationes in Librum Jobi." At one time his name was recommended to William and Mary for an Irish bishopric, but nothing came of it.

In the troubles he met with in his parish his son may have conceived that distrust of the parochial system which led him later in life to do his best to supplement it. The division into parishes had taken place in a past age, when the local needs of the country were different. With the shifting of population due to the development of new industries and new channels of trade, the duties of some parish priests were heavily increased, while the duties of others were lightened. No regular provision was made for the spiritual wants of any influx of newcomers. A scheme for providing London with fifty new churches fell through after twelve were built; and the praiseworthy attempts of the kind made elsewhere soon after the Revolution were also marked by inadequacy or complete failure.

While from his father and his father's friends the boy John Wesley received noble ideals and enthusiasms, it must be granted that his mother had most to do with the forming of his character. A woman of singular method and determination, she paid particular attention to the rearing of the son whose rescue from imminent danger seemed to her providential. Under her watchful eye he formed those habits of rigid self-denial, economy of time, thoroughness of workmanship, and implicit obedience to every call of duty, which so distinguished him throughout his wonderful career. The basis of this harmonious self-regulation was complete trust in those whom he had to obey. Neither as a child nor as a man did he lose any opportunity for good through needless doubting of others. The cares of a large family did not so fully take up Mrs. Wesley's energies that she had no time left for helping out her husband in his duties. He was absent three different times attending Convocation, which met in London, and had somewhat prolonged sittings. As there was no afternoon service held in the church during his ab-

sence, his wife tried to supply the want at home by having an informal meeting. She gathered the household and read the most rousing sermon she could find; and religious conversation was then engaged in. This gathering, at which she presided, attracted first one and then another of the neighbors, until about forty were in the habit of attending. She was careful to conform to the order of church service, and in every way to avoid unnecessary publicity; but the meetings grew so popular that people began to talk.

Reports came to her husband's ears, and he wrote a letter of caution, recommending her, as a woman, to get some one else to read the sermon. She replied with judgment and yet with spirit; declared that there was no man in the place who could read a sermon without spelling his way through it; and that she was merely using the talents with which God had entrusted her. Meanwhile, the curate of the parish, a small-minded man, wrote a letter complaining that these "conventicles," as he called them, were doing harm to the regular services of the church. The term conventicle had a degree of odium attached to it which was certain to vex so strict a High Churchman as Mr. Wesley, and he wrote a second letter in terms still stronger than the first. But his wife, nothing daunted, refused to discontinue the services unless he should positively forbid her; for it was a matter of conscience with her not to let slip this opportunity of doing good. This, happily, ended the matter. It is worthy of notice that Mrs. Wesley was influenced in her course of conduct by an account she had read of the good work effected by Danish missionaries. This is, perhaps, the first of the cosmopolitan influences, numerous afterward, which touched the life of her son.

At the time this incident happened the eldest son, Samuel, was at school in London, and the younger boys, John and

PALACE RUINS, LINCOLN.

EPWORTH RECTORY AS IT STANDS TO-DAY.

Charles, were too young to help their mother in her religious work. She was paying great attention meanwhile to their spiritual and mental development, devoting a night every week to discourse with them on the principles of their religion. The wonderful preservation of John from death by fire had deeply impressed her, and had caused her to look upon him as probably a chosen vessel for the Lord, selected for a great destiny The boy developed early. When but eight years of age he was considered by his father sufficiently prepared to be admitted to holy communion. Three years later, he went up to London to begin his academic career.

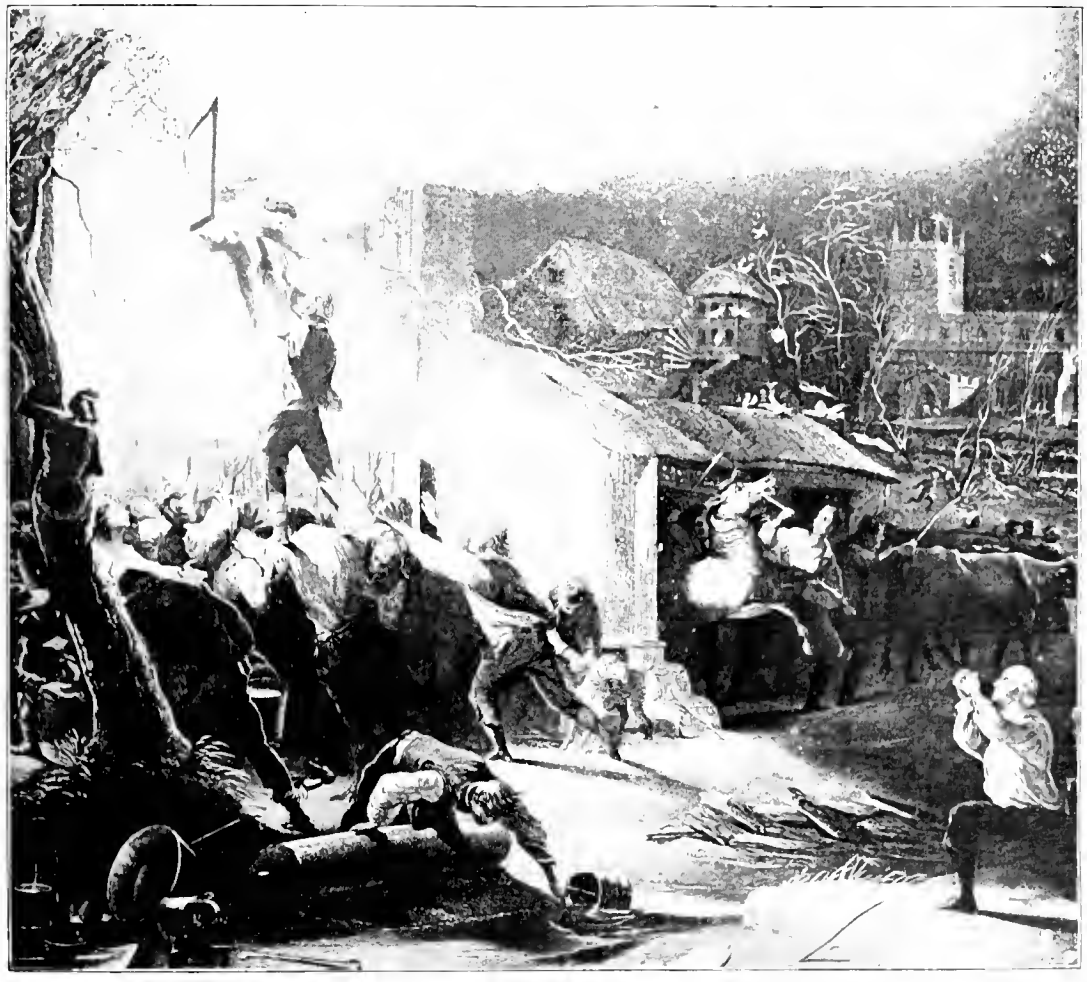
It was during the subsequent year that the curious disturbances took place at his father's house which caused so much discussion, from the belief that they were supernatural. Probably the most interesting way to have the story told is to quote a letter sent by Susannah Wesley to her boy Samuel:

"JANUARY 12, 1716.

"*Dear Sam.* —This evening we were agreeably surprised with your pacquet, which brought the welcome news of your being alive, after we had been in the greatest panic imaginable, almost a month, thinking either you was dead, or one of your brothers by some misfortune been killed.

"The reason of our fears is as follows: On the first of December, our maid heard, at the door of the dining-room, several dismal groans, like a person in extremes, at the point of death. We gave little heed to her relation, and endeavoured to laugh her out of her fears. Some nights (two or three) after, several of the family heard a strange knocking in divers places, usually three or four knocks at a time, and then stayed a little. This continued every night for a fortnight; sometimes it was in the garret, but most commonly in the nursery, or green chamber. We all heard it but your father, and I was not willing he should be informed of it, lest he should fancy it was against his own death which, indeed, we all apprehended. But when it began to be so troublesome, both day and night, that few or none of the family durst be alone, I resolved to tell him of it, being minded he should speak to it. At first he would not believe but somebody did it to alarm us; but the night after, as soon as he was in bed, it knocked loudly nine times, just by his bedside. He rose, and went to see if he could find out what it was, but could see nothing. Afterwards he heard it as the rest.

"One night it made such a noise in the room over our heads, as if several people were walking, then run up and down stairs, and was so outrageous that we thought the children would be frighted, so your father and I rose, and went down in the dark to light the candle. Just as we came to the bottom of the



RESCUE OF JOHN WESLEY FROM THE BURNING RECTORY

broad stairs, having hold of each other, on my side there seemed as if somebody had emptied a bag of money at my feet; and on his, as if all the bottles under the stairs (which were many) had been dashed in a thousand pieces. We passed through the hall into the kitchen, and got a candle, and went to see the children, whom we found asleep.

"The next night your father would get Mr. Hoole to lie at our house, and we all sat together till one or two o'clock in the morning, and heard the knocking as usual. Sometimes it would make a noise like the winding up of a jack; at other times, as that night Mr. Hoole was with us, like a carpenter planing deals; but most commonly it knocked thrice and stopped, and then thrice again, and so many hours together. We persuaded your father to speak, and try if any voice would be heard. One night about six o'clock he went into the nursery in the dark, and at first heard several deep groans, then knocking. He adjured it to speak if it had power, and tell him why it troubled his house, but no voice was heard, but it knocked thrice aloud. Then he questioned it if it were Sammy, and bid it, if it were, and could not speak, knock again, but it knocked no more that night, which let us hope it was not against your death.

"This it continued till the 28th of December, when it loudly knocked (as your father used to do at the gate) in the nursery, and departed. We have various conjectures what this may mean. For my own part, I fear nothing, now you are safe at London hitherto, and I hope God will still preserve you. Though sometimes I am inclined to think my brother is dead. Let me know your thoughts on it.

"Your affectionate mother,

"SUSANNAH WESLEY."

THE ROOM HAUNTED BY "OLD JEFFERY."

Emily Wesley gave it the name of "Old Jeffery," after a man who had committed suicide in the parish, and by this name the "ghost" was generally known. The story is on record as perhaps the best authenticated of those which have puzzled the scientific world. It continued to interest investigators up to the close of the century. The learned and accurate Doctor Priestley, who made an examination of the evidence, was struck by the absence of fear shown by the parties concerned, and their freedom from credulity. That it left its mark upon John Wesley is undoubted; for throughout his life he never brushed aside unceremoniously a story of the supernatural, nor ceased to declare his thorough belief in the existence of witchcraft. Ten years later, when at Oxford, he obtained from his mother a circumstantial account of the disturbances, showing the great importance he attached to the episode.

CHAPTER III.

A FAMOUS SCHOOL AND A FAMOUS UNIVERSITY.

AS SAMUEL WESLEY the elder saw his sons grow up around him, his dearest earthly ambition was that they should become learned men and win academic honors. One after another of his three boys went up to public school, and thence to the great university whose traditions have always exercised so powerful a fascination on her *alumni*, and on none more so than on the Lincolnshire rector. It was to Westminster that the eldest boy, named after his father, and born in the year 1692, was sent. None of the eight or nine historic public schools of England surpasses Westminster in the dignity of its traditions. Closely linked to the powerful colleges of Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge, she has received from them to man her staff the cream of university scholarship.

Westminster School possessed several highly cherished privileges. Her scholars were admitted to hear debates in the House of Commons, and to witness state ceremonies in the great Abbey. There, at coronations, they were held to represent the people of England in being the first to acclaim the new sovereign. Young Sam Wesley would thus be enabled to send home to Epworth a first-hand account of the coronation of Queen Anne, which took place soon after he entered school. He was a diligent lad and distinguished himself in his studies. From Westminster he proceeded on one of the foundation scholarships to Christ Church, Oxford, where he spent the customary three years of undergraduate life. At their close he returned as usher to his old school.

It was from this elder brother that John Wesley received much of his early preparatory training in the classics, and later, when about to enter the university, in the elements of Hebrew. Although his ultimate destination was also Christ Church, Oxford, he obtained a nomination to a different public school, the Charter-House, made famous in this century by the loving descriptions of William Makepeace Thackeray Readers of his "Pendennis" and "The Newcomes" will recall the chapters which he devotes to his old school.

The Charter-House School, which John Wesley entered at the age of eleven, is one of those institutions peculiar to England and having a dignity and traditions all their own. While in many respects education in England lagged behind the systems of all other Protestant countries, she developed, in her great public schools, nine in number, a unique and remarkable product, in every way creditable to the nation. The masterships in these schools were held by men of high scholarship, who had a future before them; for, being all clerics, promotion in the church was open to them, and very many became bishops. They came from one or other of the two great universities, and preserved a warm attachment to the particular college which had educated them.

The name Charter-House is a corruption of Chartreuse, the spot in France near Grenoble, where Bruno, the first of the Carthusian order, established his brotherhood. A visit to "The Grande Chartreuse" is still one of the things the tourist in Europe looks forward to. It was Sir Walter Manny, a friend of Edward III., and one of the original Knights of the Garter, who established in London a Carthusian priory, where he died in the year 1372. At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries in

Henry VIII. s reign, the Charter-House was one of the first to suffer. About seventy years later the property came into the hands of a benevolent merchant named Thomas Sutton, who at his death in 1611 left funds for the foundation of a hospital and free school.

Protected from the thievish grasp of crown officials by a powerful board of governors, the institution grew and flourished. So excellent was the instruction afforded that what was originally a char-

WESTMINSTER SCHOOL.

ity education grew in esteem and was eagerly sought after by the wealthier classes. The pile of buildings is a noble one, and remained the home of the school until the year 1872, when, the district having ceased to be a desirable one, the school was removed to a western suburb. In addition to the school dormitories, provision was made in the buildings for the residence of a number of old pensioners, respectable citizens who had been unfortunate in life.

Several famous Englishmen had been educated at Charter-House before John Wesley was enrolled as a pupil. The cavalier poets, Crashaw and Lovelace; the learned Barrow, Newton's teacher, who was at once a linguist, a theologian and a mathematician, and rose to the highest dignities at Cambridge University; the accomplished Joseph Addison, and his fellow-essayist, Richard Steele, were all Charter-House boys. The headmaster in Wesley's time, Thomas Walker who held the post for half a century, had taught Addison and Steele, just then in the height of their fame, and he remained in office until 1728.

To be a Charter-House exhibitioner proceeding to Christ Church College, Oxford, was in many respects an enviable position. No boy with a reverent mind and a powerful imagination but must have felt himself, in such a position, as an "heir of the ages." The great hall of the Charter-House had been, in the six-

QUADRANGLE OF THE OLD CHARTER-HOUSE.

teenth century, the banqueting hall of the great Dukes of Norfolk, and was an impressive building. In the splendid great chamber, as it was called, Queen Elizabeth had frequently held her court. The place was rich with historical associations from the era of the French wars and the days of the Knights Hospitalers, to whom the ground belonged before Sir Walter Manny secured it for the Carthusians.

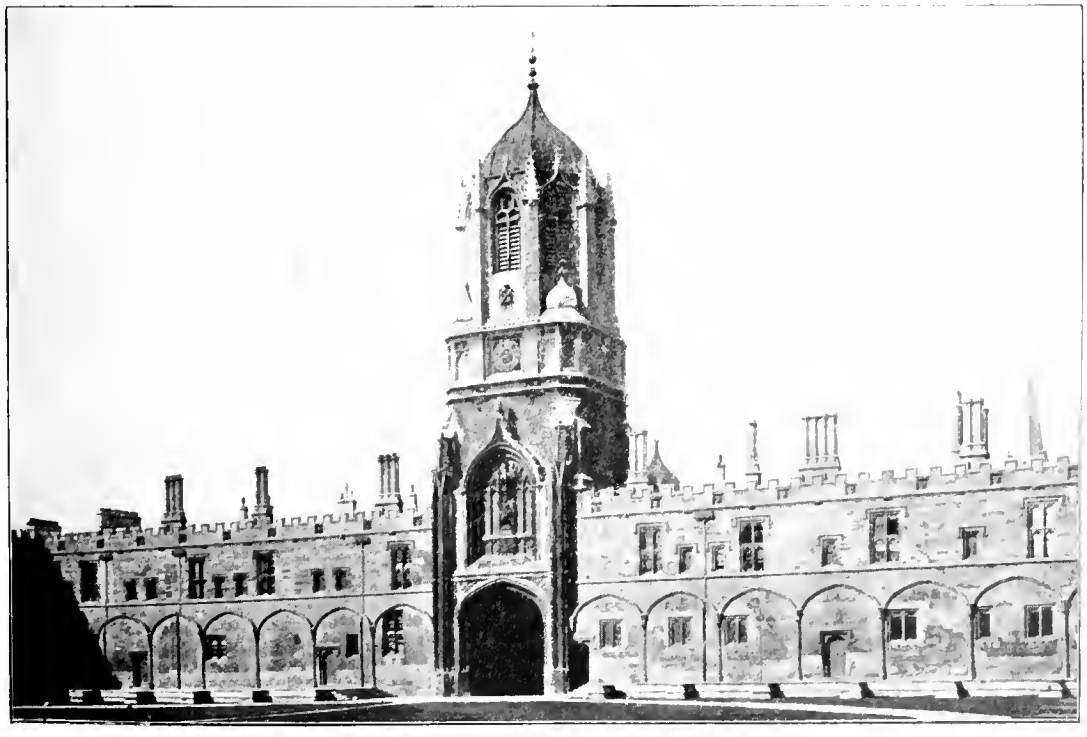
As in all the public schools of England during last century, the training was marked in many respects by a Spartan strictness and severity A boy had to battle for his rights and to assert himself, often being compelled to submit uncomplainingly to the injustice and tyranny of older pupils. But this experience, with boys of a tough fiber, was not an unmixed evil, and prepared them for the rough-and-tumble of life. John Wesley did not suffer these little rubs to deflect him from a diligent and harmonious pursuit of his studies, and he attracted the favorable notice of Doctor Walker. Throughout life he retained a fondness for the place. Forty-three years after he quitted it we find an entry in his journal recording the impressions left by a visit to his old haunts.

At the age of seventeen, when John Wesley went up to Oxford, he was in every way fitted to enjoy fully the benefits it had to offer. His associations were all clerical, and Oxford was becoming at that time distinctly more clerical. Unlike the universities of Paris or Edinburgh, it was removed from the political center of the nation. With the growth of a great empire beyond the seas, and the wonderful expansion in commerce which marked the early Hanoverian epoch, Oxford lagged more and more behind the times and lost touch with the political world. It ceased to produce leading statesmen, poets or historians; it produced only clericals, who were mostly wrapped up in church quarrels and in petty ecclesiastical ambitions. Joseph Butler, who studied for some time at Oriel College, found the curriculum narrow

and dry, and longed to go to Cambridge; Edward Gibbon, the historian, who followed twenty or more years after, was repelled by the dreary and hackneyed round of study.

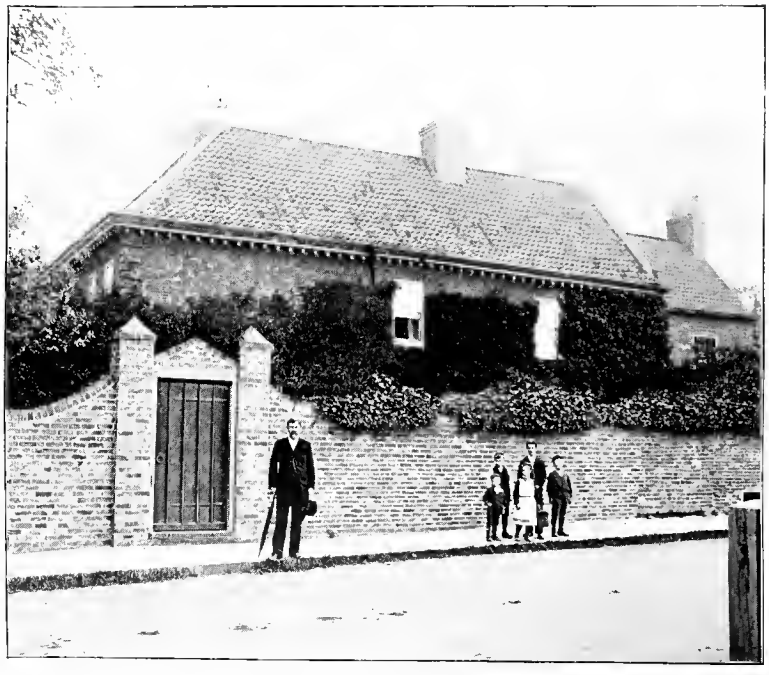
And yet, to a self-reliant and resourceful mind like that of John Wesley, the very stagnation of the place furnished invaluable opportunities for quiet and harmonious growth. It has been the mission of Oxford in English life to keep unbroken the continuous chain of Christian tradition. While Cambridge, although respecting tradition, has ever thrown out feelers which have kept her in touch with the progress of modern science, Oxford has clung tenaciously to the skirts of the past. Every innovation which seemed likely to separate England from the nobler traditions of western Christendom, she consistently opposed. She was, consequently, untouched by the hard utilitarian tones which came in with Francis Bacon and so chilled the spiritual life of the eighteenth century John Locke, one of the ablest of her sons, found that Christ Church was no congenial home for his matter-of-fact philosophy, and had to quit the place.

It was to the nobler spirits of the past that John Wesley turned for inspiration. The first work to exercise a commanding influence upon him was the "De Imitatione Christi," the authorship of which is usually ascribed to Thomas à Kempis. The intense spirituality of the writer fascinated him; and yet he found himself unable to agree with the ascetic in all respects. That constant suffering and sadness should be regarded as the necessary concomitants of the spiritual life, seemed to him inconsistent with the nature of a benevolent God and with other utterances of Holy Writ. For instance, did not Solomon expressly affirm of the religious life that "*her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace?*" These and other difficulties he laid before his parents and sought their advice. His mother took an emi-



TOM TOWER OXFORD.

nently sane and practical view of the case. "Would you judge of the lawfulness of pleasure," she wrote to him, "take this rule: whatever weakens your reason, impairs the tenderness of your conscience, obscures your sense of God, or takes off the relish of spiritual things; in short, whatever increases the strength and authority of your body over your mind, that thing is sin to you, however innocent it may be in itself." This advice he seems to have taken to heart as answering well to his own inner convic-



EPWORTH RECTORY, FRONT VIEW.

tions; and, while continuing to admire the noble strain of humble piety and devotion which makes the book so uplifting a companion to the devout mind, he guarded himself against its excess of asceticism.

The other writer who influenced him deeply was a contemporary of his grandfather's and the chosen *protégé* of Archbishop Laud. Jeremy Taylor, the son of a Cambridge barber, finally drifted to All Souls', Oxford, of which college he became a fellow. As chaplain to Charles I. he was an ardent royalist, and in the troubles of the rebellion suffered much for the cause he had espoused. As a preacher and writer, his utterances had an unction, a sweetness and a tenderness which raise them high above the sermons of the time, and constitute him one of the masters of English prose. In him was the real spirit of devotion. He looked upon theology, to use his own words, as "rather a divine life than a divine knowledge."

Jeremy Taylor's masterpiece, "The Rule and Exercise of Holy Living," profoundly affected the young student of Christ Church. The chapter which related to purity of motive particularly attracted him, and he resolved, upon reading it, to dedicate himself entirely to God. The influence of Bishop Taylor was to send him back, with renewed interest and deeper insight, to the pages of the "De Imitatione Christi."

To turn now to the more secular aspects of his life at Oxford. Christ Church, the college where he spent his undergraduate life, is perhaps the noblest of all the noble foundations in Oxford University. Thomas Fuller, writing of Oxford in the seventeenth century, remarks that her colleges "advantaged by the vicinity of fair freestone, do for the generality of their structure carry away the credit from all Christendom, and equal any for the largeness of their endowments.

Of the colleges University is the oldest, Pembroke the youngest, Christ Church the greatest, Lincoln (by many reputed) the least, Magdalen the neatest." To

Christ Church he gives the reputation of being famous for poets.

Its magnificence dates from the time of the great Cardinal Wolsey, who endowed it lavishly, and built the great Hall, which, for the beauty of its interior, ranks second only to Westminster Hall. The chapel which he intended to build on one side of the great quadrangle as a rival to the magnificent King's College Chapel in Cambridge, was never erected; and in its place the cathedral of St. Frideswyde serves as the college chapel. That ancient edifice, which is immediately adjoining, gave up one of its outlying buildings, the refectory, for the uses of the college. Long used as the college library it is now the most ancient portion of its structures. The large tower, containing the bell known as "Great Tom of Christ Church," whose hundred and one mighty strokes summon all students over the city to enter their college walls at the early hour of nine, is after a design of Sir Christopher Wren, and was completed when Samuel Wesley was an undergraduate at

GEORGE I.
(Ascended the Throne, 1715.)

DEAN SWIFT.

Exeter. This closing period of the seventeenth century saw the erection of many new structures connected with the college. Under Doctor Fell, an active head, old buildings were removed and replaced by newer and better buildings. It was this Dr. Fell who, by his strictness in enforcing university requirements for a degree, brought upon his devoted head the well-known couplet:

> I do not love thee, Doctor Fell;
> The reason why I cannot tell.
> But this I know, and know full well,
> I do not love thee, Doctor Fell.

It was at the close of his deanship, in the gloomy days immediately preceding the arrival of William of Orange, that John Locke was deprived of his studentship at Christ Church. Another individual, whose name remains imbedded in that of a great American state, and is still cherished and reverenced by the people at large, was also expelled from Christ Church because of his religious opinions. This was William Penn, who was "sent down" by Doctor Fell for non-

MERTON COLLEGE AND CHRIST CHURCH.

conformity in the year after the Restoration.

Succeeding deans carried on the activity that Doctor Fell had shown in enlarging the college and its edifices. An additional quadrangle, known as Peckwater, was built in 1705 from designs by Dean Aldrich, a learned and active man, whose "Logic" remained for over a century the standard text-book on that subject. At the close of Queen Anne's reign there is no doubt whatever that Christ Church, in wealth, social influence, and general prestige, took the lead among all the colleges of Oxford. A time of stagnation was to follow, from which the whole university suffered. Until the close of the century whatever activity was shown by the universities in influencing the national life, came rather from Cambridge than from Oxford. And yet the Dean of Christ Church, like the Dean of Westminster, held a post of such dignity that it was and is reckoned superior to most of the smaller bishoprics.

Nowhere in the world has the college system so trenched upon the functions of the university as in Oxford. Laud, an excellent organizer, gave the great institution a bias which it has ever since retained. Beginning public life as head of St. John's College, he retained during his whole life the spirit of a college don, and was always primarily interested in the prosperity of his *alma mater*. The years when he was chancellor were a golden era for the colleges. He secured them endowments, saw that discipline was enforced, and made this discipline minute and rigid. Rules and regulations for attendance at chapel, behavior there, manner of wearing the hair, hours for meals, the use of Latin in conversation, and other minutiæ, were enacted and enforced. All this was done with the intention of making the university—always a controlling influence in the church—also a political and social engine on the side of sovereign authority. By his Laudian statutes, a body of laws not superseded until 1854, he gave the entire management of affairs to the governing bodies of the colleges. An oligarchy of heads of colleges, easily influenced by the central power which held the patronage of the church, was thus given complete

control of university affairs. All traces of the previous free-and-easy system of living in city lodgings—a system which became general in the democratic universities of the North—were wiped out.

The natural consequence of such a system was the repression of originality in thought or manner, of random speculation, of Bohemian habits, of everything which tends to make of a man "a crank." The loose imperialism of a highly centralized university, where a few learned men lecture so many hours weekly to hundreds of students whom they seldom come to know personally, has nothing in common with the old Oxford system. There every student, by day and by night, was under the vigilant guardianship of resident college authorities, who knew every peculiarity of his temperament and demeanor. What the student gained at Oxford was not so much a wider mental horizon or the incitement to intense study, as a certain well-ordered manner of life. Every Oxford man who had in the least benefited by his stay in that home of culture bore about him a certain air that was unmistakable. He had a finished aspect of discipline, such as marks the man who has served in a royal army None of her sons more distinctly showed traces of this influence than John Wesley.

At the close of his undergraduate course he set himself seriously to consider his fitness for ordination, as it was his intention to enter the church. The meeting with a friend of a religious turn of mind fixed his attention deeply on the question of inward holiness, towards which he had already been turned by the writings of Bishop Taylor. He began to take holy communion weekly, and to be particularly careful in his devotions. At length, in the autumn of 1725, he felt justified in offering himself for ordination, and was duly ordained a deacon by Doctor Potter then Bishop of Oxford.

QUADRANGLE OF LINCOLN COLLEGE.

This prelate, for whom he continued to cherish great respect, became later Archbishop of Canterbury The respect was reciprocated.

The see of Oxford is not one of the older and wealthier in the English Church. The ancient ecclesiastical center of the district was Dorchester, on the Thames, eight or ten miles south of Oxford. Some twenty-five years after the Norman Conquest, in the days of Will-

OLD WINDMILL, EPWORTH.

iam Rufus, the episcopal throne was moved from this insignificant town to the hill above the haughty burgh of Lincoln, where the noble west front of the cathedral, unsurpassed for architectural beauty in Europe, rose later to delight the eyes of the burghers. Not until the sixteenth century and the era of the Reformation was Oxford erected into a separate see. It had a numerous succession of bishops, for many of them were removed to other and wealthier sees. Hough, Talbot, and Atterbury, who preceded Potter, were all called elsewhere. With Atterbury, who afterward as Bishop of Rochester made himself conspicuous in political affairs as a strong partisan of the banished Stuarts, Samuel Wesley, John's elder brother, was on terms of intimacy. Samuel himself was an ardent Jacobite.

It was in the parish church of South Leigh, a village situated on the Thames a few miles above Oxford, that John Wesley preached his first sermon. The occasion never passed away from his mind, and was recalled forty years later when he revisited the parish. Here and in other places in the neighborhood he made his first observations of church methods from the professional side. It was evident that, in the changing conditions of the country, with a shifting population and new social developments, the church was not showing herself equal to the emergency. In the parish churches no suitable provision was made for the poorer residents, whose seats were often wrongfully appropriated. Nor was education properly looked after. In the whole county of Oxford only fourteen towns or villages were provided with a parochial school or its equivalent, and the total number attending the secondary or "grammar" schools amounted to but five hundred and three scholars. These unsatisfactory conditions were present to the mind of Bishop Potter, who was much exercised with the problem how best to deal with them. He advised Wesley, at the time of his ordination, not to spend his time in contending for or against things of a disputable nature, but in testifying against notorious vice, and in promoting real essential holiness.

The next incident in John Wesley's career was his appointment, in March, 1726, to be a fellow of Lincoln College, a position formerly held by Bishop Potter. The promotion gave unbounded satisfac-

tion to his father and the rest of the family at Epworth. This college, of which John Wesley now became a fellow, has about it a peculiarly monastic air. Its chapel, while one of the smallest, is the quaintest and in some respects the most interesting in the whole university; the wood carving of the stalls and the stained glass of the windows being particularly admired. Founded in the fifteenth century, it was intended as a bulwark against the popular religious movement of which Wycliffe had been the leader and inspirer. The college was to be a center for the cultivation of the orthodox faith, and the studies were to be essentially theological. The revenues of three churches—St. Michael's, All Saints', and St. Mildred's—were devoted to its support.

GATHERING POTATOES IN THE FIELDS NEAR EPWORTH.

In the church of St. Michael, on Michaelmas Day, 1726, John Wesley, as the recently appointed fellow, preached the college sermon. He had other teaching duties, to which he devoted himself with his usual ardor. In philosophy and in Greek he served as lecturer, and his scheme of reading is extant, which assigns certain days in the week for certain studies. Mathematics he studied all during the week; to divinity he devoted his Sundays. Monday and Tuesday were set apart for the classics, Wednesday for natural philosophy, Thursday for Hebrew and Arabic, Friday for logic and metaphysics, and Saturday for rhetoric. It is noticeable how clear-cut system enters into everything with which John Wesley had to do. It is also noticeable that his attitude is always constructive and sympathetic; never merely negative or critical. He wasted no breath in complaining of the college or its heads, of whom he says nothing but good. All his energies he kept for transforming the bad into good and the good into better.

Where anything had a favorable side that could be developed, he was sure to discover it.

It is from this period that his keeping of a diary commences, a habit to which

INTERIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL.

we owe many valuable particulars respecting his views of life and his inner development. The thorough honesty with which he met every situation as it came up, the complete mastery which his will possessed over his physical frame, make the pages a clear mirror in which we see the unblurred image of the man. The notes are not limited to mere introspection, but cover a wide range of interest. Busy as the man was in the active pursuits of life, he found time to peruse every book of any consequence as it appeared; and he often registers his opinions thereon in the diary.

A period of restiveness supervened, which nearly led to his accepting a teaching post in Yorkshire; but the plan fell through, much to his mother's satisfaction. His father's health, which was now become uncertain, made it impossible for the old man to keep up the duties of the two parishes of Epworth and Wroote; and from August, 1727, until November, 1729, John Wesley was acting as curate in the latter parish. At this time he suffered somewhat from the ague, which is endemic in the locality. While serving as curate of Wroote he obtained priest's orders from Bishop Potter.

Summoned back to Lincoln College to attend to duties connected with his fellowship, he became a tutor there, and acted as moderator or chairman in the disputations which formed a feature of the college training. Meanwhile his brother Charles had come up to the university and was now finishing his three-years' course at Christ Church. An upright youth and a diligent scholar, he was still far from sharing in the somewhat austere and ascetic views of his brother. Before John left for Wroote he had attempted in vain to induce Charles to accept his religious views; but during his absence the wished-for change took place. It came unexpectedly and mysteriously, and Charles always attributed it to the influence of another's prayers.

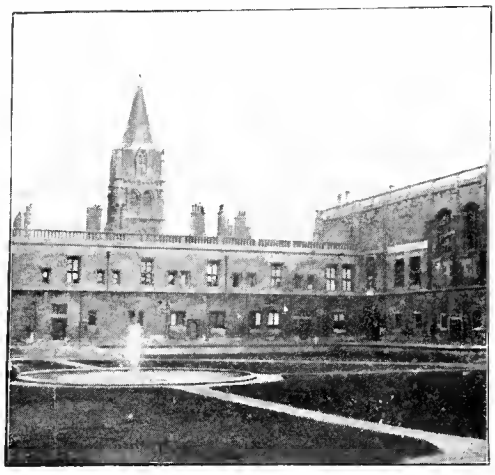
It was an exemplification of the text: "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit." Two or three like-minded undergraduates began with him a methodical course of Christian life, receiving the sacrament weekly, and in other respects living up to a high standard of outward conduct. At this time it was the fashion to be profane and scoffing in conversation; and Christ Church, it must be remembered, was always a particularly fashionable college. The young bloods made no secret of their contempt for

young Wesley and his brother pietists, and they had to bear no small amount of ridicule and abuse. The name which finally stuck—that of Methodists—seems to have been given them by a fellow of Merton College. Their number amounted to about fifteen, drawn from various colleges: Merton, Queen's, Brazenose, Exeter and Lincoln, all furnished prominent members. At their first meetings the study of theology was reserved for Sunday evenings, while other evenings were devoted to classical studies. But soon religion became the dominant interest of this Holy Club. In addition to partaking weekly of the sacrament, they fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays, following the custom of the primitive church, and drew up a body of rules to direct their prayers and meditations. At the same time they turned their attention to charitable works, and began regularly to visit the prisons and the bedsides of the sick. It was through this earnest, practical work, as we shall see, that George Whitefield was brought into the current of the movement.

The return of John Wesley to Oxford had at once crystallized much in the society that had before been vague and indefinite. His personality was known and respected in the university, and he soon became the leading member. The nickname, "Father of the Holy Club," was bestowed on him—a title which by no means displeased his old father when he heard of it. Not that the old man was wholly uncritical in respect to the practices of the club. On the contrary, he bitterly disapproved of the ascetic habits which, in one case at least, hurried a young commoner of Christ Church to an early grave.

THE HOLY CLUB.

One member of the club, destined afterward to attain a world-wide reputation, might, from his humble rank in life, have



SPIRE OF ST. MARY'S, OXFORD.

remained outside of it but for a fortunate accident. This member was George Whitefield, who came of very humble parentage and was struggling through the university in the lowly position of a servitor at Pembroke College. These servitors were, as their name implies, in the position of domestics, and discharged menial duties in the colleges to which they were attached. Two other servitors of Pembroke were destined to make their names famous during the century One was Dr. Samuel Johnson, who entered the college in the year 1728, and spent fourteen continuous months within its walls. Hard as was his lot in many respects, he had always a good word to say for his college, and remained throughout life a devoted partisan of Oxford. The other was John Moore, who rose to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

Pembroke College, which is one of the smaller Oxford foundations, nestles in under the shadow of the lordly Christ Church. Until the days of James I. it was known as Broadgates Hall. The chancellor of the university at the time, who gave it the name, was the scholarly and accomplished William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, a nephew of Sir Philip Sidney. He it was to whom the editors of Shakespeare s works dedicated, in 1623, the famous first folio. Now the college is chiefly associated with the names of Samuel Johnson and George Whitefield. The room which the former occupied, situated over the gateway in the second story, is still shown to visitors. Johnson used to speak very warmly of his old tu-

QUADRANGLE OF MERTON COLLEGE.

tor at Pembroke. "Whenever a young man becomes Jorden's pupil," he remarked, "he becomes his son." George Whitefield had also a kindly word for his tutor, who had "behaved to him quite like a father."

The early life of George Whitefield was passed under no very favorable conditions. He was a west country man, hailing from the ancient city of Gloucester. In this city, toward the close of the year 1714, he was born at the Bell Inn, of which his father was proprietor. When quite young he lost his father; and the second marriage of his mother, when George was a boy of ten, proved unhappy. He speaks of his boyhood as a time when he was distinctly a child of sin, hating instruction, and even descending to petty thefts from his mother's pocket and the public-house till. But the sorrows brought upon the home by his stepfather had a chastening effect. His brother used to read aloud to him, for their mutual comfort and edification, the "Manual for Winchester Scholars," published by the saintly Bishop Ken. So deep an impression did it make upon the lad's mind that he devoted the first money he earned to purchasing the volume. His oratorical powers were even then bringing him into notice. Chosen to deliver the customary speeches at the annual visitation of St. Mary de Crypt's School, which he was attending, he received a small sum in reward for his services, and with this bought the manual.

At the age of fifteen Whitefield begged to be removed from school, there being then no prospect of his proceeding to the university More instruction, he feared, would merely stand in the way of his becoming a good tradesman. And so we find him, in blue jeans, serving ale behind the counter at the Bell Inn, now become the property of a married brother. The intervals of leisure allowed him he devoted to the reading of romances, which he exchanged, after a time, for the devotional pages of Thomas à Kempis. He also busied himself in the composition of several sermons.

Finding it difficult to agree with his sister-in-law, he gave up his position of "common drawer," and went for a short time to live with his mother. And then, having heard, through a servitor at Pembroke, of a possible opening in that college, he returned to the grammar

JOHN POTTER, BISHOP OF OXFORD,
Who Ordained John and Charles Wesley as Deacons and, later, John Wesley as Presbyter.
From the Original Painting, by Vanderbank, Belonging to Bishop John H. Vincent.

school to prepare himself to enter the university. These two years of preparatory study were spent in an exemplary way, and had a marked influence on his future career. He was careful in all the public and private exercises of religion, and, by the high consistency of his conduct, exerted a salutary influence on the other scholars.

Even before his matriculation at Oxford Whitefield had heard of the band of young students who were endeavoring,

like himself, to "live by rule and method." When he saw them passing through the streets on their way to communion at St. Mary's, accompanied by a jeering crowd, his heart went out to them. A diffidence, natural to the humble servitor, kept him for a year from making any friendly advances. At length the opportunity came through an accident. In his visits to the poor—which brought down upon him the wrath of his college head, with threats of dismissal—Whitefield had to deal with the case of a pauper who had attempted suicide. He felt that Charles Wesley was spiritually qualified to deal with the case, and sent a woman to summon him, bidding her not reveal the name of the person who sent her. This, however, she did, with the happy result that Charles Wesley, who had heard favorably of Whitefield, took immediate measures to secure his friendship. An invitation to breakfast was followed by other friendly intercourse, and George Whitefield soon after became one of the members of the Holy Club. And so the triple partnership came to be formed which proved of such vital importance to the cause of civilization and of Christianity

CHAPTER IV

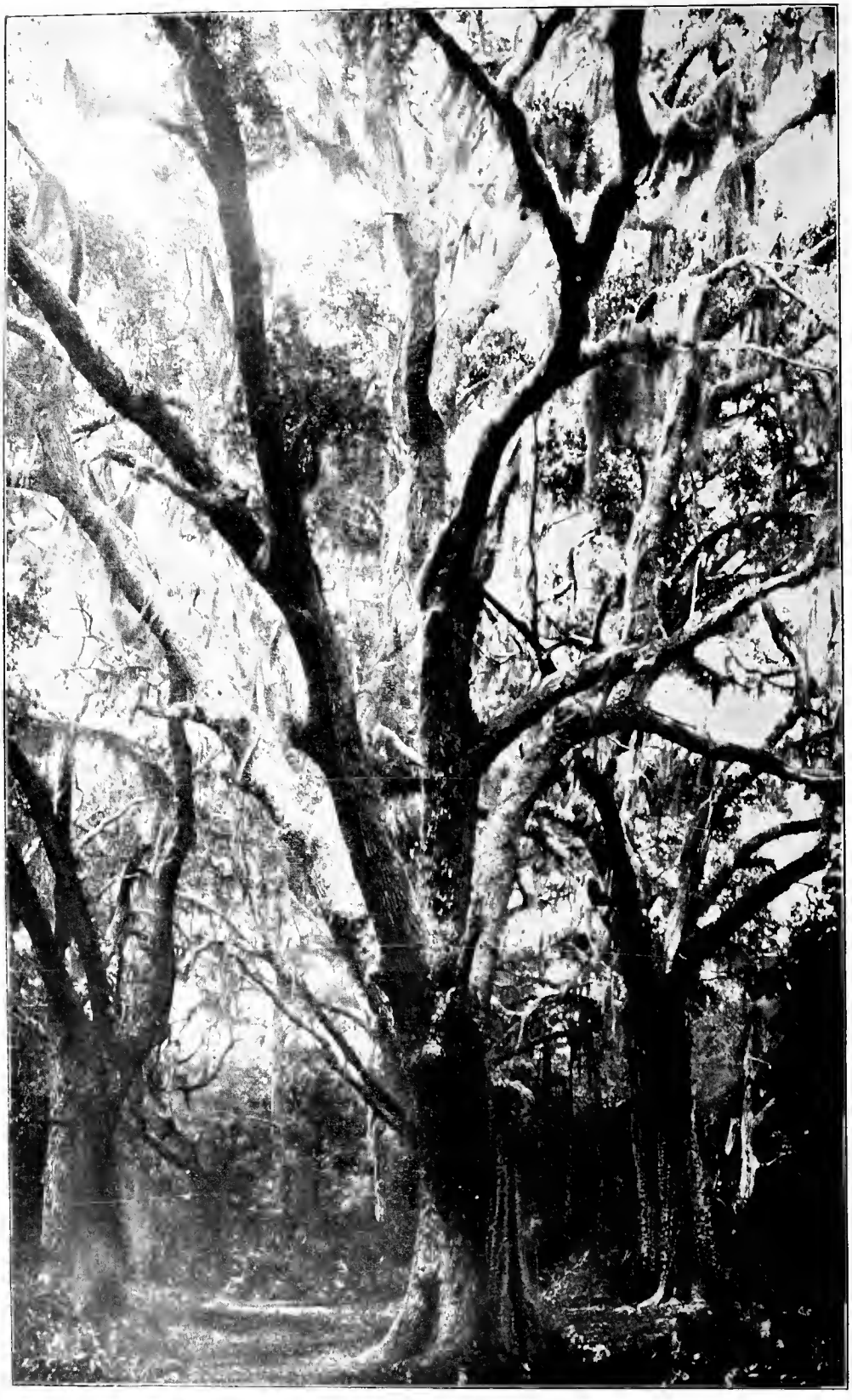
THE OXFORD METHODISTS IN GEORGIA.

WITH the death of the venerable rector of Epworth in April, 1735, begins a new period in the life of John Wesley Up to this time his interests had remained somewhat circumscribed, and his spiritual temper was still timid and unelastic. Intellectually and doctrinally he was sound and whole. In a sermon he preached in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, before the university, on New Year's day, 1733, he enunciated with great clearness his conception of the nature of Christian salvation to be attained in this life; and this conception remained radically unaltered until the close of his career. The desire burned within him to be a whole-hearted Christian; but it had in it at this time too little of that perfect love which casteth out fear; it was too self-regarding.

The influence upon him of a spiritual personality, whose name is still alive among those who seek after holiness, is to be noted during these closing years at Oxford. In the year 1726 there had appeared a work entitled "A Practical Treatise Upon Christian Perfection," followed three years later by an epoch-making book, "A Serious Call to the Unconverted;" both from the pen of William Law The keynote of the teaching is contained in three words, "wholly unto God," which constantly recur in the pages of the second treatise. Law was a Cambridge graduate who, in 1714, resigned his fellowship at Emmanuel College because, as a non-juror and high churchman, he could not conscientiously swear allegiance to George I. He lived thereafter in obscurity for many years. At the time of the publication of his two noted works he was residing with the grandfather of the historian Gibbon at Putney, on the Thames, near London, and was acting as tutor to the young man. Here John Wesley, attracted by his teaching, visited him, and was deeply impressed with the saintliness of the man. Until the wonderful change came over him, in 1739, Wesley must be considered as essentially a disciple of William Law

It was during these Oxford days of precision and asceticism that he adopted the fashion of wearing his hair long and flowing loose upon his shoulders. The saving effected in this manner he devoted to charity At first he wore his hair so very long as to attract attention, but the expostulation of his brother Samuel was successful in making him modify what seemed an eccentricity. In some other respects he was cultivating simple habits of life. To save coach fare the brothers became pedestrians, and found that they could easily walk over twenty miles daily; and that it was possible, without added fatigue, to read as they walked. It was in this manner that they visited Law, whom they would thus reach on the third day after leaving Oxford.

At this time John had some sharp differences of opinion with his elder brother in which it is impossible not to sympathize with the elder. Samuel, who had married in 1715, was in 1732 appointed master in Tiverton school, Devonshire. Before proceeding so far westward to take up the duties of his new post, he arranged a family gathering at Epworth, to discuss the affairs of the household. The failing health of its head made it certain that his death was not far off; and all were anxious that John, in the



WESLEY'S OAK, ST SIMONS ISLAND, GEORGIA.

"A broad oak, stretching forth its leafy arms."

interests of his mother and sisters, should apply for the next presentation. Always a conscientious man, the elder Wesley was also afraid lest an unworthy successor should undo many of the good results he had labored to effect. John returned no definite answer at the time; but in the following year he wrote in a disappointing way He refused to consider the question of utility, and preferred to remain at Oxford, as the place most conducive to a holy life. He feared the trials and temptations of a life at Epworth; lest, when preaching to others, he might himself be a castaway These letters of his caused deep chagrin to his father and his brother.

The old rector before his death fulfilled one desire of his heart—the completion of his "Commentary on the Book of Job." It was as the bearer of a presentation volume to Queen Anne that John Wesley left Epworth rectory after his father's funeral and traveled up to London. When in the capital he met with James Oglethorpe and his friends, who were then busy with the foundation of the new colony of Georgia. The trustees, who were to be in control until 1752, had already resolved to make overtures to the Wesleys, as men who, from their devout life at Oxford, were likely to be of eminent use in infusing a Christian tone into the colony At first John Wesley turned a deaf ear to their proposals.

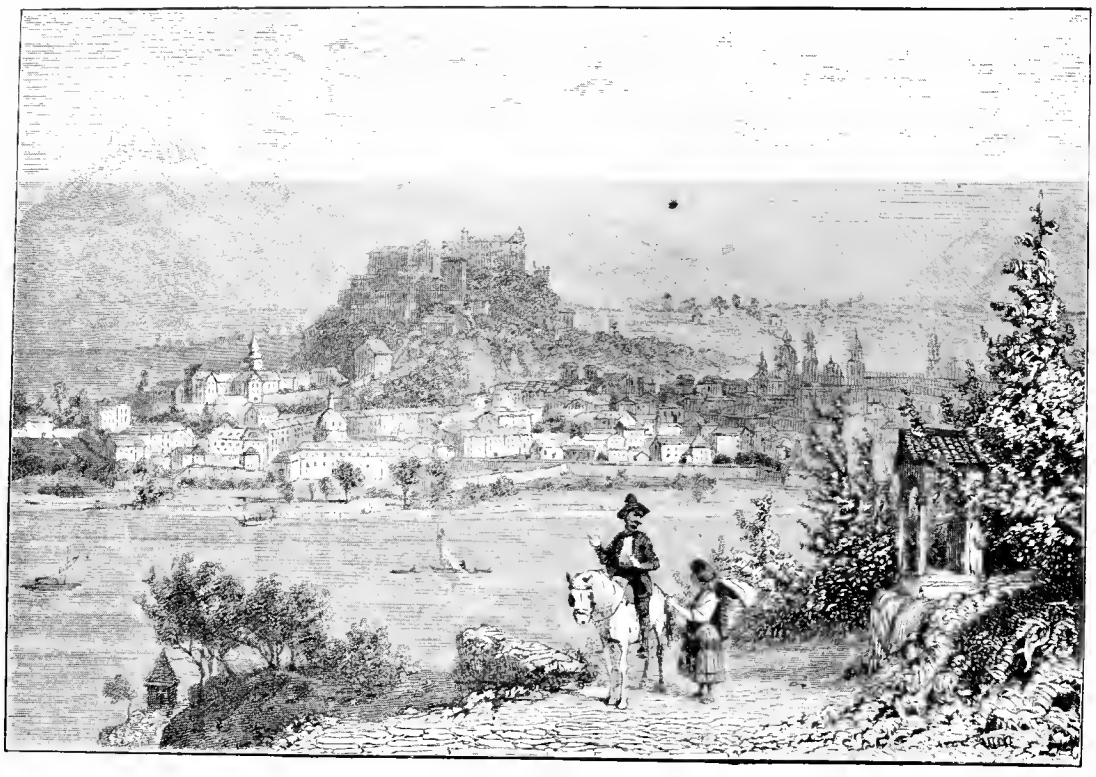
The head of one of the Oxford colleges, Doctor Burton, of Corpus Christi, was one of the trustees, and knew the Wesleys; and it was he who acted as intermediary One objection after another was removed; and at length his reluctance to leave his mother in her old age was overcome by the hearty approval with which she consented to the separation. "Had I twenty sons," said the devoted old lady, "I should rejoice they were all so employed, though I should never see them more."

That John Wesley mistook the peculiar nature of the vexations that were in store for him is certain. In common with others of his century he fondly dreamed of an uncorrupted savage, living in a state of nature and ready as an innocent child to reeeive instruction. Nor was he likely to be exposed to fewer spiritual trials among the colonists than

GENERAL OGLETHORPE.

if he had succeeded to the harassing parochial duties at Epworth. William Law was one of those whose advice he sought before making his final decision.

At this period of his life Charles Wesley showed a singular aversion to taking holy orders; nor was it without much persuasion that he finally consented to throw in his lot with his brother. The post he accepted was a secular one, that of private secretary to Oglethorpe. At this time the title "General" hardly belonged to Oglethorpe, but it is convenient so to designate him. He received a full com-



SALZBURG.

mission as lieutenant-general about ten years later.

This remarkable man, whose name bulks so largely in the philanthropic enterprises of the time, has been immortalized by Pope in one of his epistles:

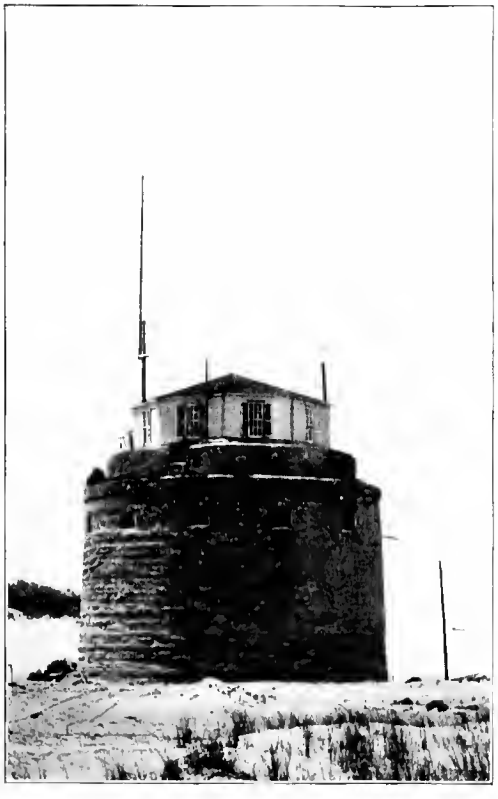
> One driven by strong benevolence of soul,
> Shall fly, like Oglethorpe, from pole to pole.

In the year 1735 he was in the prime of life, and reckoned one of the handsomest men in England. Born in 1689, of an ancient English family, which traced itself back to pre-Conquest days, he served, when quite a lad, under Marlborough in Flanders. Through the deaths of two elder brothers he succeeded to one of the finest estates in England, and when he entered Parliament in 1722 he was a personage of considerable standing in the nation. For the next thirty-two years he continued to represent the same constituency and to advocate High Tory principles. As the great Whig minister, Sir Robert Walpole, was firmly intrenched in office, Oglethorpe, belonging to the opposition, was out in the cold. He was, therefore, free to throw all his energies into benevolent schemes.

Bishop Berkeley's abortive attempt to found a settlement in Bermuda, where natives should be trained to evangelize their brother Indians, undoubtedly suggested to Oglethorpe the possibilities of colonization. In 1732 we find him publishing two anonymous tracts, one entitled "An Essay on Plantations," the other, "A New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia." In the latter pamphlet the author advances some arguments which seem to betray his profession. "The wisdom of the Roman state," he remarks, "discharged not only its ungovernable distressed multitude, but also its *emeriti*, its soldiers, which had served long and well in war, into colonies upon

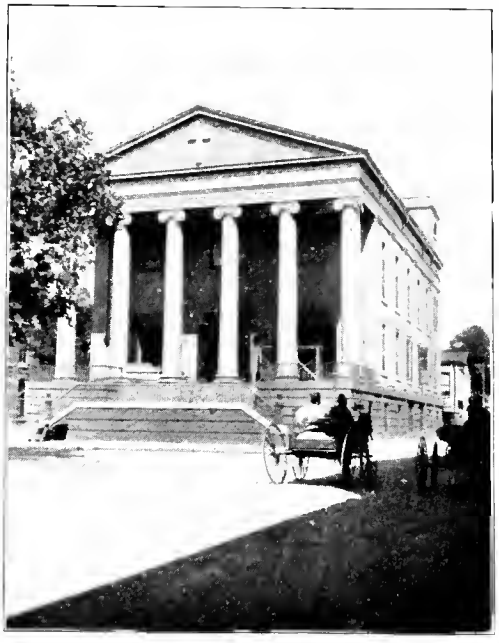
the frontiers of their empire. 'Twas by this policy that they elbowed all the nations round them."

Now the trials of a certain "distressed multitude" among his fellow-countrymen were just then particularly arousing Oglethorpe's sympathies—those who, as debtors, under the severe laws of the realm, were compelled to wear out a miserable existence in prison. The historians of English society, from Fielding to Dickens, have devoted many moving chapters to this feature of the national life. An incident which occurred in the year 1729 brought the matter home to the good man. A friend of his named Castell, an amiable scholar who had published a work on "The Villas of the Ancients," was imprisoned for debt; and being unwilling to satisfy the exorbitant demands of the harpy who was then in



"MARTELLO" TOWER ON TYBEE ISLAND.

charge of the Fleet prison, he was deliberately put in the way of infection and died a few days later of small-pox. On inquiry, Oglethorpe discovered that the barbarous treatment meted out to poor Castell was by no means exceptional,



EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SAVANNAH, ON THE SITE OF THE CHURCH IN WHICH JOHN WESLEY PREACHED.

and he forced the subject upon the attention of the House of Commons. A committee of fourteen, with himself as chairman, having been appointed to inquire into the condition of debtors' prisons, brought in three reports, which are still extant and furnish very dismal reading. That the sympathies of the public were aroused to a consideration of these abuses is shown by the insertion in a later edition of Thomson's "Seasons" (*vide* "Winter," ll., 360–390) of an ardent apostrophe, expressive of sympathy with the labors of the committee—"sons of mercy," as the poet calls them:

> O great design! if executed well,
> With patient care, and wisdom-tempered zeal.

In the lines which follow he clamors for the infliction of due punishment upon the "legal monsters" who were making money out of the sufferings and sorrows of the unfortunate, and bleeding them to death.

LIGHT HOUSE, ST. SIMON'S ISLAND.

It is a matter of regret that the guilty persons were allowed to escape with their ill-gotten gains. But Oglethorpe did not suffer his interest in the matter to terminate with the unearthing of the abuses. To provide a home and a career, under new and brighter conditions, for these poor, stranded debtors, became henceforth one of the objects of his life. Meanwhile, another band of hapless sufferers, Protestant refugees from the oppression of a despotic German ecclesiastic, stretched out their hands to England for aid, and found a ready response in his charitable heart.

In the lovely district of the Tyrol there is to be found an historic city which the painter Wilkie has described as "Edinburgh Castle and the Old Town, brought within the cliffs of the Trosachs, and watered by a river like the Tay." This is the city of Salzburg, on the Salza, famous as the birthplace of Mozart, and the burial place of Haydn. Almost simultaneously with the accession of George II. there came to the principality of which Salzburg was the capital a new ruler, who inaugurated an era of persecution. The Thirty Years War in Germany had ended with the complete suppression of Protestantism in Austria and the southern states over which it was suzerain. In quiet nooks, here and there, however, it lingered on; and Salzburg was one of these. The rulers of Salzburg were ecclesiastics, and bore the title of archbishop. This "new broom" archbishop, Count Firmian, determined to uproot the heresy which was contaminating his flock. He put in force all the terrors of the law—fine, confiscation, imprisonment. When the suffering people pleaded the provisions for religious tolerance contained in the treaty of Westphalia, signed eighty years before, he dubbed them rebels, and borrowed Austrian grenadiers to suppress what he was pleased to call a revolt. The matter then became a national one, and Frederick William of Prussia espoused their cause.

Under the provisions of the treaty of Westphalia, peaceful emigration was the best solution of the difficulty. The Prussian king, Frederick the Great's stern old father, as the most powerful Protestant

OLD FORT, FREDERICA, BUILT BY GENERAL OGLETHORPE.

ruler in Germany, insisted upon a fair treatment of the refugees. Count Firmian was about to banish them in the cold wintry weather, without making any provision for their journey; but he was compelled to comply with the dictates of law, justice and humanity, and allow them a daily dole. The story of their sad departure from their homes was told to Goethe at an impressionable time, and is embodied in the sweetest of his verse narratives, "Hermann and Dorothea," the only poem of his early life he cared when old to read:

THE OLD KING RESIDENCE, ST. SIMON'S ISLAND.

> Worthy and sorrowful fugitives, who, with what goods they can carry,
> Leave their own fair land on the further side of the Rhineland.

The main body passed through Frankfort-on-the-Main, journeying eastward; this was Goethe's native town. The Prussian king was ready to welcome the whole of the refugees, over ten thousand in number, but a band of them, conducted by Herr von Reck, a Hanoverian nobleman, and one of the three commissioners appointed by the king to superintend their long march northward, sailed down the Rhine, and took refuge under the British flag. They finally landed on the shores of America, where they settled at Ebenezer in the new colony of Georgia. Many of the refugees were able to visit London on their way, and were hospitably received by sympathizing friends. Collections were taken in many of the churches to aid them in their enterprise; and so much interest was excited that, two years later, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge published the journal of Herr von Reck, their admirable leader.

RUINS OF WESLEY CHURCH, FREDERICA, ST. SIMON'S ISLAND.

None of the settlers who found their way to the colony were superior, in sterling good qualities, to these excellent Salzburgers. George Whitefield regarded them as the cream of the population for industry and uprightness. The orphans home which he afterwards instituted was based upon a similar institution of theirs at Ebenezer. The first Ebenezer, it may be noted, was changed later for what was considered a more eligible site.

The early colonists who came to Geor-

gia were of various nationalities. The happy settlement of the Salzburgers naturally induced other South German Protestants to follow them across the ocean. Notable amongst these were Moravians, a band of whom were to be shipmates of John Wesley. Piedmontese were also brought from Italy, with the view of introducing silk culture. From Spain and Portugal came a number of Jews, whom the trustees were inclined to refuse; but Oglethorpe was heartily in favor of receiving them. A number of Scottish Highlanders, with whom Oglethorpe was in hearty sympathy, through his Jacobite leanings, proved a valuable addition. There was also a Swiss settlement at Purrysburg.

The new colony was meant to serve as a bulwark against the encroachments of Spain, at that time a greatly overrated power; but yet capable of much mischief to the half-organized English communities on the Atlantic sea-board. The organization of the settlement was accordingly semi-military, and it was expected of the colonists that they should serve as a militia on the frontier.

As soon as applicants from the debtors' prisons and elsewhere were accepted, they were formed into squads and drilled by sergeants of the Royal Guards. Grants of land were given on a kind of military tenure, by which only males could inherit. It was also provided, as an essential for the safety of the colony, that negro slavery should not exist; for the Spaniards in Florida had already intrigued with the negroes of South Carolina against their masters. Oglethorpe was also anxious to prohibit, as far as possible, the trade in rum and other distilled liquors. The Indian seemed to him to contain magnificent possibilities, if only this temptation were removed from his path.

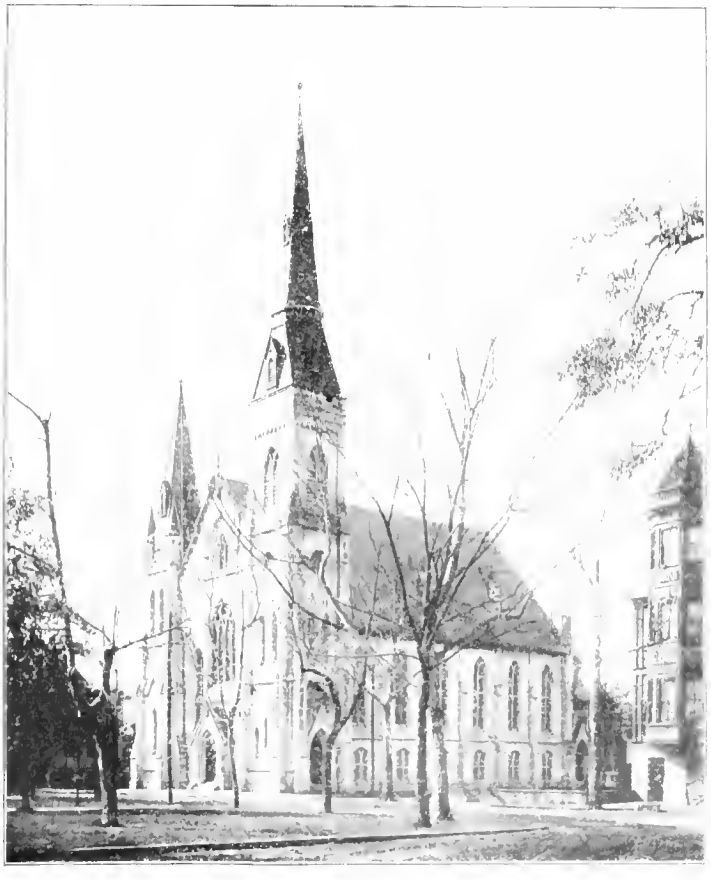
SAVANNAH.

When instituted, the board of trustees was by no means dominated by the personality of Oglethorpe. The names of three other noblemen of standing and character preceded his on the list; but in time he became the moving spirit of the enterprise. He had already visited the colony once, before he took Charles Wesley with him as private secretary. In the early summer of 1734 he arrived at

REV. A. M. WYNN, WHO BUILT WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH.

the Isle of Wight, bringing with him an Indian chief named Tomo-chi-chi, whose advent in London was the sensation of the day. He and his followers were received in state at Kensington Palace, and also went to Lambeth to visit Archbishop Wake. Prince William, afterwards, as Duke of Cumberland, to win fame of a dubious kind at Culloden, but then a good-natured lad of thirteen, presented the young chief, Tooanohowi, with a gold watch, admonishing him to call upon Jesus Christ every morning when he looked upon it; and the promise was given. So deeply was old Mr. Wesley impressed with the account of their visit that he declared he would have offered his own services to General Oglethorpe had he been but ten years younger.

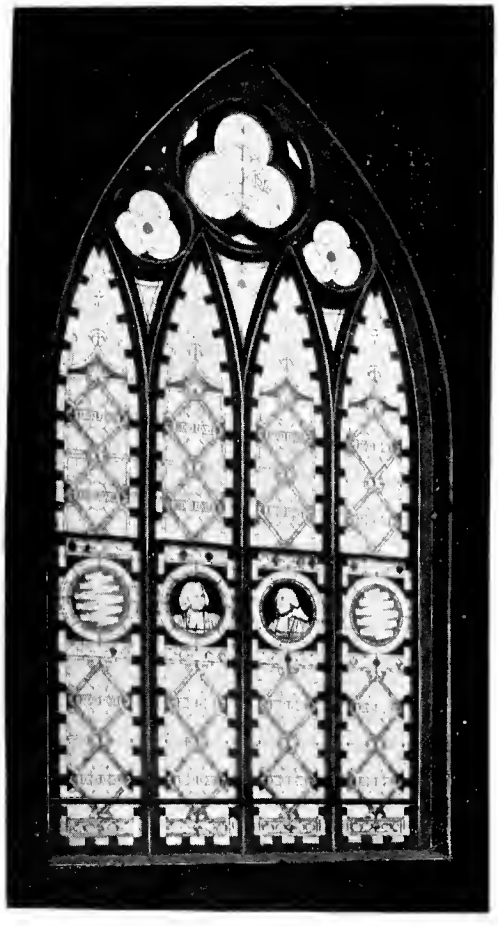
The paramount reason which John Wesley gave as inducing him to set sail for Georgia was that "he might save his soul." The phrase had a certain hard ring in it which was ominous. The unwillingness of Charles to take orders, and his acceptance of a purely secular post—much to John's disgust—were also not altogether favorable symptoms. It is certain that Charles felt himself, almost from the outset, to be a misfit. John was going out at the charges of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, from which he received a yearly stipend of £50. At first he was prepared to refuse this, and live wholly on the income from his fellowship, but his brother Samuel persuaded him to accept the money. Another of the Oxford band joined the brothers—Benjamin Ingham, of Queen's College, who later joined the Moravian brethren, married a titled lady, and became head



WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH, SAVANNAH.

of a religious sect known as Inghamites.

It was in October, 1735, that the "Symond" and the "London Merchant," the two vessels, each of about 220 tons burden, carrying the Wesleys and three hundred other emigrants for Georgia, put out to sea. Among the latter were twenty-six Moravians, whose admirable demeanor made an extraordinary and



MEMORIAL WINDOW TO JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY, IN WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH, SAVANNAH.

lasting impression on the Oxford men. The impulse to converse with them in their native tongue was so strong as to induce John Wesley to begin studying German. He profoundly admired their practical, unassuming piety, and their devotion to church doctrine and discipline. From his first meeting with them he seems to have felt that they were fitted to supply him with a something he still lacked; that they were more "wholly unto God" than even William Law.

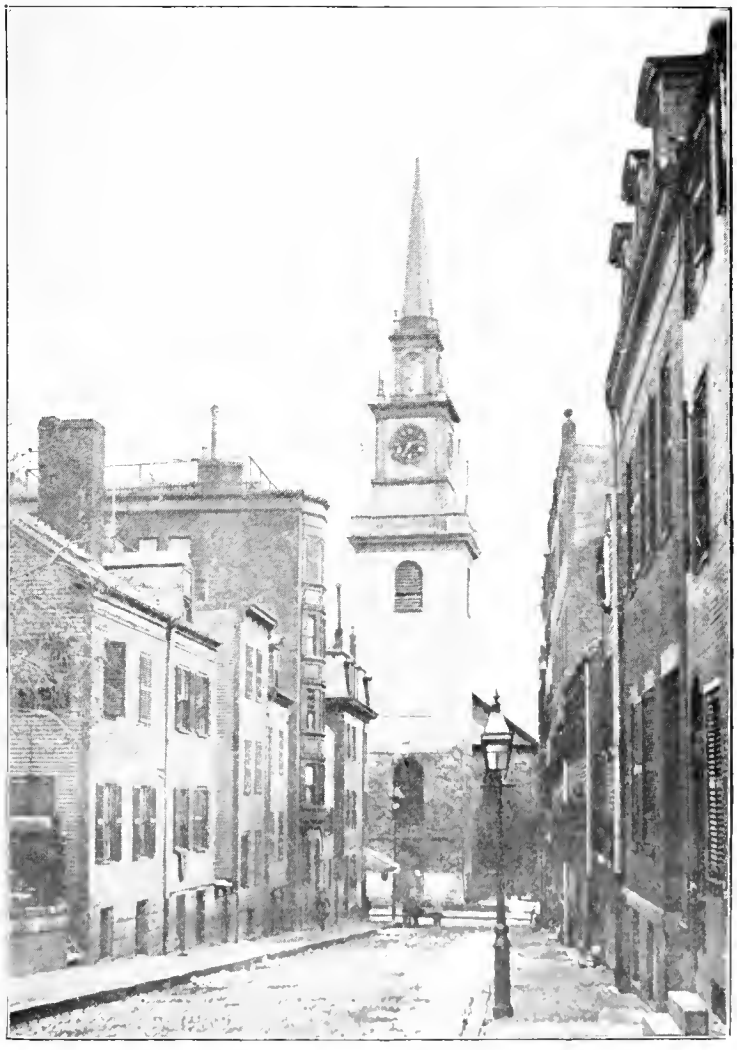
It has been said of Cardinal Newman, by a leading writer of the day, that the whole drift of his life might have been changed had he only been brought into contact with the German mind. The dilemma in which he found himself might then have been solved for him, and the break with his native Evangelicalism might have been avoided. That John Wesley at a certain period of his life presents a striking parallel in many ways to John Henry Newman is undoubted. We find in him that same hankering after an exact reproduction of the faith and ritual of the primitive Christians. He sought to obtain the spiritual power that was undoubtedly theirs through a systematic imitation of their "methods." It was a fear lest this system should be broken into that led him to refuse the possible opening at Epworth. It was the possibility of reproducing these methods in the fresh field of the simple, uncontaminated Indian communities that finally decided him to go out as a "missioner." And yet, no sooner was he on board the vessel which was to carry him to his Indian home than he saw fit to learn German, and began to be molded by German pietism. The record of his Georgian experiences are of value to us, not because of his failure to do the missionary work he intended, but because, by the mysterious dispensations of Providence, he was brought into immediate personal contact with that very life which he needed for his final development. The John Wesley who went out to Georgia was still in a chrysalis condition; he had yet to learn how to expand his wings. It is not true that his Georgian career was the utter failure it has been represented in many treatises. It is, however, true that it was hampered by the uncertain condition

of will which is apt to precede a great spiritual change.

John Wesley was not at his best during this period. He felt away down in his heart that, with all his learning and "methods," these simple Germans possessed a life that was superior in value to all his possessions. Their secret, added to his superb qualities and attainments, was eventually to make him the apostle of the age. But just then he was fettered by the priggish limitations of the conscientious, unpractical, over-exacting Oxford don, who is certain, sooner or later, if placed in a democratic community, to raise a hornet's nest about him.

On the fourteenth of February, 1736, the "Symond," on board of which was John Wesley, dropped anchor under Tybee, one of that long chain of islands which gives the coast of Georgia so characteristic an aspect. The time of the year was auspicious. From November until March the peculiar geographical situation of these islands provides them with an ideal climate, bracing and salubrious. There came to welcome them the chief Tomo-chi-chi in person, with his wife, and the young chief to whom Prince William had given the watch. But Providence had ordained that Wesley's work was not to be among these Indians, to whom he was specially sent.

From Tybee island the immigrants could catch a glimpse of the new city of Savannah, which had already become quite a busy settlement. Oglethorpe was highly pleased to find that no fewer than two hundred houses were now built, containing thrice as many inhabitants. He it was who, three years before, had chosen the site. In a letter of his dated February 10, 1733, there appears a pleasant account of the attractions it offered:



CHURCH IN BOSTON WHERE CHARLES WESLEY PREACHED.

"I fixed upon a healthy situation about ten miles from the sea. The river here forms a half moon, and is pretty wide, the water fresh, and from the quay of the town you see its whole course to the sea, with the island of Tybee, which forms the mouth of the river; and the other way you see the river for

about six miles up into the country."

The departure of a Mr. Quincy, who had been serving as clergyman in Savannah, made it necessary for John Wesley to undertake pastoral duties forthwith. There accompanied him thither a Mr.

EBENEZER, THE SALZBURG SETTLEMENT.

Charles Delamotte, a pious young Londoner, of good family, who had thrown in his lot with the expedition—"having a mind to leave the world and give himself up entirely to God."

On Sunday, March 7, he entered upon his ministry at Savannah by preaching from the epistle for the day, which happened to be the thirteenth of First Corinthians, the glorious hymn of Christian love.

Thereafter he set himself, with his usual thoroughness, to the task of instituting a complete system of church ordinances. He held two daily services, and administered the communion weekly; he insisted upon the proper observance of Sunday; he insisted upon immersion in the baptism of infants; and showed himself in every way a thorough high churchman. During the hot hours of the day, when the people remained indoors, their indefatigable pastor made a house-to-house visitation. The parochial school engaged his attention. Finding that the children from wealthier homes jeered at those who came barefooted, he himself discarded footwear that he might check this arrogant spirit of wealth. A society was formed which met three times a week for the purposes of devotion. Fine dress he discouraged in every way, and he succeeded in cultivating a taste for simple clothing. A year after his arrival all was going well; and two months later we find him writing to a friend in England in the following happy and hopeful strain: "All in Georgia have heard the word of God, and some have believed and begun to run well. A few steps have been taken toward publishing the glad tidings both to the African and American heathens. Many children have learned how they ought to be useful to their neighbor. And those whom it most concerns have an opportunity of knowing the state of their infant colony and laying a firmer foundation of peace and happiness for many generations."

Meanwhile Charles Wesley had gone south with Oglethorpe to St. Simon's island, at the mouth of the Altamaha, where the governor was busy with the founding of a stronghold that should be a bulwark against Spanish encroachments from the south. On the nineteenth of the very month that the Wesleys landed, he marked out a fort with four bastions, and afterward superintended the workmen who were engaged in digging the ditch and raising the rampart. The name of Frederica was given to the settlement, in honor of Frederick,

Prince of Wales, who, dying before his father, never came to the throne, and is known to history as George III.'s father. Oglethorpe's admirable defense of the place, some four years later, is the brightest episode in his career.

The emigrants who had arrived with him, and had been left on Tybee island, were conveyed in boats to their new home early in March. In a few years Frederica became a flourishing settlement, having a population of one thousand, including the soldiers. Of this settlement Charles Wesley, now in holy orders, had the spiritual charge. But he failed to make a success of his work. Benjamin Ingham was with him, a man of sincere piety, but of doubtful judgment. Even before the close of the first month he had come to loggerheads with the people, and was finding his duties as secretary an intolerable burden. His congregation had shrunk to "two Presbyterians and a Papist," and the physical discomforts of the place nearly drove him wild. Nor was he pleased with the manner in which Oglethorpe treated him. The good man, who had to attend to everybody's claims all over the colony, and in addition was providing against threatened attacks from without, grew impatient with the incessant complaints made against Charles Wesley, who seemed to be always in hot water. Moreover, in the ecclesiastical attempts of the latter to set everything on a basis of thorough propriety, there was present a distinct element of insubordination to civil authority which was beginning to show disintegrating effects in the attitude of the community at large. A thorough disciplinarian, Oglethorpe keenly resented the injudicious meddling; and he visited his wrath on his secretary in some acts of petty tyranny for which he afterward expressed regret. In the beginning of April John Wesley came to Frederica, and preached in the new store-house. He had hoped to set matters right by his presence, but was quite unsuccessful. We can picture the

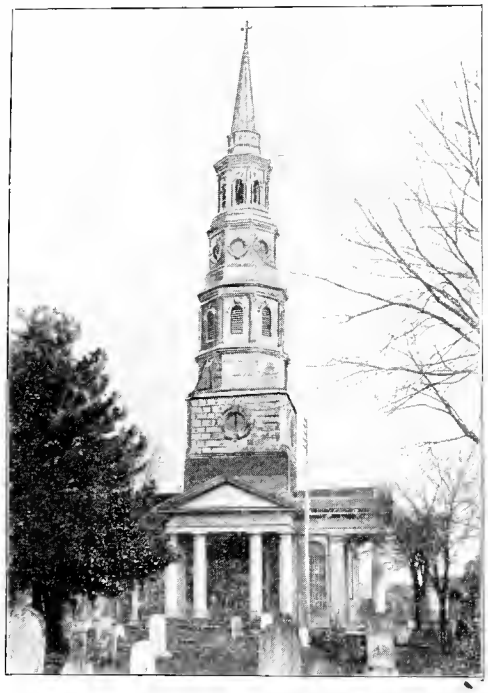
JOHN WESLEY AND MR. CAUSTON.

two brothers, sitting together under the

Broad oak, stretching forth its leafy arms,

which is still pointed out on the island as having afforded them shelter, and is visible to tourists on board the vessels which pass through the channel. Under

it they no doubt discussed the worries and trials of colonial life. John Wesley decided to exchange places for a time with his brother; and Charles seems to



ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, STANDING ON THE SITE OF THE OLD CHURCH IN WHICH THE WESLEYS PREACHED.

have been much happier at Savannah. But he had determined that Georgia was no place for him; and on the twenty-sixth of July, at noon, he took his final leave of Savannah, surprised that he "felt no more joy in leaving such a scene of sorrows." In the friendly parting with Oglethorpe, the latter advised him to take a wife, as it would be likely to increase his usefulness. Their friendship was resumed when they met again in the old country [1]

Charles returned by way of Charleston, and was accompanied so far on his journey by his brother John. The brothers came near losing their lives in a storm on the way thither, as they crossed the neck of St. Helen's Sound. On the Sunday following their arrival, which was the first day of August, John preached in the brick church at Charleston—plastered over to resemble stone—and was much pleased with the size of the congregation and their demeanor; more so than on his next visit. He had an interesting conversation after the service with a young negress, who seemed densely ignorant of spiritual matters. A fortnight later he was back at Frederica, in surroundings by no means agreeable to him.

Meanwhile Charles, who had sailed for England in a homeward-bound vessel, the "London Galley," found himself unexpectedly on American soil. The vessel proved quite unseaworthy, and its captain was a worthless drunkard. It had to turn about and put into Boston for repairs, and there it remained for over a month. During his stay on land Charles Wesley was in poor health, and at one time death seemed imminent; but he managed to struggle through. He was

[1] It may be well to add here a word of caution respecting stories that are afloat descriptive of the life of the Wesleys in Georgia. A short time ago there appeared in the columns of a well-known illustrated monthly published in New York, an article entitled "An Island on the Georgia Coast," by John R. Van Wormer. The two closing pages of this description are taken up with a detailed account of "Lady Oglethorpe's" experiences in Georgia in the year 1734. A letter, said to have been written by her to her father-in-law, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, is quoted at length and gives an account of the hospitable reception at Savannah of the governor and principal citizens of Charleston. "General Oglethorpe made them welcome with an abundance of rum made by the Puritans in that part of America called New England. Many of the gentlemen were nearly overcome with the rum punch. As Mr. Wesley drank no punch, they insisted he should sing, and he commenced one of his hymns which is a favorite with us

"'Depth of mercy, can there be
Mercy still reserved for me?'

This offended a Mr. Moultrie who was present, and whose almost maudlin attentions to his sweetheart, a Miss Mercy Pickens, had been conspicuous. 'Mercy,' he blurted out, 'is not reserved for you or any of your kind!'"

In respect to the above, it may be remarked that Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe died in the year 1702; that Mr. James Oglethorpe was still a bachelor at the time referred to, and remained such until the year 1744; that he prohibited the introduction of rum into the colony; and that the reference to Mr. (Charles) Wesley is on the face of it, absurd. He was not yet in the colony, nor had he written the hymn. The story is a whole-cloth fabrication, evidently designed to give a quasi-realistic setting to the "mercy" quibble. Such fabrications, where incidents are invented to give a phrase an anecdotal setting, are only too common in our journalistic literature.

well cared for by good physicians, and was hospitably entertained by clergymen and other Christian people. He preached in a church which is still standing—Christ Church on Salem street—from the text, "He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing the sheaves with him" (Ps. cxxvi., 6). He is also said to have preached in King's Chapel. It is more than doubtful whether he ever occupied the pulpit of the remaining Episcopal place of worship, Trinity Church. Though still far from established in health, he insisted on leaving by the "London Galley," which was to sail on St. Crispin's day. When his friends saw that he was determined to return, they intrusted him with important London dispatches bearing on affairs in the colony. In the beginning of December he arrived safely in London, after a rough and perilous six weeks' voyage.

Before the close of this year Oglethorpe was also on his way to England, having left John Wesley and his two associates, Ingham and Delamotte, at Savannah. In February Ingham returned home, and his departure left Wesley more than ever under the influence of his German friends. A few months later he made his long-intended visit to Ebenezer, in company with one of the pastors there, a Mr. Spangenberg, for whom he cherished a high respect. It was this same Spangenberg with whom he had a significant interview soon after landing at Tybee island. Wesley, attracted by his appearance and conversation, had asked for his advice in beginning missionary work. "My brother," replied the straightforward German, "I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are the child of God?" Wesley was somewhat nonplussed. Spangenberg pressed the matter: "Do you know Jesus Christ?" "I know He is the Savior of the world," was the reply. "True," said the German; "but do you know He has saved you?" "I hope," answered Wesley somewhat feebly, "that He has died to save me." The words of Spangenberg seem to have

MR. WESLEY TALKING TO A NEGRESS.

BETHESDA, NEAR SAVANNAH—THE WHITEFIELD ORPHANAGE.

made a distinct impression on his mind.

In the account which Wesley gives in his journal of this inland excursion, there occurs a passage respecting the Indians which reveals a distinct attitude of disillusionment. He had evidently come to see that the roseate picture he had formed of the guileless and receptive savage was altogether "fancy-bred." During his stay at Savannah his desire to be a missionary among them gradually died down; and the attempts which he made to break the bonds which tied him to life in a civilized community were evidently but half-hearted.

He was not disappointed in the aspect of New Ebenezer. The industry of the people and the trimness of the settlement were a delightful surprise to him. Only a year had elapsed since their removal from the original Ebenezer, but they had effected wonders in the interval. During his stay at Ebenezer Wesley opened his heart to Spangenberg on a matter which was weighing heavily upon his mind; and he has placed on record his approval of the good pastor's advice. On his return to Savannah the affair was to assume a very serious aspect, and to bring to an abrupt termination his career in the settlement.

The chief man at Savannah was a certain Thomas Causton, who began his career as the company's store-keeper, and was successful in securing the good-will of Oglethorpe. This led to rapid and undeserved advancement, for some years later he was detected in a course of fraudulent dealing and was summarily cashiered. At this time he had in his household his niece, an attractive young lady, named Sophia Christina Hopkey, or Hopkins, who showed herself a devoted attendant at church services, and most receptive to the ministrations of the handsome young pastor. Desirous of learning French, she found in him an excellent teacher. Wesley's London friend, Delamotte, however, who regarded Miss Sophia as sly and designing, and doubted the sincerity of her professions, warned John Wesley against her. Wesley seems to have discussed the matter of her sincerity—or her fitness to be a clergyman's wife—with the excellent Moravians. Their advice happening to coincide with Delamotte's, the result was a distinct coolness in his manner toward the young lady. She resented the change, and, understanding its significance, accepted the advances of a less scrupulous suitor named Wilkinson, a man by no means conspicuous for piety. As her spiritual adviser, Wesley still continued to visit Mrs. Wilkinson. At length, believing he perceived in the lady's conduct distinct marks of spiritual degeneracy, he deemed it his duty to repel her from holy communion. This summary and injudicious step was naturally interpreted in an unpleasant way. The husband and uncle of the lady sued him in the civil court for defamation of character; and, in the squabble which followed, the people took part against Wesley. Holding, as he did, peculiar views respecting the limited jurisdiction possessed

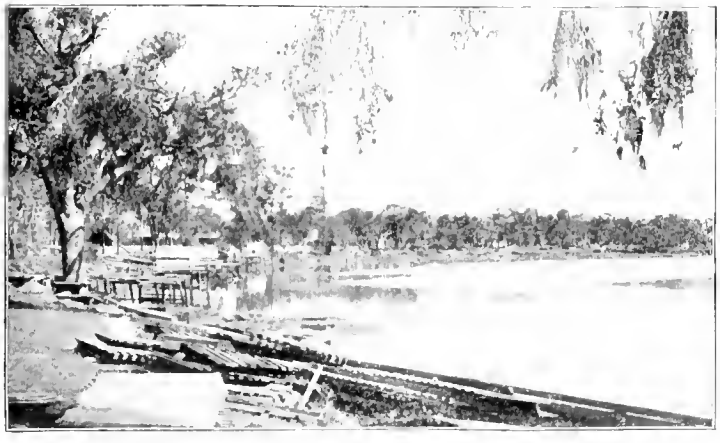
by civil courts over clergymen, Wesley refused to enter into the necessary recognizances, and a warrant for his arrest was accordingly issued. To avoid further trouble, he determined to fly, like Paul from Damascus.

He left the place secretly by night, in the company of a bankrupt constable, a ne'er-do-well wife-beater named Gough, and a defaulting barber. They rowed up the river in a boat to the Swiss settlement at Purrysburg, and proceeded thence on foot to Beaufort; but, misdirected by an old man, they lost their way, wandered about in a swamp, and had no food for a whole day but a piece of stale gingerbread. Finally they arrived at Beaufort, where Delamotte joined them, and thence took boat to Charleston. Here Wesley preached once again "to this careless people," and four days later took leave of America, embarking on board the "Samuel," Captain Percy

On the voyage, which was a stormy and unpleasant one, he devoted himself to ministering to the spiritual wants of the passengers and crew In the solitude of his cabin he gave himself up to deep heart-searching. He felt that the want of success which had attended his work in America was due to some lack of real devotion in himself. As he expressed it very tersely in a note to one of the entries in his journal: "I had even then the faith of a *servant*, though not that of a *son*."

Meanwhile George Whitefield, to whom he had sent a pressing invitation to join him in Georgia, had embarked on his journey The time of separation had been for the young Oxford servitor a wonderful period of spiritual development. Though hardly twenty-one he had been admitted to holy orders by Doctor Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, who was greatly impressed by his intense devotion and evident call to the duties of the pastorate. His earnestness and eloquence were already beginning to attract crowds wherever and whenever he preached.

The two vessels, as it happened, the one outward bound, bearing Whitefield all aglow with missionary enthusiasm, the other about to enter port, carrying the disappointed Wesley, met at the mouth of the Thames. The question whether Whitefield should proceed or return weighed heavily on the mind of the older man, who seems to have thought the decision rested with him. At length, having cast lots—a biblical practice he shared with the Moravians—he sent word to Whitefield that he had better return. But Whitefield, who did not highly esteem this method of coming to a practical decision, resolved to continue on his voyage. In due time he landed at Savannah, a place which he was destined to visit frequently during his busy life. His attitude there did not ingratiate him with Oglethorpe. He took part with the colonists in their grievances against the trustees, whose restrictions upon the importation of rum and slaves he characterizes in an extant document as "quite impracticable in so hot



ISLE OF HOPE.

a country." He disapproved also of the peculiar military tenure on which the land was held. His attitude in respect to some of these questions is to be regretted; it was certainly far less statesmanlike than Oglethorpe's. A visit to the settlement of the Salzburgers at Ebenezer delighted him highly. He conceived the idea of reproducing their orphans' home at Savannah; and this led to the foundation of Bethesda, which still remains as a witness to his zeal for humanity. Visitors to the Isle of Hope, one of the pleasantest suburban resorts of Savannah, pass the orphanage on their way, both being reached by a beautiful shell road which leads seaward from the city. It is well for his reputation that Whitefield left behind him this memorial of his stay in Georgia, for in other respects he does not appear to have taken the interest in the young colony which was to be expected of one whose duties called him to that special field. Indeed, he seems to have been more at home in the northern colonies.

CHAPTER V

WESLEY AND THE HERRNHUTERS.

WITH John Wesley's return to his native land, his character strengthened and deepened by the unpleasant experiences through which he had passed, begins the great heroic chapter of his life. Even before the remarkable spiritual change which came over him in the summer of 1738, he evidently felt himself called to be a home missionary in the great parish of England. It was clear to him that something must be done to rouse the people of the kingdom from the religious apathy into which they had fallen; and that the existing religious organization was quite unequal to the task. His journey across the ocean had widened his horizon and his sympathies, and had at the same time dissolved his overfondness for the quiet life at Oxford, a life altogether too narrow for the possibilities of so great a spirit.

It is usual, in discussions of church affairs in England in the eighteenth century, to antedate by a good many years the religious torpor which undoubtedly settled upon the nation. Our survey of the reign of Queen Anne showed a condition of affairs which was by no means unpromising. There seemed to be little, if any, reason why the Church should not grow with the nation's growth, and adapt herself to the nation's needs. But, with the accession of the Hanoverian Georges, unfavorable symptoms were quickly developed. Many of the most spiritually-minded prelates and curates of the Church were unable to swear allegiance to the new sovereign, and accordingly gave up their benefices. The secession, unfortunately resulted in no new organization having practical and expansive religious aims. The individual Nonjurors, as they were called, were gradually lost sight of, and many of them died in obscurity and abject poverty, leaving no successors behind them. Meanwhile the ecclesiastics who took their places were, in most cases at least, cold politicians or equally cold scholars, without any call to the cure of souls; men, for instance, who failed to see any harm in the curse of absenteeism. Interest in the two societies, one for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the other for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, fell off in a surprising manner, as the funds of these societies showed. The project of founding colonial bishoprics, almost complete before Queen Anne's death, was allowed to drop. Three years after George I.'s succession, Convocation, which had absorbed so much of the energies of the elder Wesley, was dissolved, and met no more for a hundred and fifty years. To the student of this period the influence of one man appears conspicuous, as accentuating the prevalent tendency to religious apathy. This man was the premier, Sir Robert Walpole, who persistently directed all his efforts to the suppression of religious enthusiasm and the secularization of the Church. His connection with the Sacheverell trial in Queen Anne's reign had so much impressed him with the danger to a cabinet of exciting religious animosities, that he vowed he should all his life keep clear of such ticklish questions. Wherever an earnest Christian man like Bishop Berkeley had a favorite scheme for promoting religion, Sir Robert, holding the reins of power, used effective means to render the scheme abortive. Under Sir Robert the Church became more and more a mere depart-

ment of state, offering a career to the younger sons of well-to-do families. Moreover, the Church was divided within

COUNT ZINZENDORF.

itself. The worldly prelates who were placed in power by the Whig ministry, largely because of their political leanings or pliancy, were scorned and disliked by the Tory clergy, who were distinctly in the majority. During the reigns of the first two Georges, Oxford remained a hot-bed of disaffection, utterly out of sympathy with the policy that was guiding the affairs of the Church. A forward or expansive policy is impossible under such conditions.

After the longest period of parliamentary leadership on record, Walpole was at the time of Wesley's return from Georgia losing his hold upon the reins of power. In the very year that Charles Wesley returned to England, Walpole's stanch friend and supporter, Queen Caroline, passed away This able woman had, in respect to Church matters, used her influence to secure the appointment to the episcopal bench of learned and worthy clergymen. She herself was fond of religious controversy; and it is known that Butler's famous "Analogy of Religion," published the year before her death, owes its origin to theological discussions which took place in the royal drawing-rooms. The fierce controversies with Deists and infidels, in which eager churchmen of the time took so prominent a part, were of considerable service to the cause of religion, in establishing the reasonableness of Christianity. But this influence was limited to the sphere of speculation, and hardly extended to the infinitely more important field of conduct. The community at large, the thoughtless multitude, were but little benefited.

Walpole's day was really over when good Queen Caroline died. The excellent defensive work done by her *protégé*, Joseph Butler, and others like him, in repelling the attacks of a religious skepticism which would have eaten into the heart of the nation's morality, required the complementary aid of a vigorous offensive movement. Nor must William Law's preparatory contribution to the great revival movement be ignored. He combined the persuasive power of a devoted life with a faculty of direct and stirring appeal to the intellect; and his works, which were read far and wide, helped to produce that dynamic condition which assured the wonderful result we are about to consider.

The year following his return from Georgia was a period of continued ill-health for Charles Wesley, and once and again he almost succumbed to pleurisy, He did not immediately give up his intention of returning to Georgia, and might possibly have sailed, had his health permitted; although his mother and other friends were strongly opposed to such a step. He was now senior master of his college, and a person of some importance, being chosen on one

occasion to present a petition to King George from the university.

He had not been two months at home before he came into intimate personal relations with two men who were destined to exercise a commanding influence upon his brother. The first of these was Nikolaus Ludwig, Count of Zinzendorf, a Saxon nobleman of high character and singular religious ardor, who came to visit England as representative of the Moravian Brethren, with a view to securing the recognition and aid of the Church of England. Born in the last year of the previous century, he was at this time entering upon his prime. He was the central figure in the Pietistic movement which was a prominent factor in German civilization during the first half of last century

Pietism may be defined as a revolt against the attempt to place all religious facts on a purely intellectual basis. The tendency of the century which followed the Stuart Restoration was, alike in England and on the continent, toward an optimistic deism and a purely rational theology In Germany occurred the first revolt against the school of thinkers.

While the national spirit of England was preserved intact after the Restoration, although French literature exercised an unfavorable moral effect upon society, in Germany the nobility deliberately denationalized themselves. The innumerable petty courts of the German princelings became slavish imitations of the court at Versailles. The native language was generally neglected by society, and French literature alone was admired and read. A low sensual morality was thus directly inculcated, and it poisoned the moral tone of the upper classes in Germany. But among the middle and lower classes, who clung to the old language and the old ways, there arose a strong counter-current of pious mysticism. The fount from which they drew was the devotional literature of English Protestantism. Nothing indeed is more delightful to an observer of God's methods in history than the mutual helpfulness to each other of English and German religious life and thought. Now it is England which gives; and now it is Germany which returns the gift with interest.

The Father of Pietism, as this religious reaction was called, was Philipp Jakob Spener, born in Upper Alsace in the year 1635. Twenty-eight years later we find him pastor in Strassburg and lecturer in the university on philology and history. Three years later he removed to Frankfort, where he instituted his *collegia pietatis* (devotional societies), which brought him into collision with the orthodox clergy. Appointed preacher, twenty years later, to the electoral court of Saxony at Dresden, he lost favor by reproving the elector privately for his vices. In 1695 he was invited to Berlin,

PETER BOEHLER.

where he died ten years later. He was a man of a very high type, free from the eccentricities which were falsely at-

ROTTERDAM.

tributed to him, and which actually developed themselves in some of his followers.

At the Court of the Elector of Saxony was a Count von Zinzendorf, who came under the influence of Spener. When his son Nikolaus was born, in the year 1700, he asked the pastor to stand godfather. The boy was still quite young when the count died, but his maternal grandmother, Frau von Gersdorf, a deeply pious woman, undertook the task of his education, and found in her grandson a willing pupil. His early enthusiasm for the Savior showed itself in odd ways. As soon as he could write, he would address letters to the Lord Jesus, and throw them out of the window, hoping that they would reach their destination.

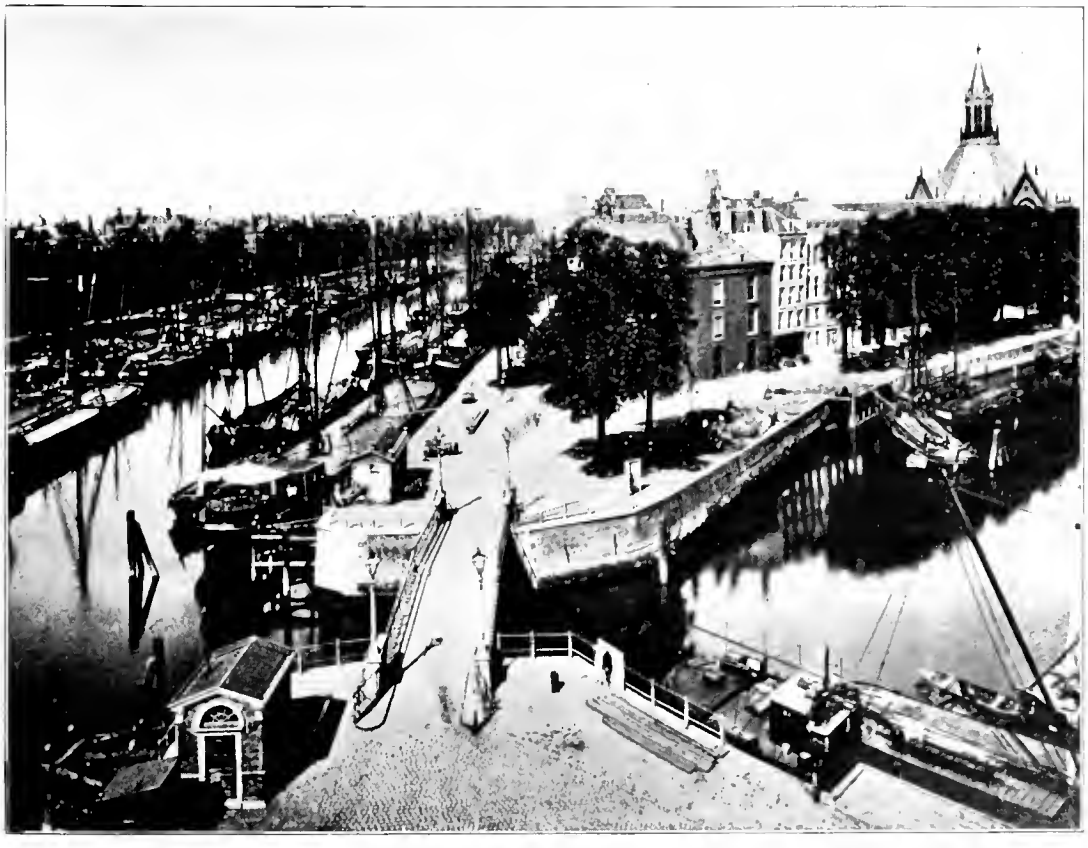
At the age of ten he was sent to the pædagogium at Halle, to be under the influence of Herr August Hermann Francke, a leader among the Pietists. A society was formed at the school known as the "Order of the Grain of Mustard-Seed." At this time the University of Halle was hardly twenty years old. The uncle of Nikolaus, suspicious of the purely Pietistic influences at Halle, and anxious that he should see more of the world, sent him to study law at the older and more powerful University of Wittenberg, where rationalists and scoffers abounded. The experience merely deepened the lad's earlier convictions. After two years at Wittenberg he spent another two years in travel, and saw a good deal of men and things, under the most favorable auspices.

It was in his twenty-first year, and just before his marriage to the Countess Erdmuth Dorothea Reuss, that Zinzendorf was brought into relationship with emigrant Protestants from Bohemia and Moravia, with whom his name was henceforth to be indissolubly associated.

To understand the strangely interest-

ing history of these United Brethren, as they called themselves, we must go back to the days of John Huss. Here again, we meet with an English influence and association in Wycliffe, "the morning-star of the Reformation," whose opinions were carried to Bohemia by members of the retinue of Queen Anne, consort of Richard II. John Huss suffered and died for the opinions Wycliffe had expounded. At his death his followers split into two sections. The more earnest of his followers, half a century after his death, gathered at Kunewald, near Senftenberg, where they founded a community which rejected oaths, the military profession, official titles, and all that savored of the world. At this time they were known as Brethren of Chelcic, after Peter Chelcicky, a Bohemian. Their history thenceforth becomes somewhat obscure, but they continued to have a separate organization under a single bishop as head. In the Counter-Reformation, as it is termed, when the Jesuits recovered so much territory for the Catholic Church, Protestantism was virtually wiped out in Bohemia and Moravia. By the year 1627 it may be said to have ceased to exist. The few devoted adherents of the cause who were left, having no earthly Zion of their own, thereupon devoted themselves explicitly to the cause of missionary work wherever an opening should occur. They made many converts in Poland, and the head of the organization was located there at the time Zinzendorf first met with them.

A shrewd Moravian carpenter, named Christian David, who had crossed the frontier into Saxony, was the first to request the count's sympathy and assistance for himself and a few other refugees. The count s major-domo happened to be a man who took a strong interest in these persecuted people, and with his



CANAL VIEW, ROTTERDAM

master's permission he allotted to David and his friends a piece of ground at Bertholdsdorf, near Zittau and close to the Bohemian frontier. It was a somewhat unattractive site near a hill known as Hutberg, or "Protection" Hill. When some were complaining of the lack of conveniences, their leader, Christian David, striking his ax into one of the trees, burst forth with a quotation from the Eighty-fourth Psalm: "Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King, and my God."

ROYAL PALACE, AMSTERDAM.

This served as a signal for commencing the work of building, and put a final end to all hesitation.

The kindly grandmother of the count, Frau von Gersdorf, who lived near by, sent them a cow, and things progressed so favorably that by the first week in October, 1722, they had completed a habitable dwelling. The name the count would have preferred for the settlement was Bethel; but that which was eventually decided upon was Herrnhut, or "The Lord's Protection." At the close of the year, when the count returned with his bride, he was surprised and delighted to notice the progress made. He stopped to bid the Moravians welcome and, kneeling down on the road with them, invoked a blessing on the undertaking. Shortly afterward he entered a new mansion that had been built for him at Bertholdsdorf.

For the next half-a-dozen years the count was divided between his public duties at Dresden, where he held an office of state, and the care of the growing settlement, which was fast becoming a center of religious influence. A companion of his school-days, Baron Frederic de Watteville, visited the settlement; and later Fraülein von Zetzschwitz, whom the baron was, in course of time, to marry. She brought some girls with her, who were the nucleus of a famous institution, afterward known as the Economy of Girls. The continuous accessions it received from Moravia caused the Jesuits at Olmütz to throw difficulties in the way of further emigration. A visit of Zinzendorf helped to establish a satisfactory agreement by which Protestants who chose to emigrate should not be molested.

The difficulties that usually arise in a religious settlement now began to present themselves. Care had been taken to admit into the community only those likely to be congenial in creed and character, but this precaution did not prevent the inevitable clash of religious faction. The arrival of several enthusiastic young men from Moravia, among whom was the David Nitschmann whom Wesley afterward met at Savannah, precipitated the crisis. They were jealous for retaining the old economy that had existed in Moravia; while Zinzendorf favored a complete junction with the Lutheran Church, of which he was a de-

voted adherent. The matter was finally referred to a decision by lot. A child of four years old was chosen to draw the lot; and it was favorable to the conservative party among the Brethren. Church historians are not quite agreed as to the significance of this step, taken in 1727. Some acquiesce in the contention of the Brethren, that it was a logical and legitimate continuation of the church life which reached back into the early ages of Christianity; others, more censorious, deem it the creation of a new organization, with an appeal to the past that was spurious. They consider the movement to have been, in essence, a development of German Pietism. Wesley's journal is favorable to this view.

IN AMSTERDAM.

However that may be, the decision, loyally acquiesced in, healed the differences which threatened to disturb the welfare of the community. The count proved himself to be a prudent and magnanimous head. But difficulties, aggravated by both Jesuits and Lutherans, arose with the government, and he escaped the confiscation of his estates only by having them privately conveyed to his wife, and for a time had to reside abroad.

THE BOURSE, AMSTERDAM.

At first the position of Zinzendorf in the community was that of catechist, under an excellent pastor, Rothe, whom he had secured for the post. With the establishing of the new organization he became "Guardian" or "Trustee." The first bishop to be appointed was one of the Nitschmann brothers, who went to Berlin to be consecrated by Jablonsky, chaplain to the King of Prussia, and one of the dispersed United Brethren. The act received the sanction of Sitkovius, who was senior of the Polish Brethren, and recognized as Primarius.

Zinzendorf had meanwhile decided to enter into holy orders. Under the assumed name of De Freydek he spent some time at Stralsund, in Prussia, studying theology, and later received holy orders at Tübingen. In the year 1736 he was consecrated Moravian Bishop at Berlin. An immediate result of this step was a visit to England, where he hoped to establish close fraternal relations with the national church. It was while on this mission that he met with Charles Wesley.

Meanwhile the Herrnhuters, as people now began to call them, had been spreading hither and thither over the continent, disseminating their opinions and forming religious societies. The leaven was working in many centers. An interesting series of references to the Herrnhuter community, descriptive of the

influence exercised on contemporaries by their hymns, is to be found in the sixth book of Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship:" "I looked upon the count," says the *Fair Saint* who therein makes her *Confession*, "and his followers as very heterodox; and so the Ebersdorf hymn-book, which my friend had pressed on me, lay unread. However, in this total destitution of external excitements for my soul I opened the hymn-book, as it were, by chance, and found in it, to my astonishment, some songs which actually, though in a fantastic form, appeared to shadow what I felt. The originality and simplicity of their expression drew me on. It seemed to be peculiar emotions expressed in a peculiar way: no school technology suggested any notion of formality or commonplace. I was thus a Herrnhut sister on my own footing."

THE MARKET, COLOGNE.

One convert, from Goethe's own town of Frankfort-on-Main, was destined to carry the leaven across the channel. This was Peter Böhler, who came to London early in 1738, when twenty-five years old, his ultimate destination being America, where he was to become the founder of Nazareth in Pennsylvania, a model religious colony. Two others, named Richter and Neiser, accompanied him. The very first week after his arrival from Georgia, John Wesley met the three Germans at the house of a Dutch merchant named Weinantz; and he makes a special entry of the occurrence in his diary. It was "a day much to be remembered." As they were without acquaintances in the great capital, he secured them lodgings, and thereafter lost no opportunity of conversing with them. Ten days later we find him, in company with Böhler, on his way to Oxford, the learned

fellow of Lincoln strangely attracted to the far less cultured German, and yet unable fully to understand him. At this time Böhler knew no English, and Latin seems to have been their medium of intercourse. When Wesley argued like a schoolman, Böhler would break in—"*Mi frater, mi frater, excoquenda est ista tua philosophia.*" (My brother, my brother, that philosophy of yours must be purged away.)

TOWER AT FRANKFORT, BOEHLER'S BIRTHPLACE.

Three days later Wesley left Böhler at Oxford under the care of his brother Charles—who undertook to teach him English—and traveled into the west country to visit his brother Samuel. In season and out of season the honest German spoke to the scholars and others whom he met in the university city respecting the necessity for a change of heart. Shortly afterward Charles Wesley fell so dangerously ill of pleurisy that his life was despaired of. Böhler seized the opportunity to speak very plainly to him regarding his hope of salvation. Charles placed it in the conviction that he had "used his best endeavors to serve God;" a reason which was very far from satisfying his mentor, who shook his head in token of disapproval. The next few months of convalescence form a period of extreme interest in Charles Wesley's career. Their history shows the growing influence upon him of Böhler's view of conversion. Meanwhile he began to read the autobiography of a Scottish professor, who furnished one undoubted instance of instantaneous conversion.

This was Thomas Halyburton, a native of Perthshire, where he was born in the Manse of Duplin in the year 1674. After studying at St. Andrews University he was appointed minister of Ceres in the immediate neighborhood of the university, and became professor of divinity in St. Mary's College ten years later. The saintliness of his life and profession led to his being known as "Holy Halyburton." His tenure of office was cut short by a premature death; but his influence lived in his "Autobiography," published posthumously, like all his works. Halyburton had in his youth traveled on the continent, and was a widely read man. When the "Autobiography" was brought by Charles to the notice of Whitefield and John Wesley, it impressed them so

deeply that they conjointly brought out a new edition.

The influence of Peter Böhler upon John Wesley was even more powerful and immediate. Summoned in haste, when on his way to Tiverton, to his brother's bedside, Wesley arrived at Oxford on the fourth of March; and next day, being a Sunday, he came under conviction of sin. His first impulse was to give up preaching altogether until he felt that he had faith; but Böhler advised him to preach *until* he had it. Next day he began, with great misgivings, to preach the new doctrine. He set out shortly afterward with a friend on a tour in the north country, visiting Birmingham, Stafford, Manchester, and other places. He lost no opportunity of awakening, instructing or exhorting any whom they might meet with on their journey But assurance and lively faith had not yet come. In the entry in his diary for Easter Sunday of that year, after recording the fact that he had preached thrice from the same text—John's Gospel, iv., 21—he adds the wistful words: "I see the promise; but it is afar off."

Böhler was meanwhile preparing to sail to America. On the first of May, three days before he sailed, there was formed at Fetter-lane in London a little society, whose purpose was the mutual edification of its members. They were to meet together once a week to confess their faults to one another and pray for one another; for the more effective carrying out of the plan they divided themselves into bands numbering from five to ten individuals. At their meetings the greatest frankness was to be displayed in relating the Christian experiences they had undergone in the interval since the previous meeting. New members were to be admitted only after two months' probation, and after a free discussion of all possible objections to their character and motives. The members were to conform strictly to the standard of conduct set by the society; and, if thrice admonished, were to be considered as no longer in the society. Some of the features of the Moravian Church life were introduced. Every fourth Sunday, from seven to ten in the evening, a general love-feast was to be held.

It is to be noticed that the free exchange of the facts of Christian experience at religious meetings was a new and strange thing in the England of that time. The pious men of the Fetter-lane society felt that the sudden awakening to a sense of righteousness and joy in the Holy Ghost was something to be spoken of freely, for the encouragement of others and the relief and uplifting of the believer's own spirit. Another fruitful subject upon which believers were encouraged to talk, was the continuous assurance of peace and salvation in the midst of doubts, trials and temptations. A special searching of the Scriptures at

ROSS MARKET, FRANKFORT.

BINGEN ON THE RHINE.

this time had made plain to John Wesley, much to his surprise, that, particularly in the Acts of the Apostles, there were hardly any instances of conversion other than instantaneous. Scarcely any were so slow as that of St. Paul, who was three days in the pangs of the new birth. If this was the case in the days of primitive Christianity, what reason was there for not believing that God worked in the same manner now? Several witnesses concurred in declaring that God did so manifest Himself and had so worked in them. Of all material for religious edification, testimony like this appeared henceforth to John Wesley the most valuable and inspiring.

On the third of May, just the evening before Böhler sailed, Charles Wesley, who had shown himself unwilling to yield entirely to the new doctrine, had his eyes opened as to the nature of the one true, living faith, whereby alone "through grace we are saved." Three weeks later there came to John Wesley that blessed assurance of complete salvation which was to be the turning-point of his career, and to make him the wonderful instrument for good he was now to become—one of the three or four great apostles of history.

Two influences are notable at this crisis. One is that of music. On the eventful day of his conversion he heard, at the afternoon service at St. Paul's, the anthem which begins: "Out of the deep have I called unto Thee, O Lord. Lord, hear my voice." On the following day he was again at St. Paul's, and again the anthem responded to his inward state: "My song shall be always of the loving-kindness of the Lord: with my mouth will I ever be showing forth Thy truth from one generation to another."

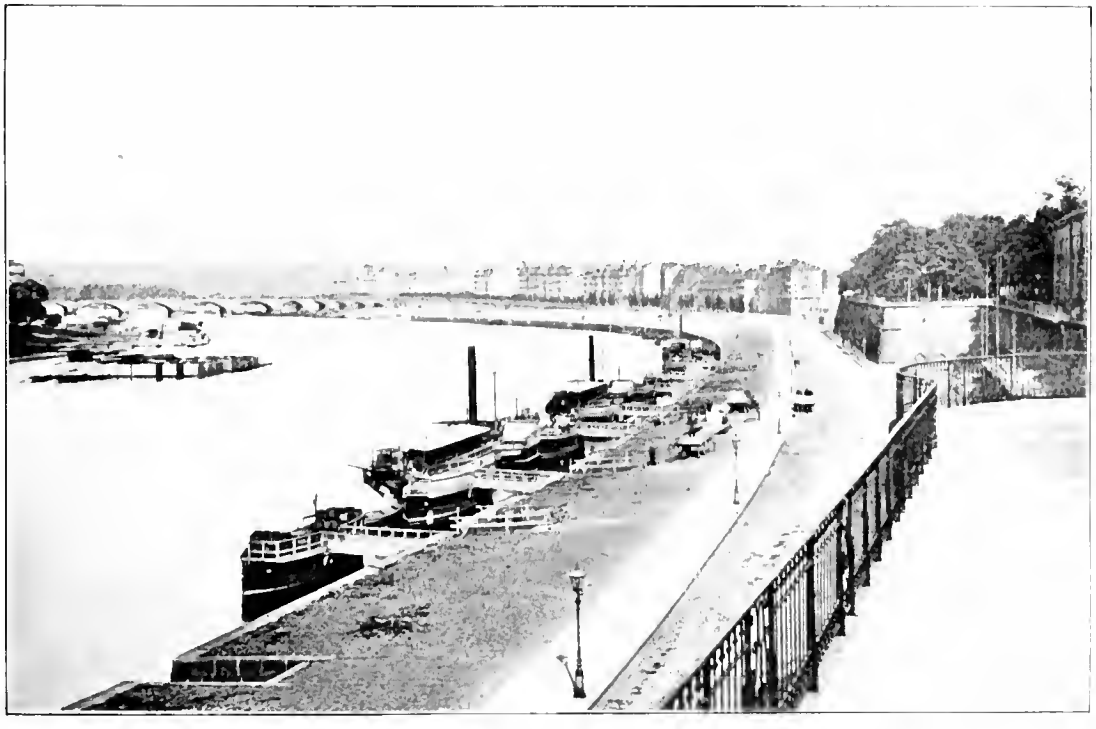
The other influence was that of the great German—Martin Luther. A few days before this Charles had been studying with profit Luther's "Commentary on the Galatians." It was entirely new reading to him, and made a profound impression on his mind. He was astonished that he should ever have considered justification by faith alone a new doctrine, imbedded as it was in the whole theology of the Reformation. Another writing of Luther's had a still pro-

founder effect on the mind of his brother. The evening of the day on which he had listened to the "De Profundis" anthem at St. Paul's he was attending a meeting in Aldersgate street, whither he had gone very unwillingly. Some one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. Suddenly, as the reader was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, he felt his heart strangely warmed. Perfect trust in Christ came to him; he knew once for all that Christ had taken away his sins and saved him from the law of sin and death. Having strengthened himself with prayer, he then and there described openly to all in the room the blessed change which had come over him. It was the beginning of a lifelong testimony

Earlier in this eventful month of May, John Wesley had written in very plain—indeed, somewhat brusque—terms to his old friend and mentor, William Law, whom he reproached with having taught but half the truth, whereby he had lost two precious years in fruitless preaching and exhortation. The plain reason for this seemed to be that Law himself had not within him that living, justifying faith which cleanses from sin. If so, he who taught others was in a dangerous condition himself. Law's austere manner of life, apart from the world, was, in itself, presumptive evidence of his having no living faith in Christ.

A long correspondence ensued, in which the saintly old Nonjuror ably vindicated himself. Unfortunately, somewhat of an estrangement followed, which is greatly to be regretted, as both of the men were singularly lofty spirits. Mutual respect, however, remained in the midst of differences; and Wesley never ceased to speak highly of Law. In the seminaries which he founded later, Law's works were used as text-books—a significant mark of confidence in his old mentor.

The great change which had been wrought in John Wesley by the influence of these Pietists, made him anxious to visit them and see their life with his



THE QUAY, DRESDEN.

BRUHL'S TERRACE, DRESDEN.

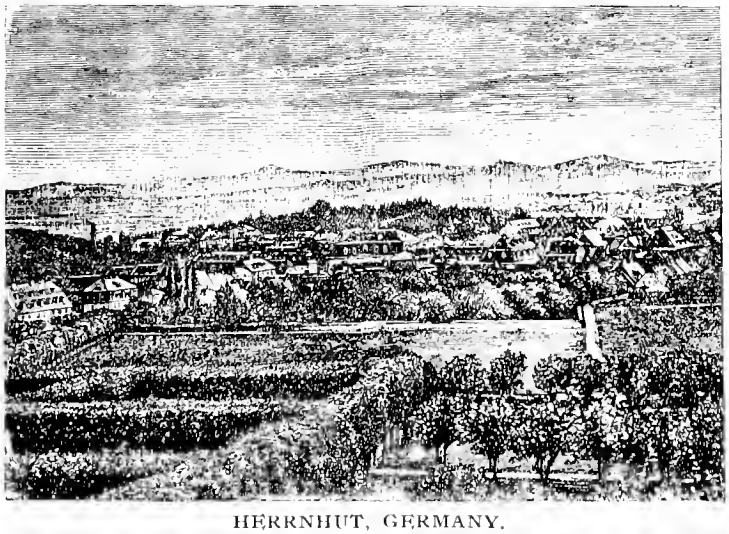
own eyes; for he believed that he would receive strength and edification for the evangelistic work which evidently lay before him. During this visit to Germany Wesley was to become acquainted with a far more vital and far-reaching use of music than existed in his native country. In England the seventeenth century had been a period of musical backwardness, the whole energies of the people having gone into politics, a pursuit that is unfriendly to the art. The Church kept up to a considerable extent the culture of music, but it had become a subordinate thing in the religious, as in other departments of life. In Germany, however, among a people shut out from the stirring political arena, and having a language that was temporarily degraded and neglected, the aspirations of the individual found vent in ecstatic music. Dreaming of heavenly things, they embodied these dreams in music. Religion to the pious man presented itself not as a ritual or as a rule for conduct, but as a life. The Pietism of Germany has an essential underlying relation to the glorious music of Bach, of Handel, and of Haydn.

Early in the month of June, John Wesley went to Salisbury, where his mother was then residing, to take leave of her before he should start on his continental trip on the thirteenth of the same month. He set sail for Rotterdam, in company with his friend Ingham. Two days later they arrived in the clean and attractive city of Rotterdam, and proceeded thence to Ysselstein, where lived the Baron de Watteville, who was Zinzendorf's friend. At his house, where a hospitable reception was given them, they met several of the German brethren and sisters, besides seven or eight of their English acquaintance who had settled there some time before. On the Sunday Wesley administered the Lord's Supper; and spent the rest of the day in discussing with them the wonderful work God was beginning to do over all the earth. The spirit of prayer and of missionary enterprise was

ROYAL PALACE, DRESDEN.

evidently alive in the settlement, and they were true Gospel pioneers.

Next day they proceeded to Amsterdam, which appeared to Wesley the pleasantest city he had ever seen. Here he was hospitably received, and was present at the meetings of two of the societies of the Brethren. On his way thence to Cologne he was somewhat surprised, at one village where they stopped, to find some good Lutherans spending the Sunday evening fiddling and dancing —as was their custom. Neither the city nor the cathedral at Cologne, then and for more than a century afterward in an unfinished condition, attracted him. The cathedral seemed entirely lacking in symmetry and neatness; and the city was ugly and dirty. The absence of joint worship in the Catholic churches he attended struck him unfavorably. Their journey up stream was made but slowly owing to the swift current; and they had ample time to gaze at the precipitous hillsides covered with vines to the top, with every now and then a religious house or an old castle crowning a summit.



HERRNHUT, GERMANY.

After passing Mayence they at length arrived at Frankfort, somewhat faint and exhausted. Peter Böhler's father came to meet them, and entertained them in a most friendly manner. Next day they arrived at Marienborn, where they met Count Zinzendorf, who had established a community there. The members, about ninety in number, and of various nationalities, lived in a large house, situated on the top of a fruitful hill. The spectacle of their quiet and brotherly life made a pleasing impression on Wesley. He found, moreover, that which he had come to seek: namely, "persons saved from inward as from outward sin, and from all doubt and fear by the abiding witness of the Holy Ghost given unto them."

A visit to Halle followed, inspired by a desire to see the son of the great Pietist, August Hermann Francke, to whom Zinzendorf owed so much. The old man, after a life of singular usefulness, had died eleven years before, leaving as a monument of his work the largest and most successful orphanage in Europe. To his labors as professor of Greek and Oriental languages in the university, he had added the cares of the pastorate of St. Ulrich's. His son, also a university professor, was carrying on the benevolent schemes of his father. Unfortunately Professor Francke was not in town; but Wesley was admitted to the Orphan-House, an institution which filled him with astonishment and delight. "The lodging-chambers for the children," he remarks in his diary, "their dining-room, their chapel, and all the adjoining apartments, are so conveniently contrived, and so exactly clean, as I have never seen any before." The place afforded accommodation for six hundred and fifty resident children and three thousand day scholars—a remarkable result of pious

OCTAGON CHURCH, DRESDEN.

and well-directed effort. It is interesting to note that the impulse toward founding those charitable institutions which, in the Methodist Church of today, have developed into proportions which astonish the world, came to Whitefield and to Wesley alike from German sources. It was the principle of devotion and love—that principle which constituted the life and power of Pietism—finding a concrete expression.

In Halle, Wesley was in the birthplace of the great Handel, at this time a resident of London, and wasting his time in the composition of indifferent operas. Three years later he was to revive the religious enthusiasm of his early years in the production of that greatest of oratorios, "The Messiah." The sarcastic lines of Byrom, one of Wesley's intimate friends—whom he consulted before he accepted the Georgia offer—relate to this period in the great composer's career:

> Some say, compared to Bononcini,
> That Mynheer Handel's but a ninny;
> Others aver that he to Handel
> Is scarcely fit to hold a candle.
> Strange all this difference should be
> 'Twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

From Halle Wesley proceeded to Leipsic, where he was kindly entertained at the university, and thence to Meissen, where the chinaware, for which it is famous, highly interested him. His experiences at church were surprising rather than satisfactory. The gorgeousness and costliness of the women's apparel, the gay robes worn by the officiating minister, and the whole demeanor of the congregation betokened a worldly and indifferent spirit. Most of the congregation kept their seats during the service, the men generally did not remove their hats even at prayers or during the sermon, and very few of the people received Holy Communion, although all waited.

It was but a short journey to Dresden, the capital of Saxony. Here, as well as at Frankfort, Halle, and other places, Wesley found considerable difficulty in obtaining entrance into the city, where "red-tape" seemed to reign supreme. It struck him as a breach not only of all common, but even heathen laws of hospitality. He admired the unfinished palace, but the new church, eight square,

and built of freestone, was too much in appearance like a theater.

Thirty miles further east, in Upper Lusatia, and on the border of Bohemia, lay the village of Herrnhut, which was the goal of his journey. The settlement, consisting of about one hundred houses, built in one long street, occupied a rising ground, with evergreen woods on two sides, and gardens and cornfields on the others. Fronting the middle of the street was the Orphan-House, containing, in an upper story, the chapel. Wesley was delighted on arriving to renew his acquaintance with a Georgian friend, Mr. Hermsdorf, who did all in his power to make his visit pleasant and profitable.

He has left us an interesting account of the first service he attended. Many of the interior fittings of the chapel differed from those he had been accustomed to in England. Behind the altar was a painting of the Last Supper; over it was the pulpit; surmounting the pulpit was a brass image of Christ on the cross. The service, conducted by the minister, who was habited in a capacious pudding-sleeve gown, lasted from nine o'clock to noon, and was remarkable for the copious use of music, both vocal and instrumental. At the close of the organ voluntary, with which the service opened, the people sang a hymn, remaining seated. Thrice did the minister, approaching the altar, bow and sing; on the first occasion the *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, in Latin; on the second occasion a prayer, on the third occasion a versicle. The Creed was also chanted. The people rose to their feet when the minister read the gospel. Before he commenced his long discourse, which lasted for an hour and a quarter, he used a long, extemporary prayer. After the evening service all the young men in the place were accustomed to walk round the town with musical instruments singing hymns of praise; thereafter they proceeded to a knoll in the neighborhood and, forming a circle, joined in prayer. Returning to the great square a little after eleven, they commended each other

MAYENCE.

to God before separating; an admirable preparation for a sound night's rest.

The arrangement of graves in the cemetery, or "God's Acre," as they called it, was peculiar. There were in it distinct squares for married men and for bachelors; for married women and spinsters; for widows; and for male and female children. The funeral of a child, which Wesley witnessed shortly after his arrival, made quite an impression on him. Round the grave stood the mourners, the men occupying two sides, the women and girls a third, the boys the remaining side. On their way to the grave they had sung hymns of faith

CATHEDRAL, MAYENCE.

and hope; and round the grave they renewed these joyful hymns. When Wesley asked the father of the little lad who was buried how he found himself, the man cheerfully replied: "Praised be the Lord, never better. He has taken the soul of my child to Himself. I have seen, according to my desire, his body committed to holy ground. And I know that when it is raised again, both he and I shall be ever with the Lord."

The preaching of Christian David, the real planter of the colony, which Wesley enjoyed on four occasions, greatly edified him, and he gives us in the journal, at considerable length, the substance of one of them. In the next entry he expresses a wish that he could spend all his days among so godly a people; and prays for the time when such a kind of Christianity may cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. Two days before his departure, which took place on August 12, he spent several hours with Christian David, and listened with deep attention to the latter's account of his life history. He was then a man close on fifty, who had seen a good deal of the world, and passed through a deep religious experience. He was not one of those to whom faith came easily. In a recoil from Christianity, which occurred when he began to doubt some of the tenets of the Romish faith in which he was brought up, he began to loathe the very name of Christ. Then, in a condition of spiritual unrest, he wandered through many countries, but found no peace. A meeting with some Jews threw him back with renewed trust upon his early Christianity. Later he formally renounced at Berlin the errors of the Romish Church, but he found little rest among the Lutherans. It was not until he came to Görlitz, where he resumed his old trade of carpentering, that he found true peace. During a long illness the pastor there visited him daily, and at length the light of the gospel of Christ dawned upon his soul. From Görlitz he made three journeys into Moravia, his native land, where he preached Christ to his relatives. At Görlitz he had been the means of awakening a great zeal for religion in the town and neighborhood.

It is evident from David's history, as recorded by Wesley, that his conversion came through the ministrations of a

Protestant pastor in Saxony, and that he belonged to no historical Moravian sect of Protestants. Wesley's journey to Herrnhut is chiefly significant, not because of his intercourse with Zinzendorf, but because of the impression the carpenter Christian David made upon him. It was he, rather than the count, who possessed the secret which Wesley valued so highly; the peace of a mind in perfect harmony with the divine mind, and producing all the practical fruits of godliness.

On his return journey Wesley again visited Halle, where he was fortunate in meeting with Professor Francke. The demeanor of the pious folk in Halle pleased him greatly; not even at Herrnhut had he found so perfect a manifestation of real childlike Christian faith. The attraction seems to have been mutual; for several of the Brethren there accompanied him on his way, a two days' journey in the rain.

On this return journey he spent a day and night at Mayence, and took the opportunity of visiting the great church—"a huge heap of irregular building." As he went out, a paper affixed to the door attracted his attention. It announced a privilege granted by Pope Clement the Twelfth to the priests of the cathedral church of St. Christopher, which enabled them, by reading mass under certain conditions, to deliver souls out of the fire of purgatory. The announcement struck him as an insult to religion and to common sense.

Before reaching Rotterdam he overtook a number of Swiss emigrants, who were in high spirits, singing, dancing, and making merry. They informed him they were on their way to *make their fortunes in Georgia.* The words are underlined in the journal, for the irony of their mirth was borne in upon Wesley's mind. He seized the occasion to paint for them a picture far from attractive of the land whither they were hastening with such lightsome hearts. "If they now leap into the fire," he writes, "their blood is on their own head."

On Friday, the eighth of September, he was again in Rotterdam, ready to take the first vessel to England. Various delays prevented their sailing, and it was not until Saturday, the sixteenth, that he again touched British soil. On the morrow, filled with the desire to publish the glad tidings of salvation, he preached thrice in the capital, and was delighted to meet again on the Monday with the members of his little society, now consisting of thirty-two persons. One more lesson he was yet to learn ere he reached his full and final development for Christian usefulness—the need of field preaching in order to reach the masses. This lesson was to follow in a few months; and then came the full tide of revival enthusiasm.

CHAPTER VI.

FIELD-PREACHING IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

WHILE the center of the movement which was to be the chief religious event of the close of the eighteenth century, and one of the controlling factors of our modern civilization, is ever to be found in the personality of John Wesley, yet it is extraordinary to notice how he seems at each step in his development to have been impelled rather than impelling. He does not originate; he assimilates. Like many other great leaders, men of the statesmen type, his forte did not lie in any one particular gift, but in a singularly well-balanced and forceful character. He had in an eminent degree sanity of mind and magnanimity of soul, which enabled him, while absorbing all that was best around him, to retain his own individuality serene and undisturbed. Each new influence as it came found its proper nook in his capacious mind. This garnered spiritual and intellectual wealth he was able to use, like a rich man's capital, for the establishment on a solid and lasting basis of conditions which might otherwise have passed away with the immediate circumstances which called them forth.

The year of John Wesley's return from Germany is remarkable as the date on which the Wesleys first began to give their hymns to the world. It seemed to them, no doubt, but a modest contribution to literature and to civilization; and yet how powerful and lasting has been the effect:

What simple strains are these, to live so long,
To move so many in so many lands,
When self-appointed arbiters of song
Are all effaced like scribblings in the sands?

The hymnary served as a preparation and accompaniment for the itinerant open-air preaching which was so soon to be a distinctive feature of Methodism:

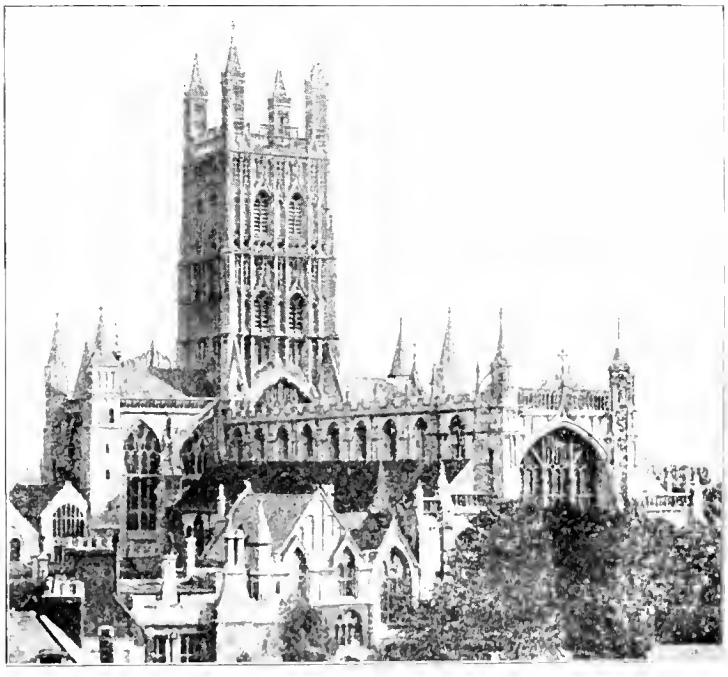
These hymns have raised the peasant from the sod,
Have made the rude, half-savage nature sweet,
Have reared a score of kingdoms unto God,
And laid a million hearts at Jesus' feet.

In his brother Charles he was to find an invaluable lieutenant in the production of this most effective of war material for the battles of the kingdom. It was from George Whitefield, again, that he received the impulse which drew him, reluctantly at first, into unconventional open-air preaching. At the close of the year 1738 Whitefield returned from his first visit to America. On his return voyage the vessel in which he sailed was nearly shipwrecked, and its passengers were landed on the west coast of Ireland. He had to make his way across the island as best he could, and 'found the roads good and provisions cheap." Nor did he fail to receive much Irish hospitality. In Dublin he made the acquaintance of the excellent Doctor Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh, and of other church dignitaries, and preached with acceptance in two of the city churches.

In the middle of December, a few days after he reached London, he had the pleasure of again meeting John Wesley; and they "took sweet counsel together." Whitefield needed some encouragement at this time. Already there was a distinctly hostile disposition manifested toward him by the parochial clergy, and one pulpit after another was closed to the ardent young preacher. Churchmen had not yet lost their intense prejudices against "enthusiasm," and were bitterly opposed to any movements

that would interfere with the regular and orderly routine of church services and ordinances. The missionary work done by the Moravians in the capital and elsewhere was regarded as an unwarrantable intrusion—a kind of poaching, so to speak. The doctrine of assurance, which occupied a leading place in their teaching, was regarded by the orthodox as a product of spiritual arrogance, and they would have none of it.

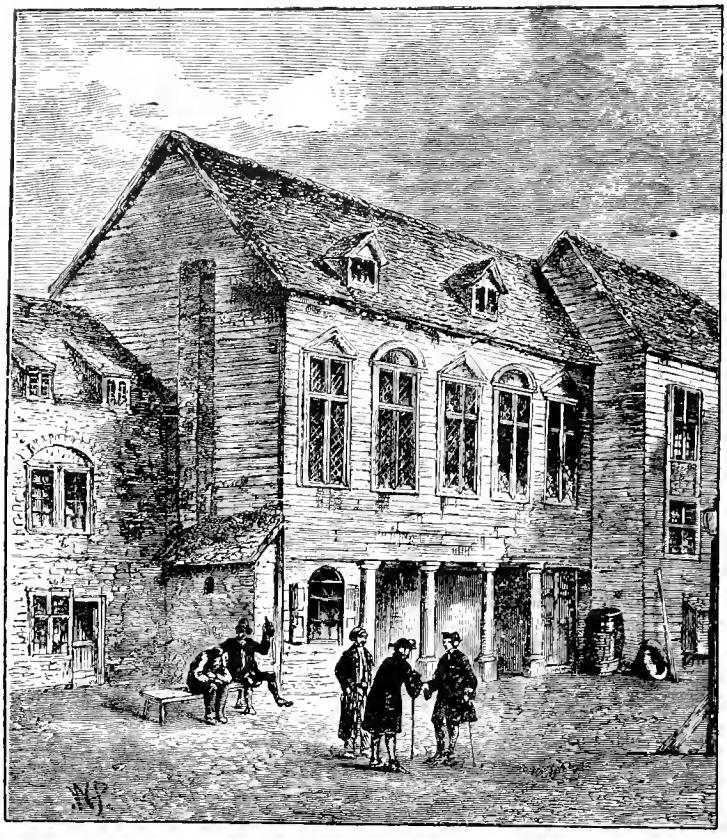
Moreover, Whitefield, an ardent and unsophisticated young man, did not in all cases act with complete prudence. The journal he had kept when on his voyage to America—made by way of Gibraltar—was published for the edification of friends. While full of excellent reflections, and interesting to all who might wish to understand better a singularly pure and artless nature, it contained much that was crude, namby-pamby and open to the shafts of ridicule. It is no wonder that ministers who had to preach to empty pews, while thousands flocked to hear this quondam tapster and servitor, should have been highly gratified at the opportunity so conveniently furnished them to hold the intruder up to the scorn of the highly cultivated. No doubt they exclaimed, like Cromwell at Dunbar, "The Lord hath delivered him into our hands." His teaching was represented as a mixture of vulgarity, vanity and illiteracy, by which religion was travestied and degraded. Several sermons were preached and pamphlets published, warning good churchmen to beware of him, and there is no doubt that most of the clergy began to have their sympathies turned against him.



GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

The year 1739, which was to mark the opening of the Methodist campaign in the British Isles, was brought in at Fetter-lane with prayer, psalms and thanksgivings by a body of men to whom devotion seemed more necessary than the ordinary necessaries of life. At this "love-feast" were seven of the Oxford Methodists, besides sixty Moravians. Among these seven was the Rev. Richard Hutchins, who afterward became rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. They met three days later at Islington, a suburb of London, to discuss possibilities of doing good; and this meeting has been called the first Methodist Conference; but the phrase must be understood in no separatist sense. Mr. Stonehouse, the vicar, was a warm friend of the movement.

Soon afterward Whitefield received his ordination as priest from the good Bishop of Gloucester, Doctor Benson, who had before ordained him deacon. John Wesley's friend, the former Bishop of Oxford, who was now Archbishop Potter of Canterbury, supported Benson in this unpopular act; for quite a clamor had



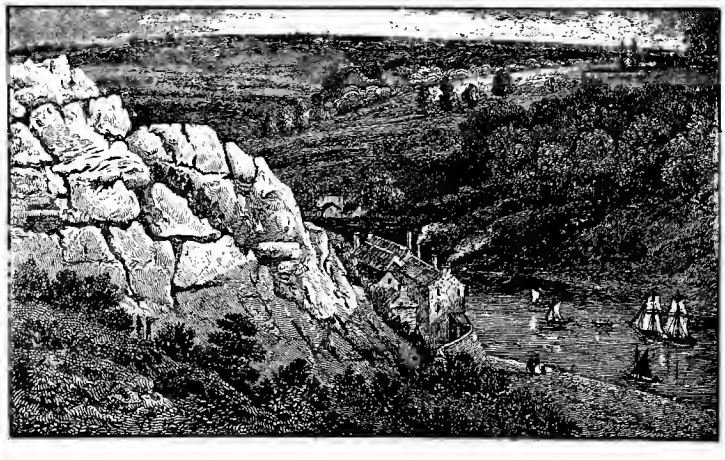
MARSHALSEA PRISON IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

arisen against Whitefield. Benson was closely connected with the family of the Earl of Huntingdon, to whom he had been tutor, and who, with his countess, was to be of great assistance to Whitefield in his future work. The two were constant attendants at his preaching and brought many of their aristocratic friends to hear him. At this time he was active in raising funds for his orphanage at Savannah, and many of the nobility contributed generously to the scheme.

Early in February of this eventful year, an unfortunate incident took place at St. Margaret's, Westminster, which tended to embitter the already strained relations existing between Whitefield and the regular clergy

Whitefield had been asked by some sympathizers to lecture in the church; but when he arrived it turned out that the regular lecturer had appointed a substitute. Whitefield was preparing to retire, but his sympathizers insisted upon hearing him, and the result was an unseemly brawl. The incident gave a handle to the enemies of the new movement, of which they were not slow in availing themselves.

At this very time, when he was finding most of the church doors shut against him, Whitefield came into personal relations with a very interesting Welshman, Howel Harris, who had already done much good by itinerant preaching. In the summer of 1735, being then a young man of twenty-one, he was brought to a knowledge of the truth. So impressed was he by the wickedness that reigned all around him, and the apathy of the clergy, that he instituted a Sunday evening meeting and spoke earnestly to the people regarding the need of salvation. At this time



SCENE NEAR BRISTOL, CIRCA 1780 A. D.

he was teaching a country school, but was anxious to enter the Church. The following November he went up to St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, to study there, but found his surroundings far from congenial. An Oxford "hall" may be described as a college without its salutary discipline and studious ideals. These halls were mostly frequented by men who, through laziness or stupidity, or both combined, could not or would not attend one of the colleges. St. Mary's Hall, until quite recently, was distinguished by its free-and-easy ways. When one of the students succeeded in taking his B. A. degree, the rare event was celebrated with much festivity. It was evidently no place for so ardent a spirit as the young Welshman, and he stayed but one term. Returning to his school, he threw himself more ardently than ever into evangelistic work. The results were very encouraging, and soon private houses were too small to contain the audiences that flocked to hear him. But the jealousy and hostility of the clergy were aroused, and at the end of the year 1737 he was dismissed from his

GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

position as teacher. This act of intolerance merely served to increase his labors and widen their sphere. In the district roundabout, societies began to be formed, and several devoted clergymen imitated his zeal and his methods. The Rev. Griffith Jones, who instituted the charity schools which are associated with his

CARDIFF, MONMOUTHSHIRE.

name, and of whom more anon, was one of his friends. Heedless of threats and clamor, regardless of mob violence, he

HOWEL HARRIS.

preached up and down the principality of Wales, speaking on an average five or six times a day. Tidings of the wonderful reformation he was effecting came to the ears of Whitefield shortly after his return from Georgia, and he wrote a letter of sympathy to his fellow-worker in the vineyard, mentioning, at the same time, his own success in London. Harris already knew of Whitefield through the published "Diary" of his voyage, and he replied in the most cordial terms. It is to be remembered that Harris was carrying on his work without episcopal ordination or any kind of ecclesiastical authority, although he had anxiously sought for such, and that he was on the most friendly terms with Dissenters. In the light of these facts, it is hardly conceivable that John Wesley, who was punctilious in respect to both of these matters, would have written in the same hearty strain as George Whitefield. With the latter these minor matters seem to have counted as little as with the second generation of Methodists. In a few months Howel Harris was to be his traveling companion, and the two were to be preaching freely in market-places, in front of inns, or in the open fields.

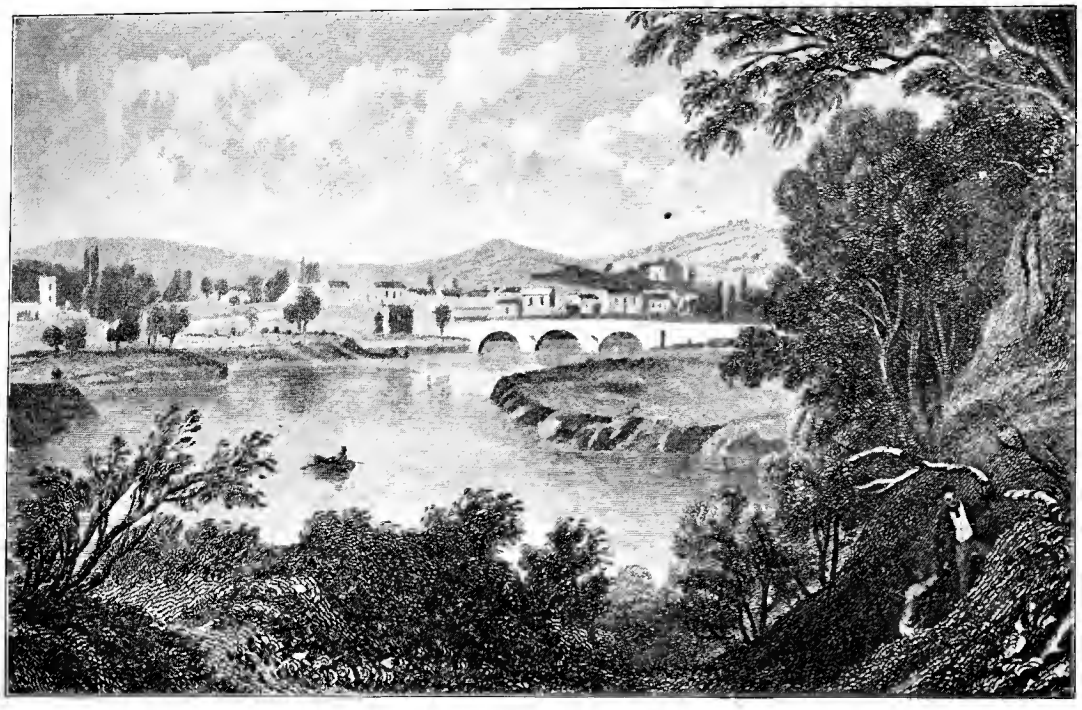
We have now to contemplate the widening of the gulf between the Oxford Methodists and the church to which they were so fondly attached. It came through no desire of theirs, but it was inevitable. The formal and worldly state church could hardly find room within its borders for the new enthusiasm and the new interpretation of Scripture. The two doctrinal points chiefly insisted upon by Whitefield were the necessity of the new birth, and the blessed assurance of salvation. Now this doctrine of the new birth at once repelled the high church party, who clung to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. If baptismal regeneration is not exactly taught in the articles of the Church, that which is taught on the subject is hardly distinguishable from it. Accordingly, we find university and other preachers assailing Whitefield as unsound in respect to regeneration, and insisting that men are born again in baptism. Again, the manifestations of assurance—although this came later—were usually accompanied by extraordinary physical perturbations, and loss of control over the physical frame. That the guardians of these stately old abbey churches and cathedrals should have willingly lent the edifices to be the arena of such exciting scenes, was hardly to be expected. The general trend of church apologetics for a generation past had been in the direction of proving Christianity "reasonable;" something eminently seemly and according well with the beauty and orderliness of universal nature. Such is the whole drift of Bishop Butler's philosophy. The extraordinary convulsions which accompanied conviction of sin and the reception of grace were to the last degree

repulsive to the philosophic expounders of a sane and orderly Christianity appealing to the reason.

Next came the use of extemporary prayers, the need of which was felt by these earnest preachers of the Word. In this they reverted to the usages of Dissenters, and offended the prejudices of the formal. No doubt extemporary prayers have been made use of for ends hardly legitimate or spiritual. And it is also true that a national church had to safeguard itself from unsound or improper teaching by a certain rigidness of ritual. The bands proved too strait by far for George Whitefield. We find him during this winter associating with Doctor Watts and other godly Dissenters—the only set of men against whom John Wesley seems to have cherished a distinct prejudice.

It is worth while inquiring what was the root of this prejudice, from which he never shook himself free. The explanation appears to lie in the fact that seventeenth century dissent was too *argumentative* and too *political*. Seeking to found a kingdom of the saints upon earth, it had a radically untrue perspective, and ignored the whole vista of the Christian centuries. It was just these centuries of devotion that were dearest to Wesley s heart. He had no faith whatever in political nostrums for the regeneration of mankind. Now Protestant Dissenters in the seventeenth century all believed in these political nostrums, and came near destroying much that was of immense value in the national life in their crude attempts at the reconstruction of society as a whole. The conventicle was usually as much a political as a religious gathering; and, because of its subversive political tendencies, the people in general acquiesced in its suppression. The time had come, however, when such gatherings were to be wholly detached from any political tendencies whatever. Herein a reversion was made to the days of the friars. In the great movement for the purification of the Catholic Church, set on foot by St. Francis and others, the people had gathered on the moors and in the highways and by-ways to listen to these fervid

NEWPORT, MONMOUTHSHIRE.



CAERLEON, MONMOUTHSHIRE.

preachers of holiness and righteousness.

It was in Bristol City that Whitefield first made the new departure of preaching in the open air. He had hoped to obtain the use of the historic Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, so well known to students of literature as the haunt of the boy Chatterton, who found the old Rowley MSS. in its muniment room. But this "fairest, goodliest, most famous parish church in England" was denied to him, even though he pleaded the claims of the Orphan House in Georgia. In order to find a vent for his energies, he turned to the prison, kept by a benevolent jailer, named Dagge, who receives a grateful tribute from Dr. Samuel Johnson in his "Life of the Poet Savage." He made an arrangement by which he was to read prayers and preach to the prisoners daily; but here again the magistrates interfered—the doctrine of the "new birth" being repugnant to them.

Close at hand lay a field ripe for real mission work. The old royal forest adjoining the city, which still retains in its name of Kingswood a record of its early history, had become a busy mining center, supplying Bristol, then the second city in the kingdom, with its supply of coal. The miners who had gathered in the villages were a degraded and brutalized class, virtually outside of the pale of society. The much-vaunted parochial system, established at a period when wild game inhabited the place, left these poor people out in the cold. Nominally they belonged to an outlying parish of the city—that of St. Philip and Jacob—but the church, situated four miles off, was for the accommodation of the city folk. Five days after his work at the Bristol Newgate came to an abrupt close, Whitefield, eager to preach the gospel to these benighted fellow-countrymen of his, ascended a mound at a place near the mines called Rose Green, and held a service. About two hundred gathered round him, impelled by curiosity—for the sight was a strange one. It was as good as a show to see a clergyman in gown and cassock declaiming in the open air like a

merry-andrew. Whitefield felt that the ice was broken. The step which he had taken finally shut the doors of the Bristol churches upon him, as an unlicensed preacher who had disgraced the cloth. But with the crossing of the Rubicon came new power, and showers of divine blessing. As he stood in the open air, addressing that rude audience of smutty-faced miners, he felt that the prophet's mantle had in truth fallen upon him. All his wonderful gifts of appeal, persuasion and exhortation were manifested in their full strength and splendor; and he held the thousands who thronged to hear him spell-bound, as if by a magician's wand. Then tears would begin to trace white paths down the blackened cheeks —signs of softened hearts and new-born aspirations.

From the beginning these open-air gatherings, in the fields or in the streets of the city, were associated with benevolent enterprises. At this day Bristol is a city noted for the number of its charitable institutions; and one of them—a charity-school—was started by Whitefield at this time. On the Town Common and elsewhere he was able to preach to an audience ten times more numerous than any church could hold; and the work prospered. When he pleaded for his Savannah Orphan House, his hat came back so full of coins that he had to ask for assistance to hold it.

How did this greatest of modern pulpit orators appear to those hearers whom he so fascinated? "Mr. Whitefield's person," writes the Rev Doctor Gillies, a contemporary Scotch divine, "was graceful and well-proportioned. His stature was rather above the middle size. His complexion was very fair. His eyes were of a dark-blue color, and small but sprightly He had a squint with one of them, occasioned either by the ignorance or carelessness of the nurse who attended him in the measles when he was about four years old. His features were, in general, good and regular. His coun-

WARWICK, ENGLAND.

tenance was manly, and his voice exceeding strong; yet both were softened with an uncommon degree of sweetness.

HANDEL.

He was always very clean and neat, and often said, pleasantly, that 'a minister of the gospel ought to be without spot.' His deportment was decent and easy, without the least stiffness or formality; and his engaging polite manners made his company universally agreeable." Doctor Gillies also speaks of his lively and appropriate "action" as an orator, every feature of the face, and every gesture appealing to the eye.

Another observer, an American lady, the wife of Jonathan Edwards, comments on his wonderful voice—so deep-toned, and yet so clear and melodious. In his preaching he made less of doctrine than American preachers generally did, and aimed more at affecting the heart. He was able to cast a spell over audiences, affecting not only the ignorant, but also the educated and refined. "He speaks from a heart all aglow with love, and pours out a torrent of eloquence which is almost irresistible."

At Bristol Whitefield was so close to Wales that he determined to pay the evangelist Howel Harris a visit, and acquaint himself with the details of his work. Accordingly, leaving the work at Bristol in the hands of the Rev. Richard Hutchins, he took passage for Cardiff. With them there sailed the parish clergyman of Cardiff, who, during a twelve hours' enforced detention, spent his time at the gaming table. Whitefield and his friends were meanwhile singing hymns and engaging in other religious exercises, which so disgusted the reverend gentleman that he refused to proceed—but was eventually placated. The incident became later a matter of public discussion.

Soon after landing he set himself to preach to the people of Cardiff, and was fortunate in obtaining the use of the Town Hall, where an audience of several hundred gathered to hear him. Among them was his correspondent, Howel Harris, whom he hastened to greet when the service was over. "Do you know that your sins are forgiven you?" was the question he put abruptly to Harris, surprising the latter not a little. It is evident that only great sincerity and simplicity of character could carry off eccentricities like these. Whitefield spoke frankly and freely from the impulses of a warm heart; hence his strength and his weakness. None of his written remains are worth preserving in themselves; we wonder in reading them how the words could have exercised so remarkable an influence on his contemporaries. It was evidently the man's personality which was the power.

In entering Wales, he was on ground already in large measure ploughed and prepared. Thirty religious societies, having no connection whatever with the

Moravian or German "collegia," had been formed in the principality to supply clamant spiritual needs. The fact is plain that the age everywhere demanded supplementary efforts on the part of individual Christians to carry out needed religious and philanthropic reforms. The people of Wales, the majority of whom spoke a Celtic language unintelligible to their English neighbors, were outside of the seething caldron of contemporary party politics, and had no very immediate interest in national affairs. Their spiritual wants were but poorly met by an established church officered, for the most part, by absentee political or polemic bishops and other dignitaries, whose interests lay in Oxford and London rather than among the hills of Wales, and by a clergy who were miserably underpaid. It was only by being a "pluralist" that many a poor Welsh parson had a chance of keeping the wolf of hunger from the door. A number of them never wore canonicals, simply because their incomes did not allow of such an expense. Hence the prestige of the clergy was low, and the necessity for supplementary effort was patent to all. Thrown back upon themselves, the people listened to native preachers and catechists, and veiled or open Dissent flourished. In England a Dissenter was regarded as in a measure unpatriotic, and thereby so much less "the true-born Englishman;" in Wales it was quite the other way.

At this time the Rev. Griffith Jones, whose very name must have been musical to Welsh ears, was at the height of his usefulness. Born five years before the Revolution, he had been in the ministry for thirty years, and had still over twenty years of service before him. Like the Wesleys and Whitefield he had offered himself for foreign missionary work, but the arrangement fell through.

JOHN WESLEY PREACHING FROM HIS FATHER'S TOMB

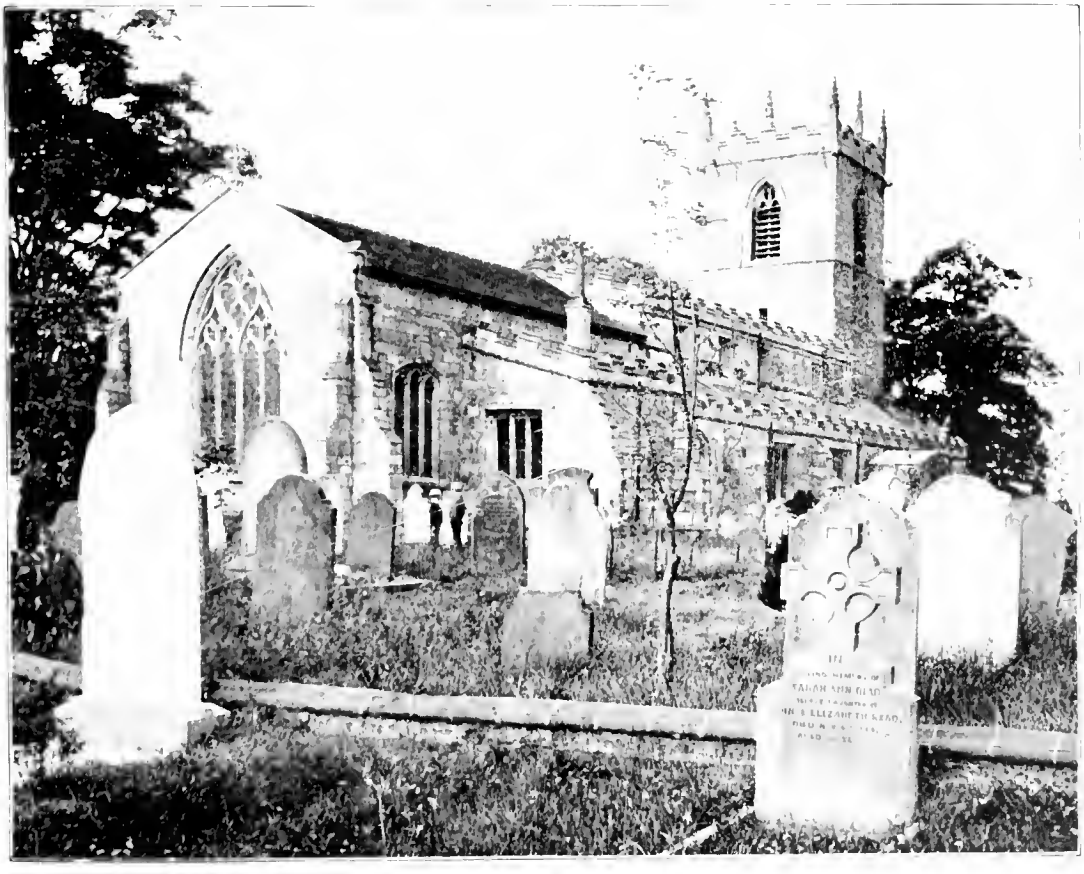
OLD CROSS IN EPWORTH SQUARE FROM THE STEPS OF WHICH JOHN WESLEY OFTEN PREACHED

His efforts were thereafter chiefly devoted to the cause of education in his native country. Possessing the physical qualifications for success on the platform, he had also a well-stored mind and a ripe judgment; and when he preached the people flocked from far and near to hear him. Through his efforts the Bible was translated into Welsh and freely distributed. Through his system of schools a hundred and fifty thousand Welshmen were enabled to read the word of God in their own well-loved tongue. At this time the number of schools amounted to about forty, and the scholars to nearly three thousand; but ultimately the annual attendance reached a total of ten thousand, many of the pupils being old men of sixty. The funds seem to have come almost entirely from the benevolent in England, to whom Mr. Jones made strong appeals.

Whitefield was delighted to find how much had been done in Wales to promote holy living and the godly upbringing of the young. His three days' visit inspired him with a desire to extend the work of Griffith Jones to the Bristol district; and it was with the express intention of securing John Wesley's assistance in the undertaking, knowing his superior qualifications for the task, that he wrote to London, urging him to come west. The invitation did not meet with a very ready response. Unwilling to consent, yet disliking to refuse what might be an opening for good, Wesley had resort to the *sortes biblicæ*. The texts, however, which turned up were hardly of a nature to help him. The fact that the children of Israel wept thirty days for Moses on the plains of Moab was somewhat remote from the question whether John Wesley should do

much-needed home mission work among the Kingswood miners. His brother Charles, who was inclined to oppose the scheme, had his opposition borne down by a text (Ezekiel xxiv., 16) which does not seem to the ordinary mind to carry any great weight of argument, *pro* or *con*. Three other passages of Scripture to which the lots referred them were still more irrelevant; the last of them, for instance, relates the circumstance that "Ahaz slept with his fathers." Happily the practical outcome of the whole discussion was the decision that John Wesley should go. On the second of April he was in Bristol, and took over the control of the work from Whitefield. For the next two years it was to engross all his attention. Here at Kingswood, two months later, he was to make the memorable statement: "The world is my parish." Kingswood, indeed, may be called the cradle of Methodism.

Relieved of the work at Bristol, the indefatigable Whitefield crossed over to Wales, and with his friend Howel Harris made a preaching excursion on horseback through the ancient principality Unlike the Wesleys, who were short of stature, Harris was a tall man, of imposing presence. He had a strong, organ-like voice, and spoke with irresistible earnestness. Whitefield and he must have been a notable pair. We can imagine the cavalcade of sixty "new birth" men entering the old town of Caerleon, "famous," as we read in Whitefield's diary, "for having thirty British kings buried in it, and for producing three noble Christian martyrs." On the previous evangelistic visit of Howel Harris the rabble had beaten a



EPWORTH CHURCH AND CEMETERY.

GRAVE OF SAMUEL WESLEY, EPWORTH, ENGLAND.

drum to drown his voice, but on this occasion the people listened in all quietness.

The preaching from walls, or on tombstones, or in the fields was not a new departure in Wales. Griffith Jones had frequently quitted the ruinous and contracted churches, and preached to his audiences in the open air. What was regarded, therefore, in the more formal England as a distinct breach of clerical etiquette, in no way produced the same effect among the less sophisticated people of Wales.

Whitefield and Harris did not part company at the Welsh border, but continued their itinerant preaching in England. They visited Gloucester, Whitefield's native town, and he preached in a field adjoining the Bell Inn, where

he had served as a tapster. Leaving Harris at Gloucester, he went on to Cheltenham, lately grown from a rural hamlet into a spa, and thence by way of Evesham to Oxford. In his old university town, where he spent two days, the vice-chancellor rudely ordered him out of the place as a disturber of the peace. Before the close of the month, Harris having rejoined him, he arrived in London, to find only one pulpit in the whole city open to him, that of Islington. The vicar of the place, Mr. Stonehouse, had been converted through the influence of Charles Wesley and was greatly attracted to the Moravian brethren. His influence was insufficient to keep the pulpit of Islington Church open to the itinerants. A local committee, to whom the matter was referred, unanimously refused to grant Whitefield the privilege, who thereupon preached in the churchyard to a great concourse. Some time afterward Mr. Stonehouse resigned his living and retired to Sherborne in the west of England, where he established a Moravian meeting-house. These secessions to the Moravians and other sects were intensely distasteful to Whitefield. In Oxford, just before the vice-chancellor's brusque threat, one of the original Methodists, Charles Kinchin, who, besides holding a country charge, was also dean of Corpus Christi College, had resolved to quit the established church and enter the ranks of Dissent. Whitefield wrote to him, telling him that such a step would "break his heart."

Barred from the pulpits of the city churches, Whitefield sought the "breathing-places" of the city, and used Moorfields and Kennington Common as his two grand cathedrals.

It is at this time that the term Methodist creeps into current popular and literary use, as signifying an unconventional person who proclaims himself religious and rejoices in making the

OLD BRIDGE, LIMERICK, IRELAND.

DUBLIN, FROM THE LIFFEY.

testimony. In the letters of society ladies and of men of the world like Horace Walpole, the word is constantly appearing, and is always associated with Whitefield's name. He it was who bore the brunt of the early attacks upon the new teaching, who won many adherents from the world of fashion, and who, by his youth and enthusiasm, seemed to the public to be the soul of the movement. "I do not know," writes the Countess of Hereford to a friend on the continent, "whether you have heard of a new sect, who call themselves Methodists. There is one Whitefield at the head of them, a young man of five-and-twenty, who has for some months gone about preaching in the fields and market-places in the country, and in London at Mayfair and Moorfields, to ten or twelve thousand people at a time."

The impression which Whitefield made on more critical hearers was by no means so favorable as are the two estimates recorded earlier in this chapter. Doctor Johnson detected the lack of permanent merit in the quality of his addresses. "His popularity, sir," said he, "is chiefly owing to the peculiarity of his manner." And again: "I never treated Whitefield's ministry with contempt. I believe he did good. He had devoted himself to the lower classes of mankind, and among them he was of use." Our modern phraseology would sum up the secret of Whitefield's influence in the phrase "personal magnetism."

Whitefield's arrival in London, with so devoted a field-preacher as Howel Harris, to whom Charles Wesley was at once drawn, converted the last-named into a field-preacher himself. On the twenty-ninth of May we find him accepting the invitation of a farmer to preach in his field; and two days later he addressed seven hundred Quakers at Thackstead. Meanwhile, Archbishop Potter, with whom the Wesleys had always been on good terms, thought fit to manifest his disapproval; and some weeks later spoke to Charles Wesley at Lambeth with a good deal of severity. Charles was greatly vexed, and for the next day

or two he passed through a keen inward conflict. But, encouraged by Whitefield, who urged him not to yield to the fear of man, he determined to take a decisive step. On the following Sunday he preached in Moorfields to an audience of a thousand, and found that all his doubts and scruples had gone. Exactly a fortnight later he preached in the same place to about ten thousand hearers; and later in the day to a great audience at Kennington Common. From this time forth Charles Wesley may be classed as an itinerant preacher.

We must now return to the Kingswood miners and to John Wesley. On the last day of March, 1739, he arrived in Bristol and met Whitefield; and three days later he made, with a good deal of inward repugnance and hesitation, his first venture in open-air preaching. His unequivocal precedent was the Sermon on the Mount, delivered, as he remarks in his journal, at a time when churches were in existence.

Although the Bristol Newgate had been closed to Whitefield, the prohibition does not seem to have extended to his successor. It was while preaching in this prison, shortly after his arrival in Bristol, that those extraordinary manifestations took place which became so characteristic of the Methodist movement, and were so puzzling to outsiders. We do not read of such occurrences in Whitefield's journal. Passionate as was his oratory, intense as was the impression he produced upon huge masses of hearers, the whole effect may be likened to a breeze passing over a field of corn and swaying it hither and thither. But with Wesley's oratory, far more dispassionate, clear-cut, and matter-of-fact, the results were quite different. Conviction struck the individual, like a knife or bullet, and threw him into an agony that was usually replaced in a short space by an ecstasy of joy. To quote the exact words of Wesley's journal:

JESMOND DENE, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

KING'S COLLEGE, OLD ABERDEEN.

"Immediately one, and another, and another, sunk to the earth; they dropped on every side as thunderstruck. One of them cried aloud. We besought God on her behalf, and He turned her heaviness into joy. A second being in the same agony, we called upon God for her also; and He spoke peace unto her soul.

All Newgate rang with the cries of those whom the word of God cut to the heart: two of them were in a moment filled with joy, to the astonishment of those that beheld them."

It is the universal testimony of those who came closest to Wesley's work, that these manifestations were something new to pathology, and could not be explained satisfactorily in any scoffing, off-hand or commonplace way. Again and again there came to his meetings men who were wholly skeptical in spirit, and were eager to unveil and demonstrate the fraud; but these men were usually the first to succumb. Nor were the effects momentary or evanescent: they remained in changed lives, and in permanent sanctification. Wesley was no "Solifidian" in his views, nor did his teaching in the least tend to Antinomianism. No man demanded more sternly that good works should follow any profession of a changed heart. Wherever these conversions took place, there followed a signal decrease in the evils of drunkenness, profane swearing, unchastity and grossness of life. No one could deny that the Kingswood miners, who had hitherto borne the worst of reputations for vice and lawlessness, were changed forthwith into a quiet, orderly and excellent community.

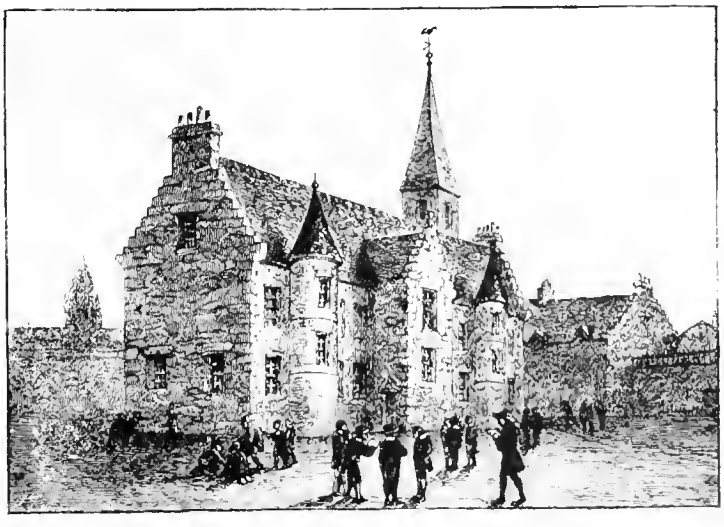
Samuel Wesley strongly disapproved of the new departure his brother had made, and was completely in sympathy with the bishops and others who were closing the church doors to the new enthusiasts. He thought Whitefield had gone raving mad, and that his brother had quite overshot the mark. Reports which came to him of the strange agitations marking the open-air services, filled him with much concern. He foresaw schism, and only regretted that church authority was so lax. As Samuel was a really pious man, his attitude may warn us not to judge too harshly the churchmen who opposed the movement. Before many weeks had passed over, Samuel Wesley was dead. His mother, who survived

him several years, was warned by him, shortly before his death, that she erred in countenancing the schismatic proceedings of her younger sons. Her instincts, however, were making her wisely liberal, and she encouraged her two younger sons to follow the impulses of their better selves rather than remain in the fetters of mere convention.

With the claims of the new work, henceforth to be his life mission, renewed strength was given to John Wesley to prosecute it. One marvels at the vigor displayed by this great preacher in his journeys hither and thither over Great Britain, and later in Ireland, at a time when the facilities for travel were but poor. The work spread northward to Yorkshire in the year 1742. Here Wesley's old friend Ingham had settled, and had been much impressed by the work of a Yorkshire mason, named John Nelson, who had heard the gospel in London, and had returned to preach the good tidings in his native county The two summoned John Wesley to come and advise them. When he arrived at Birstal, which was the center of the work, he found that a remarkable influence for good was present everywhere, due to the artless efforts of this plain mason, a man who had received no regular ordination. It led Wesley to make a more extensive use of laymen in the work of evangelization. Some years before, he had hurried up to London to put a summary stop to the preaching work of a layman; but on that occasion his excellent mother had warned him to be careful of interfering with what was evidently God's work. Mrs. Wesley died in this summer of 1742, just as the work which she had pleaded for in its tender infancy was beginning to wax great.

From Yorkshire Wesley went further north to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he found the people ill-mannered and degraded. Next morning at sunrise he was speaking to a few hundreds, to whom he announced his intention of preaching again in the evening. When at five o'clock he took his stand on a hill-top, the hill-side was covered with an eager throng. So deep was the impression made, that the poor people would hardly suffer him to quit the place out of pure love for him. This was an eventful year in the annals of religion. It witnessed the planting of many societies in Somersetshire, Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire, and other counties in England; and henceforward the work grew apace. It is also to be remembered as the year in which Handel's exquisite "Messiah" was produced in London, and electrified a people usually not emotional into a spontaneous act of religious homage. When the "Hallelujah Chorus" was rendered, the whole audience rose up as a unit in hushed attention—a decorous custom still kept up.

On the first Sunday of the new year Wesley visited Epworth, where he had,



EDINBURGH IN WESLEY'S TIME—THE OLD HIGH SCHOOL.

shortly before, been denied the use of the church; and at five in the morning, and again at eight o'clock, he preached to audiences gathered from the whole countryside. The spirit shown by the curate in charge, a Mr. Romley, was anything but charitable. When Wesley suggested that the people whom he was addressing might wish, as it was sacrament Sunday, to receive the bread and wine, Romley informed their messenger that he would refuse it to Mr. Wesley himself, as not being fit to partake of it.

ST. MARY THE VIRGIN'S CHURCH, OXFORD.

The mob violence to which Wesley was subjected at different places over the country need not engage much of our attention. It was not an age of refinement. Bear-baiting and cock-fighting were the favorite sports, and rioting was chronic. The complete fearlessness with which Wesley met the rioters often succeeded in calming and conciliating them. His aspect was winning and venerable, and the spirit of fair play, never wholly absent in an English mob, seldom failed in the end to secure for him respectful treatment. A scene which occurred in Cornwall well illustrates the fascination he exercised. In this remote county his followers had been particularly subject to mob persecution. Having been called to visit a sick gentlewoman at Falmouth, he had scarcely sat down when a huge mob beset the house, among them the crews of some privateers. Some of the sailors at the head of the mob forced their way into the very room where he was sitting, by bursting in the door. As the hinges broke away Wesley stepped forward into their midst, and said: "Here I am; which of you has anything to say to me?" Those who could hear remained still and quiet; and finally one or two of their captains vowed that not a man should molest him. He thus escaped wholly unharmed from a very dangerous situation, in which a man of less composure would certainly have fallen a victim to the mob's fury.

It was on the twenty-fourth of August,

1744—St. Bartholomew's day—that John Wesley preached for the last time in St. Mary's before the University of Oxford. Feeling that he was not likely to occupy that pulpit again, he "fully delivered his soul." He must have been deeply grieved at the necessity laid upon him to break with all that he esteemed venerable.

Wesley's work in England during the next thirty years will have to be dealt with in a separate chapter. It was in 1747 that he paid his first visit to Ireland, an island he was to visit no fewer than forty-two times. When, at the age of eighty he made a farewell visit, it resembled an ovation. With the warm-hearted and emotional people he was in distinct sympathy, and he drew from Ireland some of his most valued helpers. From a community of Germans, settled at Court Mattress on the western coast, came Philip Embury and Barbara Heck.

Four years later he visited Scotland, where Whitefield had ten years earlier received an enthusiastic reception. His mission here, as elsewhere, was to elevate Christian life, and to avoid religious controversy He was struck with the frankness and openness of the people of Edinburgh, and the reverent attitude of the large congregations he addressed in Glasgow—"beyond anything I ever saw." The prevalent objection to the use of "human hymns" hindered the spread of religious enthusiasm, and he felt that he did not possess the key to the emotions of the people. "They knew everything, and so learned nothing," is his testimony. In Aberdeen, a district where Episcopacy, once popular and dominant, has lingered on, he found in the English chapel of the city a ritual more to his liking than the "dull and dry" service of the kirk. In 1790 he made his twenty-second and final visit. As a rule he was courteously offered the use of the churches in Scotland, but he frequently preached in the open air. For instance, in 1788, he preached in the open air at Dumfries, to a large audience composed of rich and poor from every quarter. "And every one seemed to hear for life. Surely the Scots are the best hearers in Europe!"

In his seventy-fifth year he made his first visit to the Isle of Man, and was charmed with the simplicity of the people. The type which was probably most distasteful to him was the "genteel Dissenter," and it was absent in this remote, unsophisticated island. Again in 1781 he visited the place and was still more pleased. The little garden-like islands in the British Channel were also visited by Wesley in his eighty-fourth year, and he was listened to there by high and low, rich and poor, all glad to hear the Word preached.

In the closing years of his life the unselfish devotion which Wesley had shown in the promotion of real religion throughout the whole kingdom had disarmed all opposition. "I am become," he writes from Ireland in 1785, "I know not how, an honorable man. The scandal of the cross is ceased; and all the kingdom, rich and poor, Papists and Protestants, behave with courtesy; nay, with seeming good-will." On the last page of his journal, under the date October 20, 1790, occurs this entry: "The minister (of Diss, near Scoleton) was willing I should preach in the church; but feared offending the bishop, who, going up to London, was within a few miles of the town. But a gentleman asking the bishop whether he had any objection to it, was answered, 'None at all.' I think this church is one of the largest in this county (of Norfolk). I suppose it has not been so filled these hundred years." It is a significant entry, made less than five months before his death.

WEST FRONT OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

"The noble west front of Lincoln Cathedral, unsurpassed for architectural beauty in Europe."

CHAPTER VII.

METHODISM ORGANIZED.

IT WAS at Bristol that John Wesley finally and definitely became a home missionary. A home missionary within the Church of England he wished ever to remain, and desired nothing so little as to promote institutions that were not under her ægis. And yet circumstances proved too strong for him. From the time he became a field-preacher it was evident that a schism was destined, sooner or later, to take place. His brother Samuel lived just long enough to understand how inevitable was this result. His brother Charles, who survived Samuel nearly fifty years, saw, some years before his death, the schism accomplished, and was deeply concerned thereat. This half-century was an eventful one in Church and State. In both, the existing establishments had fallen distinctly behind the requirements of the age, and the new wine was beginning to burst the old bottles. While new forces were working within the Church, she remained coldly stationary and conservative. Never before in the history of the nation had the universities been so sluggish in spirit and unworthy of their great destiny. And the Church of England is always more or less as are the great institutions from which she draws her men and her ideas.

Meanwhile, with the Church organization remaining rigidly parochial, the population was beginning to shift like the pieces on a chess-board. The extensive coal-mines of the North were attracting a large mining and manufacturing population; a movement which finally gave to that part of the kingdom—what she was far from having before—the preponderance in numbers and influence. Some new organization was evidently required to supply the glutted city and mining parishes with religious teachers and institutions. Mere preaching would not meet the permanent needs of these districts.

The political and scholarly bishops who administered the ancient sees were but poorly qualified to undertake a task requiring much enthusiasm—a word they detested—and much real religious insight. The chief part of the burden was finally to rest on the shoulders of John Wesley, who became, in fact, an unmitered bishop, the most typical "Father-in-God" in all England.

Before leaving Bristol, in the spring of 1739, George Whitefield had collected funds for a meeting-house, the further planting of which devolved upon Wesley. He began by appointing eleven trustees who were to carry all responsibilities, financial and other; but Whitefield and several of his friends protested warmly against this arrangement, as likely to make his control of the institutions only provisional. He was finally induced to assume entire responsibility, and so entered upon a career of personal rule, which has brought upon him from many quarters the imputation of personal ambition. With Southey and some other biographers, ambition is registered as one of the few blots on Wesley's character; but later and more sympathetic ecclesiastical historians see little reason for supposing its existence as a controlling motive. It is difficult to exaggerate the power he exercised over the societies he founded; but this power was mainly due to the wide-spread confidence in his complete purity of motive, and this influence continually increased the more the power was exercised.

In London, as in Bristol, he was soon to obtain control, as if by manifest destiny. In his absence the Fetter-lane Society had given itself up to vain disputations, chiefly over the necessity of ordinances, and the use of other means of grace. Despairing of bringing them back to reason, Wesley made a final protest and then seceded, with about a score of others. They secured a dilapidated building in Windmill street, near Finsbury square, called the Foundry, from its having been used for the casting of cannon. Having obtained a long lease of the lot, they proceeded to erect a "preaching-house," which included not only a hall for the meeting of the classes, but also a school-room and library, where Wesley's publications were sold. Over the hall were the plain lodgings which served him as headquarters and as a home for a great number of years. Here it was that his saintly mother died.

The first meeting of the little society took place in July, 1740, a year after the erection at the Horse-Fair, Bristol, of the earlier building. Others of the same kind were soon to follow, that at Newcastle-upon-Tyne being for long the most important. It was at Newcastle, three years later, that a set of general rules was drawn up for the guidance of the united societies. These rules bear the date May 1, 1743, and are signed "John Wesley," "Charles Wesley" A "society" was therein defined as "a company of men, having the form, and seeking the power of godliness; united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each to work out their own salvation."

For the practical furtherance of this general aim, each society was divided, according to the respective places of abode of its members, into smaller companies called "classes." A class consisted of about twelve individuals, one of whom was styled the "leader." The duties of the leader were to see each member of his class at least once a week, in order to inquire how their souls prospered; to advise, reprove, and exhort, when occasion required, and to receive money for the relief of the poor. The leader had also to meet the minister and the "stewards" of the society once a week, in order to inform the minister if any were sick, or if any stood in need of reproof; and to hand to the stewards what sum he had received from each member of his class during the preceding week.

MRS. SUSANNAH WESLEY.

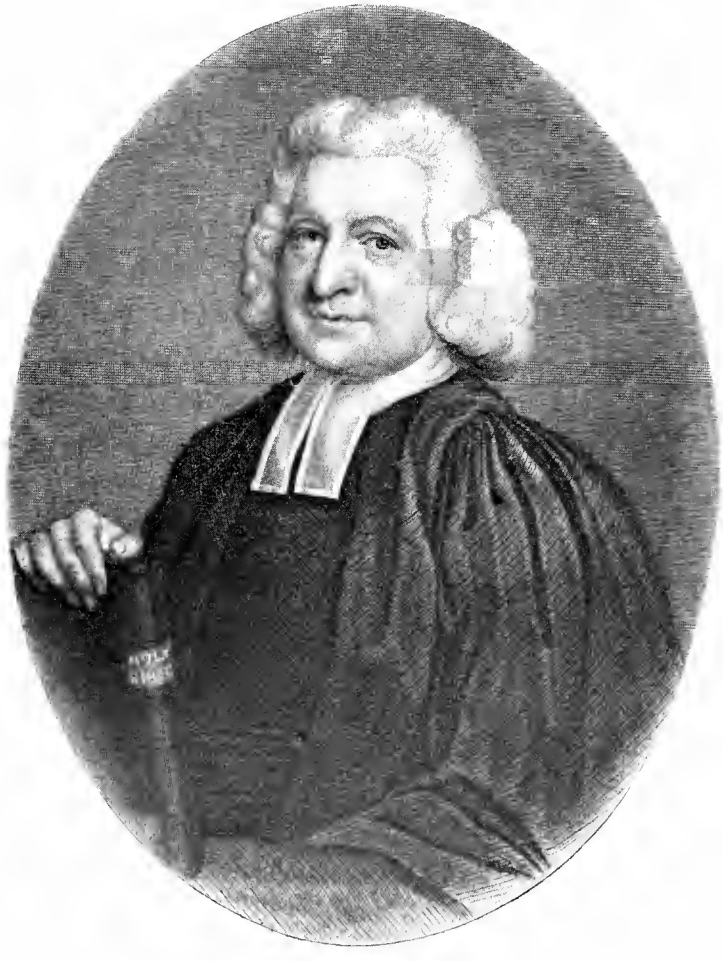
It is to be noted that the word "minister" used here has no special significance, but refers to a clergyman of the Church of England. The stewards were the treasurers of the society, who had to manage all its temporal affairs. They were men

JOHN WESLEY, M. A.
Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.

selected for their business qualifications, and freely gave up a large portion of their time to help the cause. At first they were expected to visit the sick and relieve their necessities; but, with the rapid growth in numbers, this additional burden proved too heavy and special "visitors of the sick" were appointed. In them Wesley saw a revival of the office of deacon and deaconess in the primitive Church.

When persons were admitted to membership in any of the classes, they were expected to be regular in their attendance. The only condition required of those who sought admission to the classes was an expressed desire to be saved from their sins; and this desire was expected to bear fruit in good works. Members were enjoined, in the first place, to be careful to avoid evil of any kind, such as profane swearing, Sunday desecration, drunkenness, brawling, litigiousness, the taking of usury, uncharitable or unprofitable conversation, speaking evil of magistrates or clergymen, the wearing of jewelry and costly apparel, and self-indulgence. Again, they were to seek, on

every possible occasion, to do good both to the bodies of men, by feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and visiting or helping those who are sick or in prison; and to their souls, by instruction, reproof, and exhortation, and the stern repression of false doctrine. They were also instructed to show a brotherly spirit to those of the "household of faith, or



REV CHARLES WESLEY.

groaning so to be," by employing them preferably to others, buying of them, and in general helping them.

Finally, members were warned that they must not neglect any of the ordinances of God, such as public worship, the reading and expounding of Scripture, the Lord's Supper, family and private prayer, the study of the Word, and fasting and abstinence.

Such is a *résumé* of this important document, which is worth the study of every enquirer into the history of religious institutions, and especially worth the close study of every Methodist. The final injunction which it contains has been allowed to lapse—the injunction to fast. For the practice of fasting there is ample authority in the Holy Scriptures and the history of the primitive Church. The Wesley brothers, who were both strict upon this point, observed Friday as a day of fasting and abstinence. The practice led to a very mistaken notion among Protestant Dissenters that they were Romanists in disguise—a cry raised even against Bishop Butler, because he had a private oratory. So strong was the prejudice in some quarters that members of the societies were refused admission to the Lord's Table in Dissenting chapels.

The charge of disloyalty to the Church of England was constantly made, and with as little reason; for no men were more attached to the Church which fostered them than John and Charles Wesley. A ditty, composed by a Cornish gentlewoman, was trolled under the hotel windows when the brothers visited St. Ives:

> Charles Wesley is come to town,
> To try if he can pull the churches down.

But the wording of these articles shows how scrupulous they were in avoiding any possible ground for such an imputation.

Differing from the classes in being composed only of professed believers,

REV. SAMUEL WESLEY, JR., M. A

who had assurance of salvation, were the "bands." These were smaller companies in which there was a division, according to sex and condition, the men and the women, the married and unmarried, meeting apart. The band, like the class, had its leader, who met its members once a week, and received from them what alms they chose to give to the poor. A ticket was given every quarter to such as met in band. To quote Wesley's own words: "To each of those whose seriousness and good conversation (*i. e.*, conduct) I found no reason to doubt, I gave a testimony under my own hand, by writing their name on a ticket prepared for that purpose; every ticket implying as strong a recommendation of the person to whom it was given as if I had wrote at length: 'I believe the bearer hereof to be one that fears God, and works righteousness.'" The ticket had a "B" printed upon it, and, when presented, gave admission to the band-meetings.

Band members were subjected to a severer discipline than was demanded of ordinary class members. They were directed to taste no spirituous liquor of any kind, unless medically prescribed. They were to pawn nothing, not even to save life. They were to mention no fault of any one behind his back. They were to wear no needless ornaments, such as rings, ear-rings, ruffles or lace. They were to refrain from the use of snuff or tobacco. So far in the way of prohibition.

In respect to good works much was expected of these selected members. They were to be charitable to the uttermost of their power. They were to reprove sin whenever and wherever they saw it, in a spirit of love and meekness of wisdom; and were themselves to be patterns of diligence, frugality, and self-denial.

A constant attendance on all the ordinances of God was demanded of them, with weekly communion. Every morning, at five o'clock, in all weathers, they were expected to be present at public service unless prevented by distance, business, or sickness. They were to use private prayer every day, and conduct family worship, if they were heads of families. Every vacant hour they were to employ in reading the Scriptures and meditating thereon. They were to observe, as days of fasting and abstinence, every Friday in the year.

By the system of tickets it was easy to drop from the roll of the band members any one who was disorderly. Within the bands was a "select society," who directed the movements of the whole organization.

In connection with the bands Wesley revived the old *Agapæ* or love-feasts of the primitive Church, his object being to

THE FOUNDRY.

ALEXANDER MATHER.

increase in the band members a grateful sense of all God's mercies. He desired them, accordingly, to meet one evening in a quarter, first the men together, then the women together, and on a third evening men and women conjointly. At these gatherings they ate bread like the early Christians "with gladness and singleness of heart." The food consisted of a little plain cake and water. In time all the members of the society participated in these gatherings.

A Penitents'-meeting was also instituted, for the benefit of penitent backsliders; in which the hymns, prayers, and exhortations were adapted to the special circumstances of those who attended.

The early Methodists observed a monthly watch-night. Some of the Kingswood people commenced the practice, by spending on occasion the greater part of the night in prayer, praise, and thanksgiving. When Wesley was asked to put an end to this excess of enthusiasm, he gave the matter some consideration, and ended by reporting favorably. He promised to "watch" with them on the Friday nearest the full moon, when there would be light both going and returning. The watch-night, which closely corresponded, as Wesley meant it should do, with the *Vigiliæ* of the early church, was finally held annually on New Year's eve.

It must be remembered that with the Wesleys—both of them ordained clergymen of the Church of England—were associated regularly ordained clergymen of the Church. In the chapels which were built to accommodate members of the society, Holy Communion was celebrated, but only in the regular way. From the outset Wesley opposed the holding of any services which would conflict with the services of the Church. Hence the very early hours chosen for their devotional meetings. The four grand parts of public prayer, as he terms them—deprecation, petition, intercession, and thanksgiving—were usually absent from their special services. So late as the year 1786, that is, within five years of his death, Wesley vigorously opposed the Deptford Methodists, when they attempted to hold the Sunday service at the same time as that of the Church. They proved somewhat stubborn in the matter; and he finally succeeded in carrying his point only by assuring them that such a divisive course would certainly result in their seeing his face no more.

The lay help which proved so marked a feature in the movement may be said to have originated with the sanction given to Thomas Maxfield, mainly

through old Mrs. Wesley's wise advice to preach the gospel. Maxfield, by the way, after obtaining holy orders, finally proved a thorn in the side of Wesley

The extraordinary loyalty of these lay helpers or "lay-assistants" to Wesley is one of the best testimonies we could have to his unique spiritual influence. The duties they were called upon to perform were neither light nor without weighty responsibility When no regular clergyman was available, they had to expound the Scriptures every morning and evening; to meet the united society, the bands, the select society, and the penitents once a week; to visit the classes once a quarter; to receive disorderly members back on probation, and to report upon such as desired admittance to the bands, or select society Nor was this all. They had to superintend the work of the stewards, the class and band leaders, and the school-masters, and to audit the accounts.

The natural tendency that sprang up to look upon these lay helpers as dissenting ministers of a new type, made John Wesley very sensitive on the subject, and punctilious in respect to the functions they discharged. He kept them all under his immediate eye, and was swift to check any kind of irregularity. The "local preacher" had to prove his qualifications as such before he became an "itinerant." The superintendent of the itinerants in a circuit was first known as an "assistant." Every new development in the organization, "circuits," "locals," "itinerants," "assistants" or "superintendents," sprang from immediate and pressing needs, as they were recognized by the statesmanlike mind of Wesley

One mark of the churches of the eighteenth century, which nineteenth century brotherhood has in great measure got rid of, was the "property pew " Like the ritualists of the Oxford movement, Wesley strongly objected to this inhospitable arrangement of a place of worship, and insisted upon open benches. Not only so, but he preferred that the sexes should sit apart; and this separation of the sexes was a distinctive feature of Methodism as long as he lived. Three years before his death the trustees of the City Road Chapel in London were preparing to modify these restrictions, but John Wesley would not hear of such a breach in his discipline. The result was the passing of a resolution, that the sexes should sit separate as heretofore, and none should claim any pew as his own.

Such, in brief, is an account of the

THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON

discipline which the strong will of John Wesley imposed upon hundreds of thousands of his countrymen, for their own good. It was a planting out of the highly ordered Oxford life, with all its sweetness and light. Within the old university city the life, by its very narrowness, had gained an intensity and a depth which made it unique in its beauty. Circumstances, not prevision or caprice, finally made of the precise Oxford don a popular apostle, with a devoted band of helpers, resembling the friars of St. Francis. They carried the seed from city to city, from district to district, preserving, as far as they could, the spirit of unity in the bond of peace.

DONINGTON HALL, LEICESTERSHIRE.
Ancient seat of the Huntingdon family and often visited by John Wesley.
(The present structure is modern, and was in course of building at the time of the Countess' death.)

The cause of secular education in England cannot be said to have received any particular impulse from the Methodism movement as it finally centered itself in the personality of John Wesley. Whitefield's school for the miners at Bristol, established in imitation of the Welsh charity-schools of Griffith Jones, was, it is true, continued; but it does not seem to have given birth to others. Toward the close of the century many of the Sunday-schools connected with the preaching-houses flourished amazingly, chiefly, no doubt, because of the hymn-singing. In a visit made to Yorkshire four years before his death, Wesley refers with intense satisfaction to their Sunday-schools at Bolton, attended by eight hundred children, and taught by eighty masters. The children sang in perfect tune and time, so that they seemed to be one voice. Next year, in revisiting Bolton, he was equally delighted. Wesley had a pet educational scheme which was to prove in the end anything but a success. This was the Kingswood school, near Bristol, originally designed to meet the educational wants of the families of his lay helpers, who had to spend most of their time in travel. On the Kingswood school he says in his journal that he spent more money, and time, and care than on almost any design he ever had; but it remained an incessant tax on his patience.

The original sum required for its foundation was generously supplied by a Scotch friend of Wesley's, Lady Maxwell, one of the purest and most devoted spirits of he century To this she afterward added a sum almost equally large. The site chosen was three miles outside of Bristol, in a beautiful and airy location, now shut in by squalid houses. Many and severe rules were laid down for the admission and training of the scholars. None was admitted under six or over twelve years of age, and those were preferred who "had some thoughts of God, and some desire of saving their souls; whose parents desired they should not be almost, but altogether Christians." Once within its walls, they were not allowed to leave for home until their education was ended; and this stipulation

HENRY FIELDING.
Police Magistrate and Novelist.

was expressly insisted upon before they entered. Wesley considered the rule reasonable, inasmuch as children are apt to unlearn in one week as much as they have learned in several; and to contract in holiday time a prejudice to exact discipline that can never be removed.

So far was he from believing in the sound old English adage, "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," that he arranged the hours of the school day so as entirely to exclude play; quoting a sour German adage to the effect that he who plays when a child will play when a man.

The curriculum of study was a sufficiently formidable one, including Latin (of the Augustan age only), Greek, French, Hebrew, and the exact sciences. The masters were chosen with great care, and the continental system of espionage was adopted by which the boys were never left alone, but were always, by day and night, under a master's immediate care. The hour for rising was the early one of four o'clock. On Fridays the scholars, except such as were weakly, were expected to fast until three in the afternoon.

The school was opened in 1748 with twenty-eight scholars, but this number was not long after reduced to eighteen; and of these eighteen, four or five, a pretty heavy percentage, proved incorrigibly wicked. In Wesley's own words, it was a "kill or cure" system. At times he was hopeful, and even as late as 1781 he writes of Kingswood with something of elation, as infinitely superior to either Oxford or Cambridge! But within two years this tone of elation has changed into one of disgust, and he confesses that the Kingswood scholars were really making less progress than at other schools, and hardly manifested even the form of religion; "they ought never to play, but they do every day; yea, in the school." Not only were they fond of playing; they were also fond of fighting with the colliers' children.

WILLIAM PITT.

Alas for poor child humanity! John Wesley did not understand it, evidently.

It is not surprising that the seminary scheme for the education of the preachers' children finally failed of success. It has been the general testimony of educators that seminaries designed for special classes tend to produce weaklings. The school is a miniature world, and that school gives the best education where there is a variety of type. Wesley seems also to have fallen into the fallacy that children can be moulded at will:

Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined.

BENJAMIN INGHAM.

This is one of those glaring half-truths that are apt to work no end of mischief if hardened into dogma.

It is to be noted that the Kingswood scheme was not originally launched as a pure educational experiment, but grew out of the domestic needs of the lay helpers. In one of his early trips to Ireland, Wesley had required the services of a helper, a Scotchman named Alexander Mather, a baker by trade. Mather consented, on the stipulation that his wife should be cared for during his absence. Wesley allowed the reasonableness of the plea, and gave a promise to that effect; but some of Alexander's "canny" friends considered that a mere promise was hardly sufficient. The practical question was, How would the stewards interpret the promise?

When Mather came to talk the matter over with the stewards and mentioned four shillings a week as a fair allowance, they considered it too much; and he accordingly refused to cross the channel. Next year, however, the same practical question having again come up for discussion, the stewards reconsidered their decision, and adopted Mather's original suggestion. In consequence, four shillings remained for many years the sum granted weekly to the wives of lay helpers who were traveling. To this was added twenty shillings a quarter for every child; and, when the preacher was at home, an extra daily allowance of eighteen pence was granted to his wife.

Political economists have noted this fact in respect to Protestant countries: that it is very difficult for a shabby or poverty-stricken man to preserve his self-respect. When the order of Friars was instituted in mediæval times the poorer in aspect the brother appeared the more influence he was likely to have with the multitude. In the England of the eighteenth century it was far different. Many of Wesley's helpers would willingly have traveled barefoot, like the early friars, but common sense soon dictated a different course. It was found that, if the preachers wished to insure a respectful hearing, they must be decently clad; and a quarterly allowance for this purpose was accordingly granted them.

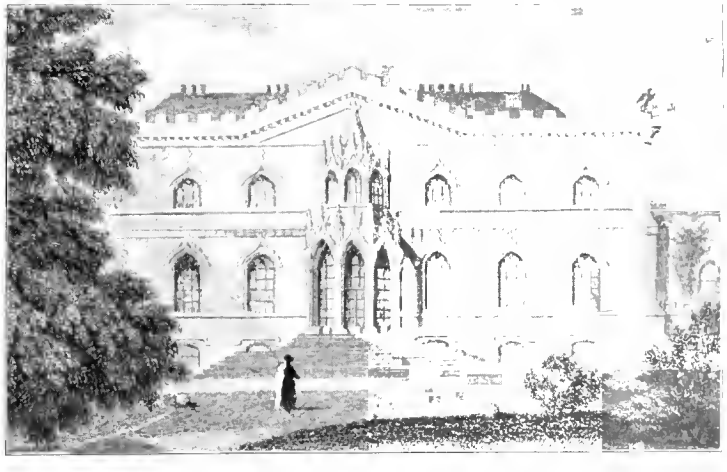
Every preacher was required to contribute annually to an insurance fund, from which he received, if disabled, an annuity of ten pounds. If he died, leaving a widow, she was entitled to a sum not exceeding forty pounds. It

LEDSTON HALL, YORKSHIRE.

was not uncommon, at the start, for preachers to be engaged in trade; and the propriety of this conjunction of occupations came up for discussion in Conference. The result was a prohibition of the practice.

The itinerant system was very dear to John Wesley's heart, and exactly suited his particular temperament. "Were I," he remarked, "to preach one whole year in one place, I should preach both myself and my congregation asleep. Nor can I believe it the will of the Lord that any congregation should have one teacher only. No one whom I ever yet knew has all the talents which are needful for beginning, continuing, and perfecting the work of grace in a whole congregation." He found a precedent for the system in the appointment by Queen Elizabeth of twelve itinerant preachers, whose duty it was to travel continuously, in order to spread true religion through the kingdom. The office and salary still remained, though, as was so often the case in the Georgian era, the duties had fallen into abeyance. Itineracy was a special feature of the Dominican and Jesuit systems, and was in existence long before the Crusades. St. Chad, the Northumbrian saint of the seventh century, as we are told by Bede, when he was consecrated for the office of bishop, visited towns, country districts, hamlets, and castles for the purposes of evangelizing, not on horseback, but on foot like the apostles. The primate finally compelled him to ride, as he was wearing himself out with his labors.

Wesley did not believe in the consecration of buildings, a custom which he looked upon as a relic of mediæval superstition. The earliest buildings erected were, from necessity, of the plainest and simplest kind. He seems to have had a preference for the ugly octagon form of building, with dome or lantern; but few of the brethren shared his taste. On one occasion, when in Norwich, he was particularly pleased with the Unitarian meeting-house there, "perhaps the most elegant in Europe. It is eight-square, built of the finest brick, with sixteen windows below, as many above, and eight skylights in the dome." For the cramped "tub" pulpits



BISHOPTHORPE PALACE, YORKSHIRE.
The seat of the Archbishop of York.

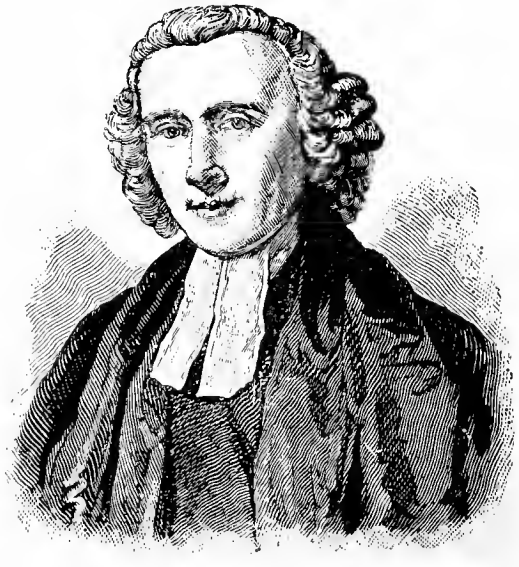
MR. VENN.

of the conventional type he had a confirmed dislike. Nor did he approve even of backs for the open benches in the chapels; everything was to be simple, severe, and helpful to devotion. The services were not long; Wesley himself considered an hour sufficient. He insisted upon hearty and intelligent congregational singing. It was customary in many churches to sit during the singing, which consisted, whatever the subject, of just "two staves." These sixteen lines were droned out, "in the indecent posture of sitting," by a few voices here and there in the assembly. Wesley, who loathed such perfunctory devotion, demanded that the whole assembly should stand up to sing, and should join heartily in an intelligent rendering of hymns of praise, short or long, as the theme demanded. It was to be a spiritual, reasonable, and willing service of devotion. His efforts in this direction bore excellent results.

And now in regard to the growth of the work: In the year 1749 there were twenty circuits in England, two in Scotland, and seven in Ireland. Forty-two years later, at the time of Wesley's death, they had increased to seventy-two in England, three in Wales, seven in Scotland, and twenty-eight in Ireland.

As early as 1744, the increasing responsibilities thrown upon him induced Wesley to call a Conference, which was attended by six clergymen and four assistants. The first Conference was a somewhat informal gathering, and yet its discussions, called by the unpretending name of "conversations," entered into the most important questions of church doctrine and discipline. The "minutes" are thrown into the form of questions and answers; a quaint but sufficiently lucid method. John Wesley continued to preside at these gatherings, held in turn in London, Bristol, and Leeds, for the long period of forty-six years. In the year 1784 a step was taken to meet the ecclesiastical needs of the United States of America, which definitely converted the Conference into the central council of a Christian church. For the first forty years of its existence it must be regarded as simply the council of a Church of England home missionary society

Leaving for a time the central figure



MR. ROMAINE.

of the movement, let us consider his associates in the working of evangelization. His brother Charles must not be regarded as a mere satellite; rather was John regarded as *his* satellite by Whitefield in 1741. To a student of their careers, the wonderful parallelism in their spiritual development is a matter which demands careful attention. The same influences seem to have acted in nearly the same way upon the two brothers. An almost complete sympathy remained between the two during the first three lustrums of the revival movement. In the pages of John Wesley's journal which treat of this period, the phrase "my brother and I" constantly recurs Charles showed himself a bold and efficient revivalist, with an evident call to the work. The inspiration of preaching fed his poetic vein, and many of his finest hymns may be traced to particular times and occasions in his preaching tours. His "Wrestling Jacob," for instance, a hymn which good Doctor Watts considered equal in value to all the verses he himself had ever written, grew out of addresses delivered on this subject at Cardiff and in South Wales.

It was in Wales that he found the excellent helpmeet who made the closing half of his life a happy period. Sarah Gwynne was one of the six daughters of Marmaduke Gwynne, of Garth, a wealthy landed proprietor, who had been converted through the preaching of Howel Harris. She was amiable, cultured, and attractive; and her love of music proved a bond of union. The two were married by John Wesley in April, 1749, and set up housekeeping soon afterward at Bristol. Their musical gifts descended to their children and grandchildren. Their second son, Samuel, born in 1766, won fame as a composer; and his son Samuel, who died in 1876, at the age of sixty-six, was even more famous.

Four years after his marriage, when John Wesley's health was so seriously impaired that death seemed imminent, Charles was invited to assume control. But he recognized his physical unfitness for the heavy duties of administration, and by no means coveted the work of

TREVECCA COLLEGE.

controlling the organization which his brother had called into being. In many of the helpers whom his brother trusted most, he himself placed but scant confidence; and his critical attitude toward many of them—usually justified by their real character, for Charles was a much better reader of men than his brother John—led to the unfounded belief that he was hostile to them all. In a few years his active connection with the movement practically ceased. The growing anti-church feeling in the societies led him to give up itinerating after 1756; and his brother's unfortunate marriage to the widow Vazeilles produced a certain estrangement. But they remained ever at heart the truest and most attached of friends. Of Charles' services to the cause, in his noble gift of song, his brother had the highest opinion;

BIRTHPLACE OF REV. JOHN FLETCHER.

considering them as really "a body of practical and experimental divinity."

Doctrinal differences soon separated Whitefield and John Wesley. The only contemporary at all comparable with the latter as a dynamic spiritual personality, endowed with high mental gifts, was the American Jonathan Edwards. Under his influence George Whitefield came, and under it he may be said to have more or less remained for the rest of his life. Nowhere was he more at home than in the orderly communities of New England and the Middle States. To the East, also, the claims of the orphanage at Bethesda secured his interest in Georgia. And, although he married a Welsh woman, he did not find in her the stay and comfort which Sarah Gwynne proved to Charles Wesley. On the shores of New England he was to find his final earthly resting-place.

His work in England, after the breach with Wesley, finally became identified with the evangelical movement having for its center the Countess of Huntingdon, whose acquaintance he made in 1744. The Welshman, Howel Harris, served as the means of bringing the two into closer relations. When Whitefield returned, in 1748, from his third trip to America, Harris met him at Deal and brought him to her house at Chelsea, where he preached to large congregations, containing many people of note in the fashionable world. Soon afterward he was appointed her domestic chaplain, and in the year 1749 he opened her noble mansion in Park street, London, as a preaching place. On one who had risen from a humble station, like Whitefield, the social prestige of the hearers whom he now addressed, and whose personal acquaintance he made, exercised considerable attraction. The sneer of Horace Walpole, wholly unjustified in respect to John Wesley, had possibly, in Whitefield's case, some truth in it: "The Methodists love your big sinners; and, indeed, they have a plentiful harvest."

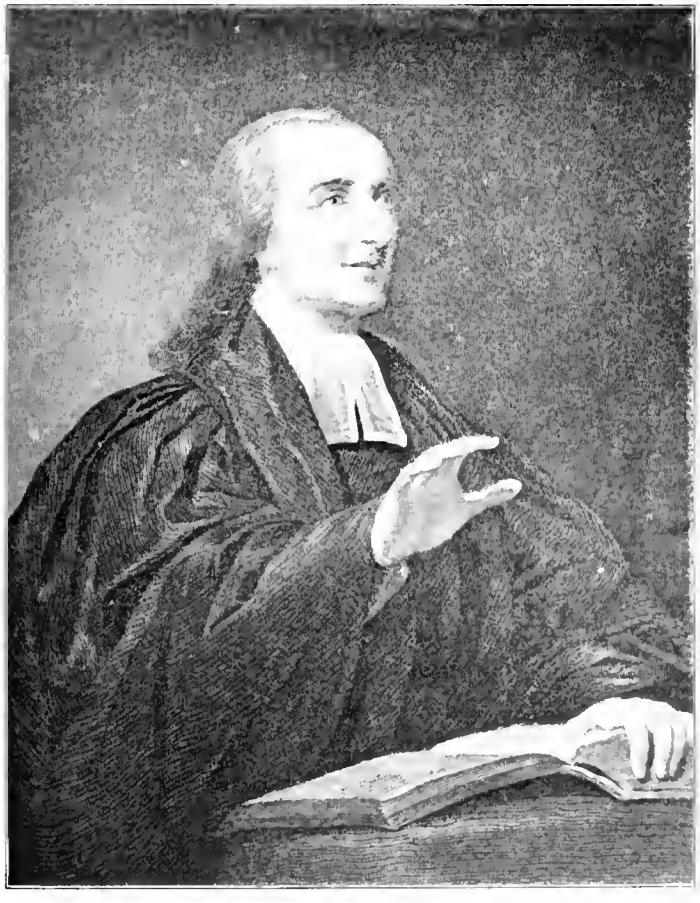
From this time Whitefield's name constantly appears in the popular literature of the day. Henry Fielding, who, as a police magistrate in London, must have come into immediate contact with many of the "New Birth" men—for the jails were specially visited by them—indulges in one or two satiric flings. In his earliest novel, "Joseph Andrews," published in 1742, *Parson Adams* proclaims himself as once the well-wisher of Whitefield, but now utterly opposed to his nonsense and enthusiasm. "None but the devil himself could have the confidence to preach" his doctrine of faith. And in his latest novel, "Amelia," published in 1751, the hero is robbed in prison by a Methodist who "had, as the phrase of the sect is, searched him to the bottom."

The name of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, occupies a prominent place in the religious annals of the eighteenth century. A daughter of the third Earl

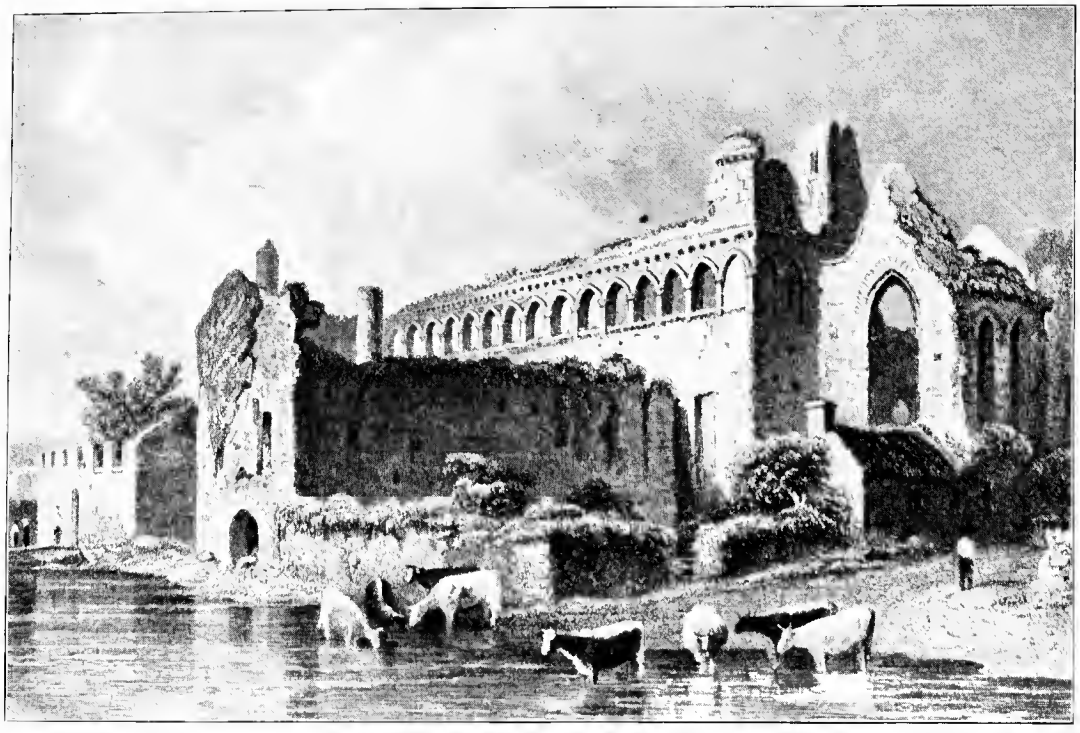
Ferrers, Selina Shirley was married, in 1728, at the age of twenty-one, to the Earl of Huntingdon, the head of the Hastings family. Her own family was unfortunate enough to produce one of the few titled criminals of the century. It was her cousin, the fourth Earl Ferrers, who, for the brutal murder of his steward, was condemned to death by his peers, and executed at Tyburn in the year 1760. The countess frequently visited him when in prison.

The influence which brought her into sympathy with the Methodist movement came through her sisters-in-law, one of whom married, in 1741, Wesley's intimate friend, Benjamin Ingham. After his return from Herrnhut, Ingham went north to his native county of Yorkshire, and was active in preaching the gospel. His fame reached the ears of the ladies of the Hastings family, who were living at Ledstone Hall, Yorkshire, and they had him invited to Ledstone Church. His earnestness won them over, and they dedicated themselves to a new life. Their sister-in-law lay so sick at this time in London that her life was despaired of; but the spiritual help afforded by Lady Margaret Hastings, who came to visit her, caused the disease to take a favorable turn, and she was soon convalescent. Her fashionable friends were utterly dismayed at her conversion, and Bishop Benson, now at Oxford, who had been tutor in the family, was sent for to deal with her; but she knew her own mind. She became a member of the Fetter-lane Society, and, like Susannah Wesley, approved of the lay-preaching movement. Not only did she support Maxfield in his new departure, but she actually sent out her own servant, David Taylor, to preach in Leicestershire. The family seat was in that fine agricultural county, at Donington Hall, where she often received the Wesley brothers as guests; but the original building exists no longer. The death of two sons by small-pox in 1743, and of her husband—who, though never a convert, was sympathetic—intensified her zeal.

In the unfortunate quarrel between Whitefield and the Wesleys she did her best to reconcile the three, but in vain. Her sympathies were with Whitefield; and though mutual respect existed between her and John Wesley, yet he considered her apt to be unreasonable and imperious. As a peeress of the realm, in the days when the position meant



REV. JOHN FLETCHER.



BISHOP'S PALACE, ST. DAVID'S, PEMBROKESHIRE, TREVECCA DISTRICT.

something, she used to the utmost her privilege of appointing private chaplains. Romaine, possibly the ablest man intellectually in the whole religious movement, Venn, Berridge, and other well-known divines, were thus nominally members of her household. This appointing of "chaplains" was, of course, a mere device to avoid the hindrances which would otherwise have been thrown in the way of free church extension.

Through her influence Whitefield, who was her favorite preacher, came to address the leaders in politics and society. William Pitt, the great commoner; Lord North, the Earl of Chesterfield; Horace Walpole; Viscount Bolingbroke; Frederick, Prince of Wales; Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, were on different occasions among his hearers. Most of them came and went, with seemingly no permanent change of character, although not a few spoke with approval of what they had heard. Two Scottish noblemen, the Earl of Buchan, and the Marquis of Lothian, may be mentioned as exceptions; and her relatives, Lady Fanny Shirley and the Hon. and Rev. Walter Shirley, the hymn-writer. Shirley was younger brother of the unfortunate Earl Ferrers.

The first regular chapel which the countess built was at Brighton, in 1761, and it was paid for by the sale of her jewels. The work extended; and she flattered herself that she had found a safe *via media* by which her people enjoyed the benefits of religious freedom along with the prestige of the Church connection. But, in the year 1779, a Mr. Sellons, vicar of a parish which the organization entered—converting a place of amusement into a preaching center—resented the intrusion, and brought the matter to a legal issue. The result was unfavorable to the countess, who found herself obliged to take refuge under the Toleration Act. The regular ministers, who served her as chaplains, returned to

their parishes; the others registered as Dissenting ministers.

The enterprise upon which she expended her means so lavishly as to impoverish herself, was the founding of a training college for preachers of the gospel at Trevecca in Wales. To this quiet and romantic corner, worn out by the labors of fifteen years' itinerant preaching, her old friend Howel Harris had retired to spend the evening of his days. It was his early home; and he loved the green hills and clear streams of Breconshire. Though a complete invalid, confined to the house, he none the less remained a power for good. A community of those who had been blessed by his teaching gathered round him, and finally a religious settlement of six-score people established itself in this remote corner.

The circumstances which prompted the countess to found the college are worth relating. Anxious that really pious men, and not mere formalists, should preach the Word of God, she had assisted seven earnest-minded youths to enter the University of Oxford. They connected themselves with St. Edmund's Hall, the principal of which seems to have been a worthy man. Eager to do some religious work, they visited the houses of the poor in the town and engaged there in religious exercises, praying, singing hymns, and expounding the Scriptures. For this offense against propriety, a complaint was made against them to the vice-chancellor—by the Bishop of Oxford, it is said. The result was a visitation of the hall and their expulsion; in spite of the fact that the principal of the hall spoke in the highest terms of the piety and exemplariness of their lives. This event took place in March, 1768. One of the heads of houses present observed, that as these six gentlemen were expelled for having too much religion, it might be well to inquire into the conduct of those who had too little!

It was this piece of petty tyranny that finally led the Countess of Huntingdon to carry out the scheme which she had long been contemplating. Having con-

ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL, PEMBROKESHIRE, TREVECCA DISTRICT.

PONT HEATH FAUGHAN, BRECONSHIRE, TREVECCA DISTRICT.

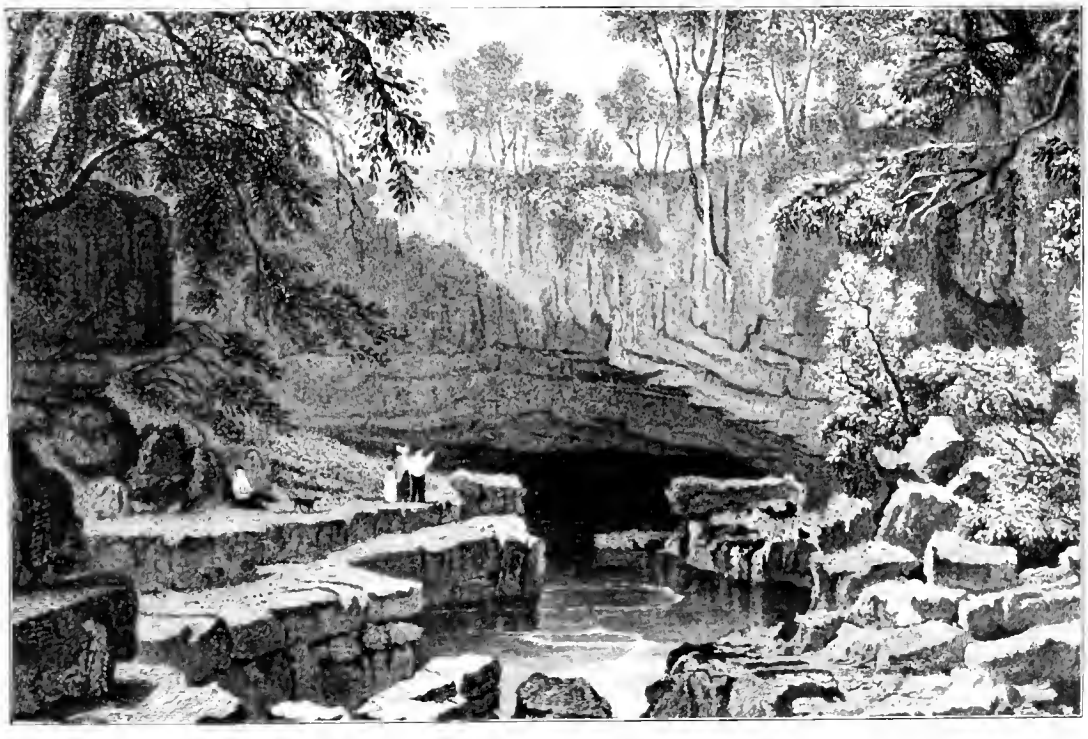
sulted with her friends, she resolved that those should be admitted who gave evidence of piety, and were intending to enter the Christian ministry. The curriculum was to extend over three years; and board and education were to be gratuitous; one new suit of clothes, moreover, was given yearly. On leaving the college, its *alumni* might enter the Church of England or any other Protestant denomination.

Four months after the expulsion of the six students from St. Edmund's Hall, the college was formally opened. Trevecca Hall, a venerable structure, dating back to the days of Cœur de Lion, had been adapted to modern needs; and in the chapel Whitefield preached from the words: "In all places where I record My name, I will come unto thee and bless thee." So deeply interested was Lady Huntingdon in her new undertaking that she resolved to reside at Trevecca the greater part of the year. The place became a center for evangelical work. Horses specially kept for the students conveyed them to distant places on the Saturday afternoons, that they might be ready for the Sunday services at different stations; and the whole adjoining country, within a radius of twenty or thirty miles, felt the stimulating effect of their labors. Even beyond this their activities extended, in circuit preaching, a mode of Christian activity in which Lady Huntingdon thoroughly believed.

A head-master for the college was found in the excellent Mr. Benson, then on the staff of Kingswood. Its president was the saintly John Fletcher, vicar of Madeley in Shropshire, whose duties did not entail residence. By birth a Swiss, of the De la Fléchère family, he received an excellent classical education. After distinguishing himself at college, he chose the profession of arms, to which his father had belonged. Having offered his services to the King of Portugal, he came within an ace of leaving Europe

for Brazil. A happy accident led him to England, where he became a private tutor. Brought under Methodist influences, he underwent a change of heart; and was finally ordained in the year 1757. It was in the next year that he made the acquaintance of the Countess of Huntingdon. Unlike many of his associates, he found greater delight in parochial than in itinerant work. No other clergyman of the time presented so exquisite a type of all the Christian virtues. At Trevecca, when he visited the college, he was received—to quote the language of the head-master—as an angel of God. On him John Wesley relied to continue his work; but the younger man was delicate; and in 1785 the elder was called upon to preach his funeral sermon. The text he chose was taken from the thirty-seventh Psalm: "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace." In the course of his address Wesley remarked that he had never known so holy a man. Fletcher's last public act was to lay the foundation of a parish Sunday-school—a movement just then beginning to spread, and one in which he felt the warmest interest.

Unfortunately for Christian harmony, the proceedings of the twenty-seventh General Conference of the Methodist Society, held in London in the month of August, 1770, provoked the strict Calvinists, of whom Lady Huntingdon was one, to disavow the declarations made in the minutes with respect to man's justification. It was a renewal of the old controversy which had led to the separation, twenty years before, of Whitefield and Wesley. Both Fletcher and Benson, the head-master, sympathized with the views enunciated in the minutes, which were supposed to support "justification by works;" and both found it necessary to resign their positions. An adjustment of differences was almost effected at a Conference held at Bristol, in which John Wesley conceded that the language of the minutes was, perhaps, incautious; but the untimely publication



PORTH YR OGOF, BRECONSHIRE, TREVECCA DISTRICT.

of a paper previously prepared by Fletcher and Wesley set things ablaze once more. Toplady, the famous hymn-writer, was one of the most violent defenders of the high Calvinist position. John Wesley studiously kept out of the discussion, for he disliked controversy.

This was the year of Whitefield's death, while on his thirteenth visit to North America. For long he had been in poor health, but his invincible spirit kept him constantly on the move. It was while on a journey to New Hampshire that he succumbed to an attack of asthma, from which he had for long been a sufferer. He lies buried in the church at Newburyport, Massachusetts. The temporary breach with his beloved friend John Wesley had long been healed up, mainly through the instrumentality of Charles Wesley, and to the time of his death the three men remained the warmest of friends. Whitefield's funeral sermon was preached by John Wesley.

His work in America was taken over by Lady Huntingdon. Several of the students at Trevecca were set apart for evangelistic work in the colonies, with headquarters at Bethesda; and a band of them set sail in October, 1771, for Savannah. But a series of misfortunes, beginning with the destruction by fire of the orphanage, finally broke up a work not too judiciously managed. During the Revolutionary War, the property of the mission was seized by the revolutionary troops, and the whole organization became a thing of the past.

A year after the countess' death in 1791, the buildings at Trevecca had to be given up, because of the expiring of the lease, new quarters being found at Cheshunt near London. The Countess of Huntingdon's "Connexion" still exists as a Dissenting communion.

It would not do to close this chapter without reference to a man, once playfully referred to as the "archbishop of Methodism," who died at an advanced age in the same year as the saintly Fletcher. This was Vincent Perronet, by birth a Swiss, who came to England at an early age and was naturalized in 1707, at the age of fourteen. He passed through Oxford University, where he studied at Queen's College, and was appointed, in 1728, Vicar of Shoreham in Kent. Like John Wesley, he was profoundly interested in manifestations of the supernatural. To Christians of today he is interesting as the author of the fine hymn, "All Hail, the Power of Jesus' Name!" He was present at the Methodist Conference of 1747, and two of his sons became preachers. In the bitter controversy of the year 1771 he upheld Wesley against the Countess of Huntingdon. So complete was the confidence reposed in him by the Wesleys, that when a difference of opinion occurred between them, their final resort was to Vincent Perronet. Charles Wesley preached his funeral sermon. His two sons did not prove as helpful to the cause as their father. Reference to them will be made in the next chapter, which will deal with the early lay preachers and the planting of Methodism in America.

By Fry, from a Scarce Print by Bland, Published in the Year 1765.

REV. JOHN WESLEY, M. A.

(Age 63)

CHAPTER VIII.

WHITEFIELD AND THE GREAT AWAKENING.

WHILE the visit of the Wesleys to Georgia, which formed the subject of an earlier chapter, must be treated as an episode in their lives, having but a remote connection with the history of Methodism in the New World, the case is different with Whitefield's visits to the American colonies. The phase of Christian life which the two brothers then represented was destined to wither and die away on these shores. The Wesleys, at the beginning of their ministry, displayed a high-church prejudice against Protestant Dissenters, and did not identify themselves with their work. But it was far otherwise with George Whitefield. From the first he felt himself in essential sympathy with such men as Dr. Isaac Watts, a copy of whose hymns lay beside him at his last moments. In the American colonies he found his congenial associates and coworkers almost entirely among Congregationalists and Presbyterians. The Wesleys while in Georgia were not in sympathy with any religious life outside of the society which had sent them out; except, possibly, that of the Moravians, with their doubtful claims to apostolical succession. The work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which once promised well, and in the state of Pennsylvania alone had maintained half-a-hundred missionaries and twenty-four stations, gradually dwindled down to almost nothing. No doubt the insularity and naive arrogance of many of the clergymen it supported, rendered them unsuited to appeal effectively to the people. Moreover, they represented anything rather than unconventional enthusiasm; and the religion that was required for the colonies was pre-eminently a religion of unconventional enthusiasm, with open-air gatherings and stirring psalmody. The Great Awakening, a name given to the revival which swept over New England and the middle colonies in the reign of George II., broke the fetters of conventionalism and parochialism which were repressing the expansiveness of religious life.

It has been said by a leading ecclesiastical historian of the day—Dr. Leonard Bacon in his "History of American Christianity"—that the 1740–50 decade was destined to impress upon the American church in its various orders, for a hundred years to come, the character of *Methodism*. And yet Methodism as an organized body did not come into existence until a score of years later. The Great Awakening was a revolt from parochial exclusiveness; from conventional services, associated with great family pews; and from lifeless psalmody. Its preachers addressed themselves directly to the hearts of men, through the emotions rather than through the intellect; and believed intensely in the sudden influx of the Holy Spirit.

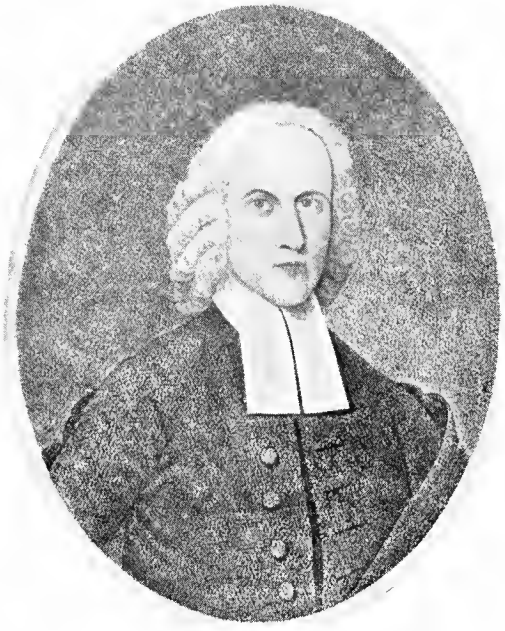
The times were ripe in America as in England for a great revival; and the movements arose independently and spontaneously. The American revival, however, was the earlier; and the "Narrative" of its peculiar manifestations, written by Jonathan Edwards, came into Wesley's hands in the year 1738, before he had entered upon his life work as an evangelist. At this time he was coming round to the belief that conversions, as far as we can judge from cases in the Holy Scriptures, are mostly sudden; and the book, with its plentiful instances of these, made a deep impression upon him.

The pamphlet of Jonathan Edwards possesses no little interest for every student of modern church history in England and America, constituting, as it does, a connecting link between so many of the spiritual forces of the era. The English edition, which was no doubt the one that came into John Wesley's hands, was "published with a large preface"—to use the quaint wording of the time—"by the Rev. Doctor Watts and Doctor Guyse, of London." Its full title reads as follows: "A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton, and the Neighbouring Towns and Villages of the County of Hampshire, in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England. In a Letter to the Reverend Dr Benjamin Cotton, of Boston. Written by the Revd. Mr Edwards, Minister of Northampton, November 6, 1736."

In the preface by Doctor Watts and Doctor Guyse, a prominent Nonconformist minister of the time, occurs the following passage, which well sums up the religious situation as it appeared to these good men and zealous pastors: "There has been a great and just complaint for many years among the ministers and churches in Old England, and in New (except about the time of the late earthquake there) that the work of conversion goes on very slowly, that the Spirit of God in His saving influence is much withdrawn from the ministrations of His word, and there are few that receive the report of the gospel with any eminent success upon their hearts. But as the gospel is the same divine instrument of grace still, as ever it was in the days of the Apostles, so our ascended Saviour now and then takes a special occasion to manifest the divinity of the gospel by a plentiful effusion of His spirit where it is preached: then sinners are turned into saints in numbers, and there is a new face of things spread over a town or country: *The wilderness and the solitary places are glad, the desert rejoices and blossoms as the rose;* and surely concerning this instance we may add that *they have seen the glory of the Lord there, and the excellency of our God,* they have seen the outgoings of God our King in His Sanctuary."

OLD REVOLUTIONARY CHURCH.

It is evident that these men, as well as John Wesley, recognized in the manifestations at Northampton a new development, which was to work a revolution in the well-organized Calvinistic churches. Up to this time Calvinism had insisted on the distinction between the elect and the non-elect; a distinction which Edwards, its final and, in some respects, its most severe exponent, dwelt on with insistence. Now this distinction was



REV. JONATHAN EDWARDS.

from the side of the divine sovereignty, and it better suited the phraseology of an age in which feudal ideas still predominated, and the decrees and choice of a ruler were of prime importance in the commonwealth. But when individual humanity began to assert its claims; when the rulers were no longer sovereigns in any immediate sense, but had become mere heads of a bureaucracy or instruments of a popular parliament, new terms became necessary to interpret what was a real and permanent distinction. Edwards, high Calvinist as he was, holding that God *has mercy on whom He will have mercy, while whom He will, He hardeneth*, yet appealed ardently to his hearers to repent ere it was too late. He appealed to motives as ardently as any Arminian.

The distinction made during and after the great revival between the children of God and the children of the world was that between "converted" and "unconverted." Roughly speaking, this was just the old distinction between elect and non-elect; only expressed from the human side. John Wesley rejected the original distinction entirely, and herein lay the strength of Methodism. The older Evangelical churches were more or less hampered by the double distinction, which was destined in the end to be obliterated.

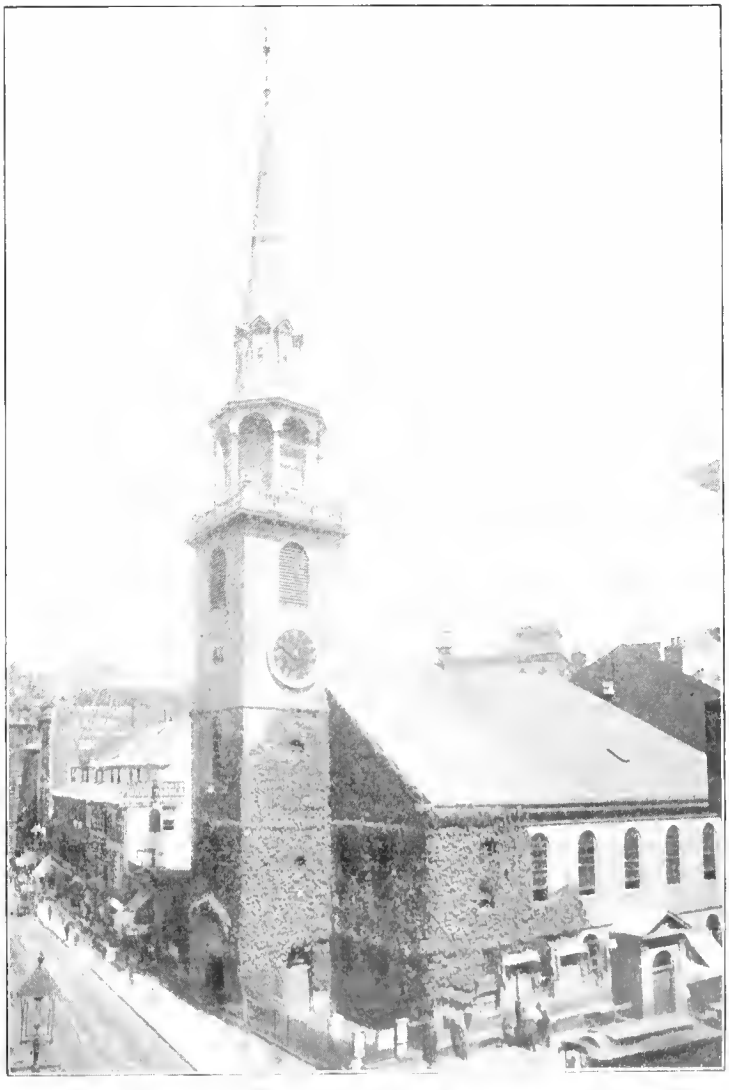
It is highly interesting, and at the same time very remarkable, that two men so different in temperament and education as were John Wesley and Jonathan Edwards, should have been led to the same doctrine of the "inward light which comes mysteriously from God to the hearts of men." As a pure thinker and constructive theologian, Jonathan Edwards has had few equals. He had an unbounded faith in the exercise of the reason, and the enlargement of the horizon of which it is the sun. No man of his times lived so completely in a world of theory and pure thought. Wesley, on the other hand, was pre-eminently a student of history and of institutions,

TENNENT CHURCH, FREEHOLD, NEW JERSEY.

who longed to behold the concrete expression of the kingdom of God. For theological discussion he had little liking; while Edwards positively reveled in discussion. And yet so essentially spiritual was their whole outlook upon life, so thorough and real their conception of sin, so truth-loving their inmost heart, that they both preached essentially the same gospel, and with marvelous power. It was the gospel of conversion, which Boehmer had brought to Wesley from Germany and for which the times were ripe. The publication of the Narrative" of Jonathan Edwards registers the entrance of this new doctrine and influence into the religious world as a prime and controlling force. It was to be the means, as has been well said, of bringing the Calvinistic theology into line with the inwardness of German theology

It is not that the term or the idea of "conversion" was unknown before. But the recognition of a force which, acting upon a whole community in a mysterious manner turns numbers of hitherto indifferent people into fervent believers, was certainly new to the world. Such conditions came to be known as revivals. No sooner had Edwards published his "Thoughts on the Revival" than Wesley republished it in England in a somewhat abridged form, under the title, "Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England" (London, 1745).

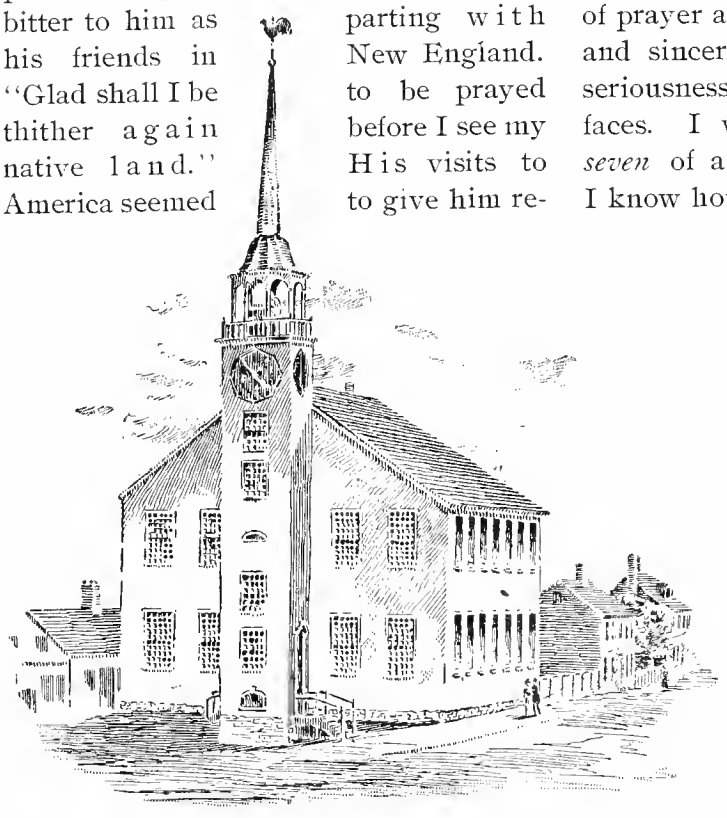
Edwards' treatment of the subject in his pamphlet is not that of a man who has at length succeeded in attaining the object of his desires, and recounts his success in a placidly satisfied manner. There is not the least trace of this attitude. Rather does it resemble the careful, almost anxious, record of a scientific man, who in his labors has discovered an intensely interesting phenomenon, and desires to record the manifestations in the exactest manner. He recognized it as God's doing, and it was marvelous in his eyes.



OLD SOUTH CHURCH, BOSTON.

Edwards and Wesley were not destined ever to meet. But, happily, there

was a bond of connection between them other than the medium of mere printed matter. Whitefield was to serve as a channel of communication. For him New England possessed a peculiar attraction. On one occasion in his journal he expresses a hope that death will not be so bitter to him as parting with New England. His friends in to be prayed "Glad shall I be before I see my thither again His visits to native land." to give him America seemed



THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH, NEWBURYPORT, PRIOR TO 1856.

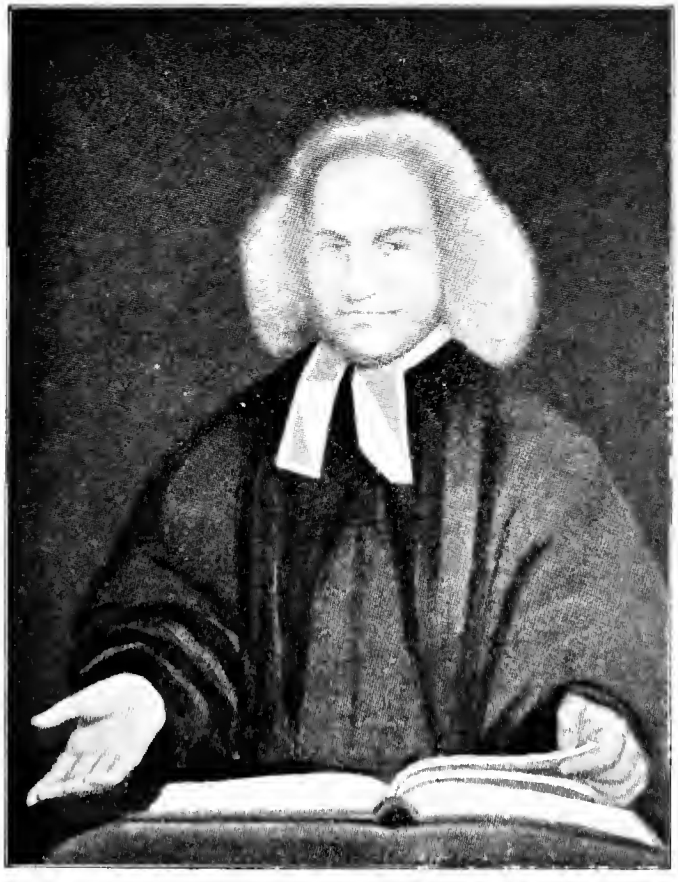
newed spiritual power, and an increased unction.

Whitefield hoped in making his first visit to New England in 1740 to be "refreshed amongst the descendants of the good old Puritans." He found that he must give as well as receive; for the churches there needed to be roused. The effect of his preaching at Boston is described as extraordinary To many it seemed as if the early days of Puritan fervor were revived. The effect upon Harvard College was also powerful and lasting. "At Cambridge," writes Doctor Colman, a Boston clergyman, in a letter to Whitefield, "the college is entirely changed; the students are full of God, and will, I hope, come out blessings in their generation; and, I trust, are now so to each other. Many of them are now, we think, truly born again, and several of them happy instruments of conversion to their fellows. The voice of prayer and praise fills their chambers; and sincerity, fervency, and joy, with seriousness of heart, sit visibly on their faces. I was told yesterday that not *seven* of a hundred remain unaffected. I know how the good tidings will affect you." A similar success attended his preaching at New Haven, both in the town and college.

His relations with Harvard and Yale colleges were afterwards to be somewhat strained. An imprudent denunciation of Tillotson as a man without Christianity, made an unfavorable impression upon those who justly respected that excellent prelate. In his preaching throughout New England he had frequently to combat the intensely parochial spirit which regarded every parish as so immediately under the care of its pastor that itinerant preaching was an intrusive impertinence. When the pastors, as was often the case, were men of a distinctly worldly temper, the apostolic zeal of Whitefield was aroused, and he fulminated against "an unconverted ministry." At this time Tennent's Log College in Pennsylvania was a center of "New Light" teaching. A wish had been expressed by Whitefield that he might fill the New England pulpits with young men brought over from England and trained there in gospel truth. This utterance came, through Jonathan Edwards, to the ears of Doctor Clap, pres-

ident of Yale College, and led to an acrimonious discussion; and it was resented also at Harvard. These causes of heart-burning were happily absent during the first visit. Moreover, none of the "extravagances" then accompanied his preaching which were later to excite the scorn of the cultured.

From Boston he proceeded to Northampton, where he was welcomed by the great apostle of the "New Light," Jonathan Edwards. He has recorded his impressions of the visit in his diary. "On the Sabbath felt wonderful satisfaction in being at the house of Mr. Edwards. He is a son himself and hath also a daughter of Abraham for his wife. A sweeter couple I have not seen. Their children were dressed, not in silks and satins, but plain, as becomes the children of those who in all things ought to be examples of Christian simplicity. She is a woman adorned with a meek and quiet spirit, and talked so feelingly and so solidly of the things of God, and seemed to be such an helpmeet to her husband, that she caused me to renew those prayers which for some months I have put up to God, that He would send me a daughter of Abraham to be my wife."



JONATHAN PARSONS, MINISTER OF OLD SOUTH CHURCH, NEWBURYPORT, AN INTIMATE FRIEND OF WHITEFIELD, WHO DIED IN HIS HOUSE. HIS BONES REST WITH WHITEFIELD'S.

Edwards counseled Whitefield against attaching too much importance to the "bodily effects" which accompanied his preaching, and minimized their significance and importance. A man of extremely enthusiastic temperament, Whitefield was ever apt to exaggerate the immediate effects of his preaching. Certainly he often exaggerated the number of those who flocked to hear him. It has been estimated that the congregation who listened to him in the Old South Church, Boston, can, at the very utmost, have reached only thirty-three per cent. of his estimate. The adulation he received on this, his first, visit to Boston may well have intoxicated him. The royal governor, Belcher, was particularly cordial, and even effusive, in his manner of reception.

He took the friendly advice of Edwards in good part; and yet left the impression with the elder man that he was a little annoyed at the criticism. Nevertheless, his visit to Northampton was in all respects a triumphantly successful one, and the impression he made was fully as strong as at Boston.

It would hardly serve our purpose to follow the tireless evangelist in his jour-

neys hither and thither over New England as he preached the gospel to all who would hear it. One visit, however, deserves special notice. Thirty miles north of Boston, at the mouth of the historic Merrimac, stands the town of Newburyport, where Whitefield was eventually to die in the midst of his labors. To Newburyport, on the last day of September, 1740, he came in a blinding snow-storm. One church, and one only, welcomed him. The pastor of the First (Congregational) Church was

HIGH STREET, NEWBURYPORT, LOOKING TOWARD THE MALL, FROM THE STOREY GARDEN.

not in sympathy with the revival, and is said to have even carried a whip with him to scourge enthusiasts from the house of prayer. The pastors of the Second and Fourth Churches also stood coldly aloof; and the incumbent of the two Episcopal places of worship regarded the new movement "with great surprise." Happily, the pastor of the Third Church, who had for his motto: "*In necessariis, unitas; in non-necessariis, libertas; in omnibus, charitas*," welcomed the evangelist to his pulpit. The result was a revival by which a hundred and forty-three members were added to the church during the next eighteen months. The community was stirred to its depths, and people took part with or against the "New-schemers" or "Joppaites," so-called because they met for prayer at the house of one Simon, by the seaside.

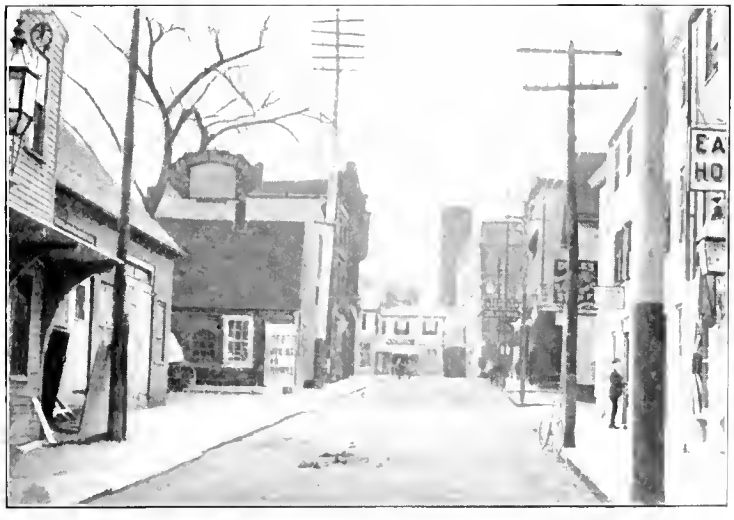
A few years later, owing to divisions in the Third Church, a number of its members, in conjunction with members from other churches, formed a new congregation and built a chapel in what is now the "Storey garden." In 1746 they called as their pastor Jonathan Parsons, of Lyme, Connecticut, who had studied theology under Edwards. He was a man in whom Whitefield had every confidence, who remained his life-long friend, and in whose house he died. Even in death they were not divided; for their remains repose in the same vault. The church, though entering into no presbytery, called itself Presbyterian; following the instruction of the Scotch form of government, that in extraordinary cases something extraordinary may be done, until a settled order may be had. At this time the so-called "Irish Presbytery," being out of sympathy with Whitefield's preaching, had suspended two of its ministers for their zeal in supporting him. These ministers carried their congregations with them, and the result was a new presbytery of Boston, in sympathy and co-operation with Jonathan Edwards, Whitefield, and the revival. So far, therefore, as organizations went, the result of Whitefield's work in this characteristically

THE HARBOR, NEWBURYPORT.

New England town was to revive the Congregationalists and increase the strength of Presbyterianism by the addition of an active congregation.

The general effect of the revival was to increase the number of the New England churches during the next twenty years by one hundred and fifty. The earliest evangelizing work of Whitefield in America, however, and perhaps the most permanent in its effects, was done not in New England, but in the middle colonies. Already in New Jersey and Pennsylvania there were manifestations of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit; and matters were in train for the wonderful revival work which Whitefield seemed more fitted than any other man of his time to carry on successfully. His earliest work there antedates his first visit to New England. In 1740 he had come to Boston fresh from a tour in the middle colonies. After settling affairs at the orphan-house, Bethesda, he turned his face northward by way of Charleston. In this city, although he encountered the hostility of the principal Episcopal dignitary, he was successful in his preaching, and received a handsome collection for charitable purposes. Next we find him at Wilmington; and then at Philadelphia, where he preached on Society Hill to a huge assemblage. It was the first of many visits to the city, which became a center of the good work. Twenty miles north William Tennent was busy at Neshaminy educating young men for the Christian ministry; and Whitefield, who visited him, was enthusiastic over the success of his efforts.

Continuing northward to New York, Whitefield addressed meetings all along the way The intervening district was already "white for the harvest." In New Jersey several choice spirits had been working with zeal for the conversion of souls. Conspicuous among them was a saintly man from Holland. Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen was born in West Friesland in the year 1691, received a classical education, and at the age of twenty-six was ordained to



A STREET IN OLD NEWBURYPORT.

the ministry For about two years he served as pastor in the Reformed Church of his native land; and then, being chosen as missionary to the settlements on the Raritan river, in New Jersey, he sailed for the New World, and began at Raritan a ministry which lasted for twenty-seven years. So popular was he as a pulpit orator that his sermons were printed not only in America, but also at Utrecht, under the approval of the University of Groningen. The German

OLD COURT HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA.

Pietist movement, which spread to Holland, had deeply affected him, and the gospel he preached was that which John Wesley heard and gladly welcomed during his visit to the Continent, when he passed through Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and other of the Dutch towns. It was the gospel of the "new birth," which demanded of those who called themselves Christians some evidence of a real change of heart.

Six or seven years after Frelinghuysen's arrival at Raritan there came to the neighboring town of New Brunswick a young Irishman named Gilbert Tennent, whose father had settled in Pennsylvania. The elder Tennent, born in Ireland in the year 1693, seems to have been a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, the central institution of Anglicanism in Ireland. He took orders in the Episcopal Church of Ireland, and became chaplain to an Irish nobleman; but, eager for more spiritual light and more scope for his energies, he emigrated to America in the year 1718, and was received into the Presbyterian ministry by the synod of Philadelphia. His ministry at Neshaminy, twenty miles north of the Quaker city, began in the year his son Gilbert accepted the pastorate at New Brunswick. Two years later, on land given him by his kinsman, James Logan, he erected a small building, which was to become famous as the "Log College." Within its walls he began to develop a scheme which had been for long interesting him—the training up of candidates for the ministry A man of rare gifts as a teacher and an inspirer of youth, he made the place a center of Christian influence. For the next fourteen years it was a nursery of eager spirits. Whitefield described the building as "a log house about twenty feet long, and near as many broad; and to me it seemed to resemble the school of the old prophets, for their habitations were mean."

The ablest of the men trained under William Tennent at Neshaminy was probably Samuel Blair, a native of the North of Ireland. He became an energetic preacher of the new doctrines, and in 1740, after his settlement at Fogg's

Manor, Pennsylvania, he in turn established a theological seminary where were educated several men who became

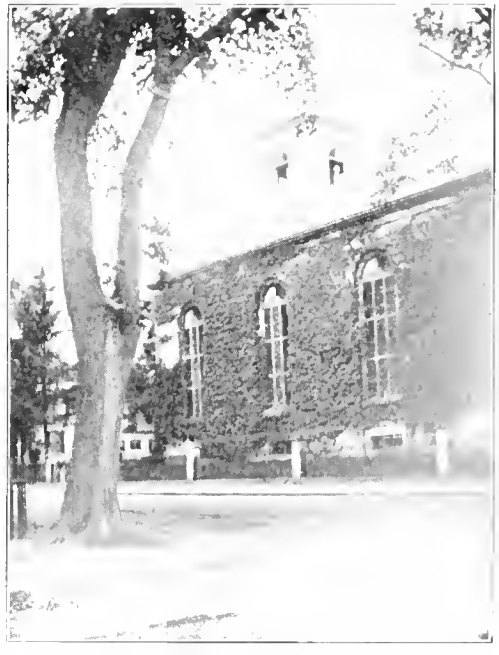
A STREET IN OLD YORK, MAINE, SHOWING METHODIST CHURCH.

prominent in the church. His pastorate began with a remarkable revival. The conversions were accompanied by outward signs of distress, weeping and bitter mourning, "a thing not known in these parts before." During the whole summer these manifestations continued. "Several would be overcome and fainting; others deeply sobbing, hardly able to contain; others crying in a most dolorous manner; many others more silently weeping, and a solemn concern appearing in the countenances of many others."

The earlier years of Gilbert Tennent's ministry were not fruitful. Before coming to New Brunswick he had been settled at New Castle, Delaware, and had left his charge so abruptly as to call forth the censure of the synod. But a severe illness, and a loving letter from his colleague, Dominie Frelinghuysen, breathed new spiritual life into him, and he began to preach regeneration and assurance. A period of revival set in, which extended to neighboring parishes.

Gilbert Tennent was a remarkable personality. A man of lofty stature and dignified aspect, he wore his hair undressed, and clad himself in a large great-coat girt with a leathern girdle. His eloquence was of the threatening kind—Whitefield spoke of him as a "Boanerges, or son of thunder"—and he loved to expose hypocrisy and inconsistency.

A younger brother, William, who had studied theology with him at New Brunswick, was settled near him at Freehold, and was ardent in the work. At Elizabeth, close by, the pastor was Jonathan Dickinson, a graduate of Yale College, who had come from Hatfield, near Northampton, Massachusetts, and possessed many of the best characteristics of the saintly and scholarly Edwards. He was an

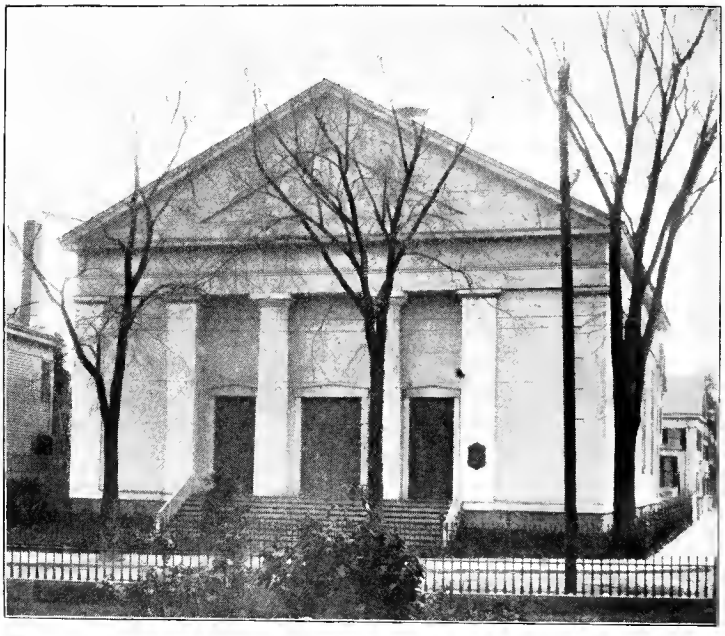


OLD SOUTH CHURCH, PORTSMOUTH.

intimate friend of David Brainerd, whose most important work was near by. In 1717 Dickinson joined the Philadelphia

presbytery, and for the next thirty years was a recognized leader. Naturally sane and judicious, he opposed the fanaticism which marred the revival.

Considerable scandal was caused by the eccentricities of James Davenport, minister of Southold, Long Island, who, throwing himself with enthusiasm into the new movement, showed himself altogether careless of convention. On one occasion, when invited to preach for a Mr. Robbins, he sang hymns on the way to church, to the disgust of his host. Whitefield thought him a "sweet, pious soul," and his personal piety was undoubted; but he indulged in a censoriousness which was one of the weaknesses of the movement. In his parish he distinguished between "brethren" and "neighbors," who were the sheep and the goats; and he held as little intercourse as he could with the latter—surely an unchristian course. His career was a varied one. The Connecticut law of the year 1742, which deprived of their salary ministers who preached elsewhere than in their own parishes, bore hard upon him. He was finally expelled from the state for contumacy. At New London he and his sympathizers gathered together on the wharf all the theological works with which they disagreed and set fire to the pile. Among the books were the works of Beveridge, Flavel, Increase Mather, and even of Jonathan Parsons, then minister of Lyme. They sang hymns as the smoke ascended, and were persuaded that the smoke of the torments of such of the authors as were dead was similarly ascending in hell! Davenport lived to regret these extravagances.



WHITEFIELD CHURCH, STATE STREET, NEWBURYPORT.

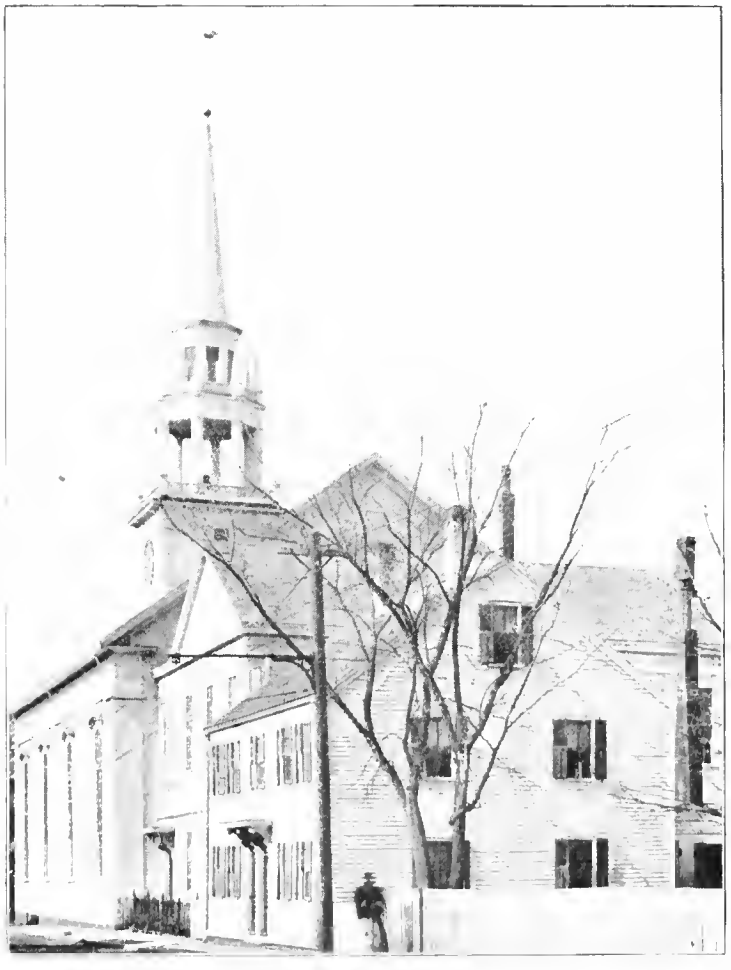
Whitefield at once found in this eager and active band of evangelicals a congenial aid in his itinerary work. He took Gilbert with him on a tour in the winter of 1740–1, and left him in charge of the work when he returned to England. Unhappily, the pugnacity of Tennent forced a division in the church to which he belonged. His unsparing denunciations of those ministers who did not believe and act exactly as he did included charges which he had taken but little care to substantiate. The imprudent and censorious temper of a sermon which he preached in 1740 at Nottingham, Pennsylvania, and which, under the title "An Unconverted Ministry," had a wide circulation, not only injured his reputation among many excellent people in New England and elsewhere, thereby diminishing his influence, and hindering the cause of truth, but also precipitated an unfortunate schism in the middle colonies which lasted for seventeen years. The "Old Side" Presbyterians, who proceeded to cut off the New Brunswick

presbytery from their communion, complained, among other things, of "disorderly irruption into other men's congregations," and of the preaching of assurance of salvation as an essential mark of real godliness. Upon these points the "New Side" was ready to insist. They met the crisis confidently and redoubled their zeal in spreading the gospel and planting centers of religious life.

These seventeen years of disruption proved a period of wonderful growth for the "New Side." A charter was obtained in the year of the separation for the College of New Jersey, hitherto known as Nassau Hall, and Jonathan Dickinson was called in 1745 to be its first president. He lived long enough to give the new institution the impress of his high character. He has been termed the "best scholar, the most effective writer, and the soundest in judgment in the Church." The college, finally located at Princeton in the year 1757, has many associations with Whitefield, who received from it an honorary degree.

Nassau Hall, the acorn cup which held the oak of Princeton University, received a Methodist baptism at its birth. Not only did Whitefield inspire and encourage its leaders, but the Methodists in England gave it funds, and one of its presidents (Davies) was a correspondent of Wesley, honoring him as a "restorer of the true faith." Dartmouth College had a similar origin. In its beginning it was nourished by funds contributed by English Methodists.

In the final healing of the division in 1758, Gilbert Tennent took an active part. He had been called in 1744 to be pastor of a church in Philadelphia, formed by the admirers of Whitefield, whom they were very anxious to secure as permanent pastor. He now began to lay aside many of his asperities and eccentricities, and regretted the hasty censoriousness which had marked his earlier career. Along with Edwards and Whitefield he occupies an honored place as one of the heralds of a new era of religious brotherhood. These are the three chief names in the history of the Great Awakening, which did so much to unify religious life in the colonies and prepare



OLD SOUTH CHURCH, NEWBURYPORT, WHERE WHITEFIELD IS INTERRED. THE GARRISON HOUSE IS IN THE FOREGROUND.

JONATHAN PARSONS' HOUSE, NEWBURYPORT.
The upper room at the left hand corner is where Whitefield died.

the way for united religious life in the nation.

Whitefield in prosecuting his evangelistic labors crossed the Atlantic thirteen times, preaching the gospel throughout the colonies from Georgia to Maine, and exerting a timely and potent influence upon the religious life of the New World. He quickened into new life the Great Awakening, which, beginning under Edwards, had not only subsided, but had begun to react before his arrival. To his zeal and marvelous eloquence various religious bodies owe their later religious life and earnestness. The Congregational churches of New England, the Presbyterians of the Middle States, and the Baptists of the South were alike quickened by this apostolic man. Though he did not organize his labors in the New World, he prepared the way for the coming of Wesley's itinerants at a later time, and through other churches and institutions made a deep and permanent impression.

One influence which may account in a measure for the great success of the "New Lights" was the use they made of music. Among the stricter Presbyterians, and others who clung to an intensely formal theory of inspiration, it was believed and asserted that the psalms of David were the only proper compositions for use in God's praise. The metrical version of the Psalms then in general use in America was, unfortunately, one of the worst in existence, and a marvel of literary distortion. The following verses, culled from its rendering of the one hundred and thirty-seventh psalm, show how deplorably unfit it was to serve the purposes of modern devotion. What agonies the composer must have undergone in finding the rhymes!:

> The rivers on of Babilon
> there when we did sit down,
> Yea, even theu we mourned when
> We remembered Sion.
>
> Our harp we did hang it amid
> upon the willow tree,
> Because there they that us away
> led into captivity,
>
> Required of us a song, and thus
> asked mirth as waste who laid,
> Sing us among a Sion song,
> unto us then they said.

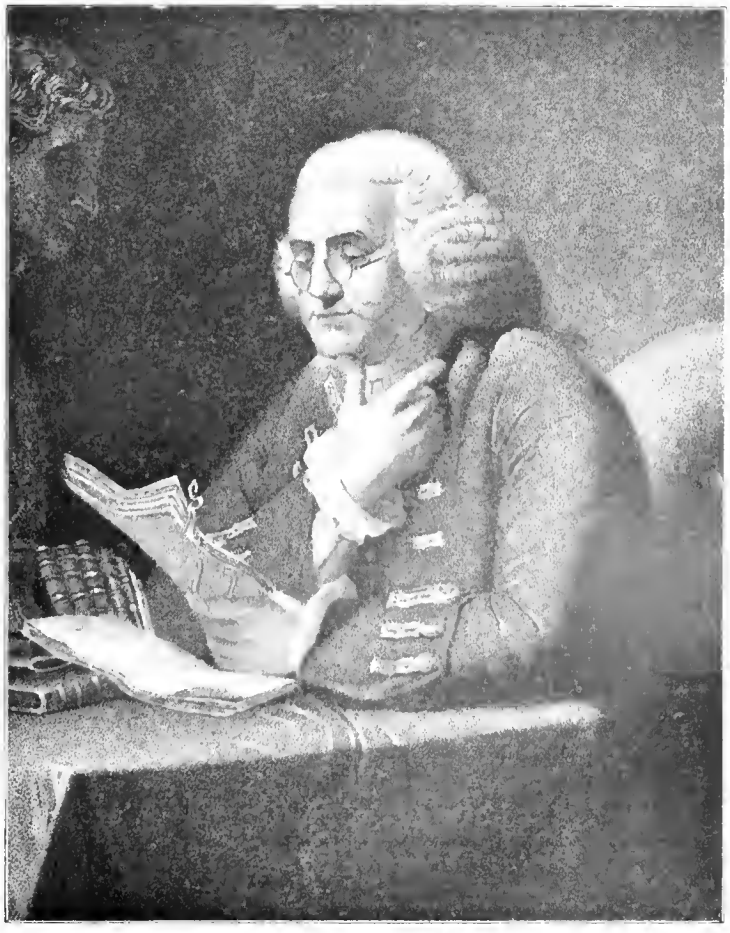
To call upon a mixed audience to sing with enthusiasm stanzas so rugged and so remote from immediate experience as the above, was to kill the spirit of devotion.

The Quakers, again, who did so much excellent missionary work at the period of their greatest activity and consecration, were always shy of music, distrusting its noise as inimical to their quietude. One feature of the Awakening was the enthusiastic nature of the singing. Whitefield and his companions, as they rode from place to place, solaced and refreshed themselves by singing hymns.

The excellent compositions of Isaac Watts gave a natural channel of utterance to the fervor of Christian devotion; and Charles Wesley and others were rapidly adding to the number of these religious lyrics.

Jonathan Edwards had noticed this love of singing as a feature of the Northampton revival. "It has been observable," he writes, "that there has been scarce any part of divine worship wherein good men amongst us have had grace so drawn forth, and their hearts so lifted up in the ways of God, as in singing His praises; our congregation excelled all that ever I knew in the external part of the duty before, the men generally carrying regularly and well three parts of music and the women a part by themselves; but now they were evidently wont to sing with unusual elevation of heart and voice, which made the duty pleasant, indeed."

It was at the close of the year 1741, after his return from this his second American tour—notable as being his first evangelizing visit—that Whitefield married, his choice being a widow named James, who resided at Abergavenny in Wales. His domestic relations, though not unhappy like John Wesley's, were hardly ideal. To Gilbert Tennent in America he wrote of his wife that "though neither rich in fortune, nor beautiful in person, she was a true child of God." In a letter to another American friend he styled her "a daughter of Abraham," a term of high praise with him. This was shortly after his marriage, and before her qualities had been tested. She seems to have proved a faithful wife, and a kind and attentive nurse. In the year following their marriage a child was born; and before its birth Whitefield declared in public that it would be a boy and do great things in the Lord's service. The child proved indeed to be a boy, but it survived only four months. "Last night," writes Whitefield, "I was called to sacrifice my Isaac; I mean to bury my only child and son, about four months old. Many things occurred to make me believe he was not only to be continued to me, but to be a preacher of the everlasting gospel. Pleased with the thought and ambitious of having a son of my own so divinely employed, Satan was permitted to give me some wrong impressions,



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

whereby, as I now find, I misapplied several texts of Scripture. Upon these grounds I made no scruple of declaring that I should have a son, and that his name was to be John. I mentioned the very time of his birth, and fondly hoped that he was to be great in the sight of the Lord."

WHITEFIELD'S CENOTAPH IN THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH, NEWBURYPORT.

Mrs. Whitefield accompanied her husband on his next visit to America. She was with him when he sailed from Plymouth in the summer of 1744. He started in poor health, on board the "Wilmington," one of a fleet of a hundred and fifty ships accompanied by several convoys. The journey was a long and tedious one, owing to continued calms. When the wind at length sprang up, a collision occurred in which the "Wilmington" nearly sunk the vessel which ran her down. White-

field was singing a hymn on deck at the time the concussion took place. When the affair was reported to the convoy, the polite answer came back: "This is your praying and be damned."

A gale springing up, they were separated from their convoy, and saw it no more for the rest of their voyage. At first Whitefield thought it no loss; but the appearance of two strange sails in the distance made him long for them again, for he was confessedly not of a martial spirit. Mrs. Whitefield rose to the occasion, and busied herself making cartridges; while her husband took refuge in "the *holes* of the ship, hearing that was the chaplain s usual place."

When the vessel came to anchor in the Piscataqua off York, Maine, Whitefield was so anxious to go ashore that he got on board of a smack in the bay; but it failed to make the shore, and tossed about all night. Next morning when he landed, he took to his bed and for four days was dangerously ill.

The minister of York at this time was named Moody, a worthy but eccentric man, who for forty-seven years was stationed there. As soon as Whitefield was able to receive visitors, Moody called upon him, and accosted him as follows: "Sir, you are first welcome to America; secondly, to New England; thirdly, to all faithful ministers in New England; fourthly, to all the good people in New England; fifthly to all the good people of York; and sixthly and lastly, to me, dear sir, less than the least of all." Then followed a request for a sermon, which Whitefield delivered. Immediately afterward he crossed the ferry to Portsmouth, New Hampshire; an imprudence which caused a renewal of his illness. But he insisted on preaching, although to the audience he appeared like a dying man.

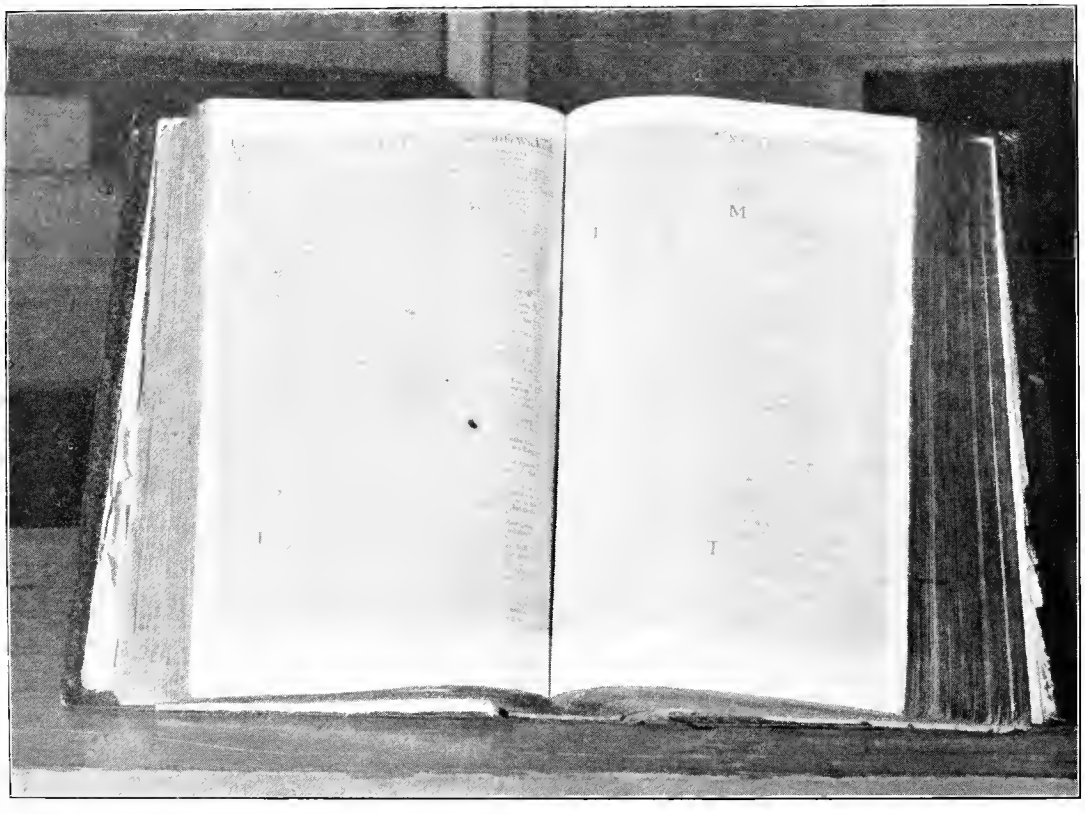
The minister of the Old South Meeting-House at Portsmouth was Mr. Shurtleff, an excellent man, in full sympathy with the revival movement. During his ministry, which lasted until 1749, many conversions took place. The old building, for long a landmark for mariners coming into the harbor, is still remembered by many residents. It was replaced by the modern stone structure in 1826. So much was Whitefield beloved in the place that, when he died at Newburyport twenty-seven years later, a deputation was sent with a request that his body might be interred at Portsmouth. One of the deputation, as well as one of the pall-bearers at the funeral, was the Rev Dr. Samuel Haven, the worthy successor of Mr. Shurtleff, who closed a long and distinguished ministry in the year 1806.

For the next three weeks Whitefield hovered between life and death. He was encouraged by the words of an old negro woman, who insisted upon seeing him as soon as he began to regain strength. Entering his room, she sat down on the floor, and gazed earnestly in his face. In broken accents she then said: "Massa, you just go to heaven's gate. But Jesus Christ said: 'Get you down, get you down, you must not come here yet; go first and call some more poor negroes.'" Whitefield offered up a prayer that this prediction might really prove true.

When he recovered, he moved southward, "hunting for souls." This expression, a favorite one with him, he seems to have borrowed from the American Indians. On the way from Boston to Philadelphia he visited one of Brainerd's stations, and preached through an interpreter to the Indian converts. Brainerd he had met at New Haven on his previous visit. A flattering reception awaited him at Philadelphia. The people were anxious to retain him there, and made him tempting offers, which he refused. He was delighted to find that the interest in di-

vine things excited during his first visit had been steadily maintained.

Whitefield was to make four other visits to America. He returned in 1751, and once more in 1754 by way of Lisbon. On his sixth visit he sailed from Scotland to Virginia, where, in a field which he describes as being "as unlikely as Rome itself," he succeeded in arousing deep religious concern. It was during this visit in the winter of 1763, that the work at New York prospered in a singular manner, and much of the ploughing was done which prepared the way for the planting of the seed by Embury and others four years later.



WHITEFIELD'S BIBLE, KEPT IN THE VESTRY OF THE "OLD SOUTH," NEWBURYPORT.

From his seventh journey he was destined never to return. He started on his final voyage across the Atlantic in unusually good health and spirits. The work in London and elsewhere was prosperous, and contributions had poured in from all quarters to help the orphan-house at Bethesda. A spirit of catholicity marks his utterances at this time. "Christ does not say, 'Are you an Independent, a Baptist, a Presbyterian, or are you a Church of England man?' Nor did He ask, 'Are you a *Methodist?*' The Lord divides the whole world into sheep and goats. O sinners, you are come to hear a poor creature take his last farewell: but I want you to forget the creature and his preaching. I want to lead *further* than the Tabernacle—even to Mount Calvary, to see with what expense of blood Jesus Christ purchased His own." In this closing address at the Tabernacle, from which the foregoing extract is taken, he glories in the fact that not one single pamphlet published by the Methodists in the past forty years had dealt with the non-essentials of religion. On arriving at Savannah the same note is uppermost "Bethesda should always be upon a

broad bottom. All denominations have freely given—all the continent shall receive equal benefits from it."

After attending to his affairs in Savannah he traveled northward to Philadelphia, where he was cheered by the general welcome which he received. Episcopal chapels as well as the other churches were opened to him. So well did he feel in body that he preached twice every Sabbath, and three or four times in the course of the week. Then began an extensive tour, embracing New York, the Hudson and Albany, Boston, and New England as far as the Piscataqua. The last week of his life was spent in and around Portsmouth, where he preached daily.

On Saturday, September 29, 1770, he left Portsmouth on horseback for Exeter, where he preached in the open air to a large multitude. The effort was made in opposition to medical advice, and exhausted him greatly. He chose his text from II. Corinthians xiii. 5: "Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith, prove your own selves; know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?"

After dinner he rode on to Newburyport with his friend Jonathan Parsons, at whose house, close by the church, he was wont to stay The walk in the garden, where the two used to pace up and down, is still shown. When they arrived he complained of weariness, took but a light supper and talked of retiring. But the people of the place had gathered in front of the house to listen to words from the great preacher; and, with candle in hand, he stood on the door-step, then considerably higher above the roadway than now. Earnestly he spoke to them regarding eternal salvation, until the candle was almost burned away and guttered in its socket. Then he withdrew and ascended to his bed-chamber, where, at six o'clock next morning, he succumbed to an attack of asthma. His last act before going to bed had been to read from the Bible and a volume of Watts' hymns.

His funeral was attended by an immense concourse of all classes; flags were at half-mast in the harbor, and the bells were thrice tolled for half an hour. He was buried, according to his own request, in front of the pulpit of the Old South Church, in a brick vault. There in the coffin his bones are still to be seen; but the full canonicals in which he was buried have long since moldered away Beside him rest the remains of his friend Jonathan Parsons, who died at Newburyport, in July, 1776, after an honored pastorate of thirty years; and of their common friend, the blind preacher, Joseph Prince, who survived them both.

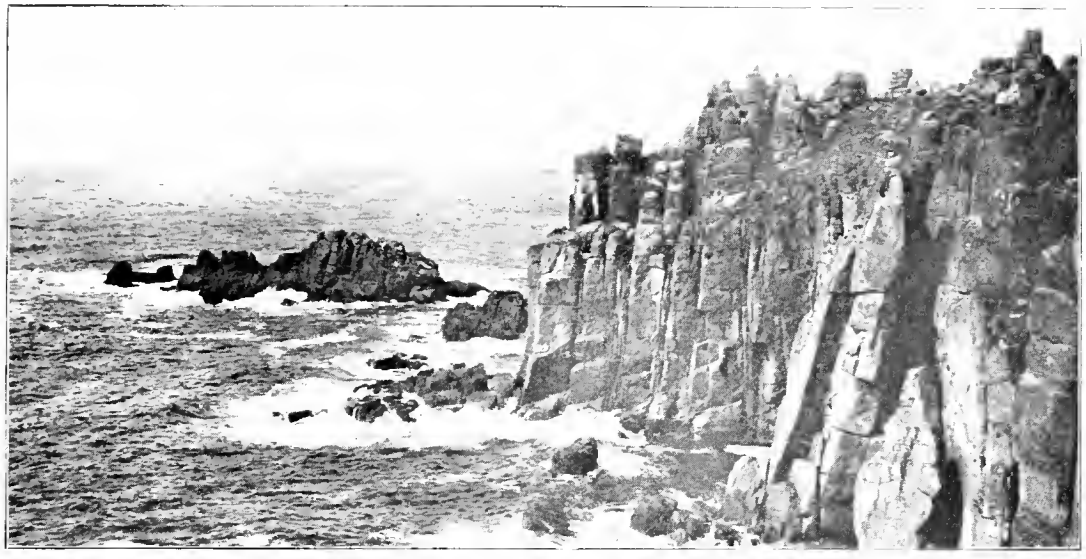
In the corner to the left of the pulpit stands a cenotaph erected in 1828 to his memory by the Hon. William Bartlett. The design, by Strickland, was executed by Struthers; and Professor Ebenezer Porter, of Andover Seminary, composed the inscription:

THIS CENOTAPH
is erected with affectionate veneration
to the memory of
the Rev. GEORGE WHITEFIELD,
born at Gloucester, Eng., Dec. 16, 1714;
educated at Oxford University; ordained 1736.
In a ministry of 34 years,
he crossed the Atlantic 13 times,
and preached more than 18,000 sermons.
As a soldier of the cross, humble, devout, ardent,
he put on the whole armor of God, preferring the
honor of Christ to his own interest, repose,
reputation or life; as a Christian orator, his deep
piety disinterested zeal and vivid imagination
gave unexampled energy to his look, action and
utterance; bold, fervent, pungent, and popular
in his eloquence, no other uninspired man ever
preached to so large assemblies, or enforced
the simple truths of the gospel by motives so
persuasive and awful, and with an influence
so powerful on the hearts of his hearers.

He died of asthma, Septr. 30, 1770,
suddenly exchanging his life of unparalleled
labors, for his eternal rest.

By Whitefield's death it was generally felt that the cause of humanity had suffered a severe loss. So shrewd and even cynical an observer as Benjamin Franklin heartily acknowledged how beneficial had been the great preacher's influence upon society at large. "Have we read or heard of anyone," asked John Wesley in his funeral sermon, "who has been the blessed instrument of bringing so many sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God?"

The qualities which Doctor Ryle, Bishop of Liverpool, who assigns to Whitefield the foremost place among the Christian leaders of the eighteenth century, discovers in the great preacher, are simplicity, directness, marvelous descriptive power, earnestness, pathos, action, voice, and fluency. These qualities he possessed in an unrivaled combination. When Whitefield appealed to an audience, it was soul speaking to soul with an astounding directness. "Whitefield, indeed," says one writer, "was *soul*, and Wesley was system; he was the bargeman or the wagoner who brought the timber of the house, and Wesley was the architect who set it up."



THE LAND'S END, CORNWALL.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LAY PREACHERS OF EARLY METHODISM.

THE new departure which John Wesley, largely through his mother's healthy influence, was induced to make when he sanctioned lay-preaching, proved far more fruitful of good results than he had ever anticipated. An entry made in his journal over a dozen years after the innovation is significant. He had been reading a narrative of the recent awakening in the American colonies, written by the Rev Thomas Prince, minister of the Old South Church in Boston. "I have looked over Mr. Prince's history," he writes. "What an amazing difference is there in the manner wherein God has carried on his work in England and America! There, over a hundred of the established clergy, men of age and experience, and of the greatest note for sense and learning in those parts, are zealously engaged in the work. Here, almost the whole body of aged, experienced, learned clergy are engaged against it: and few—but a handful—of raw young men engaged in it, without name, learning, or eminent sense! And yet by that large number of honorable men the work seldom flourished over six months at a time, and then followed a lamentation and general decay before the next revival of it: whereas that which God hath wrought by these despised instruments has continually increased for fifteen years together: and at whatever time it has declined in any one place it has more eminently flourished in others."

The term "despised instruments," while no doubt referring in the first place to himself and the ordained clergymen who worked with him—an inconsiderable number—is surely also applicable to the band of humble lay-helpers who devoted their whole energies to the work of harvesting human souls. The continued and steady growth of the work in England was in great measure due to their efforts, while in Wales and in Ireland, and later in America, their work was pivotal.

It has been usual to regard Thomas Maxfield as the first lay-preacher of Meth-

REV. JOHN CENNICK.

odism; but there is better reason for supposing that the distinction rightfully belongs to John Cennick. Brought up by Quaker parents in the town of Reading, in Berkshire, Cennick, who was a land surveyor by profession, lived a careless, dissipated life until the year 1735, when he came under conviction of sin while walking London streets. Then followed a period of mental anguish and bitter struggle in which he strove to mortify the flesh. Finally he found peace in believing, and forthwith began to form a religious society in his native town. Here John Wesley discovered him in March, 1739, laboring under great difficulties; for the opposition of the clergyman of the parish was undoing his work. The impression he made on Wesley was so favorable that he was selected for the mastership of Kingswood School at Bristol; and he set out for his new post in June of the same year. One of the first duties he was called upon to undertake after arrival was to supply at a meeting the place of a lay-helper, probably Maxfield, who was expected to read a sermon to the audience. With much fear and trembling, Cennick undertook the task, and he discharged it well. Among the preachers of the time he was noted for the extraordinary physical effects he produced upon his hearers, who were frequently thrown into spasms. No preacher received rougher treatment from the mob. On one occasion some Gloucestershire roughs spat in the face of his sister, who accompanied him; and he was subjected to all kinds of indignities.

Cennick held strongly to the doctrine of predestination, and his connection with the Wesleys was but brief. Already in December, 1740, he intimated to them that they could hardly work together; and in the beginning of the following year, after a stormy discussion at Bristol, he withdrew, and Joseph Humphreys followed him. Two years later, when the Calvinistic Methodists of Wales organized themselves, Cennick and Humphreys, with Howel Harris, were the three lay-preachers in the organization, the ordained clergymen being Whitefield, Rowlands, Powell, and Williams. Again, however, he found that the bands of Methodism were too strait for him, and in 1745 he joined the Moravians, or United Brethren. He attempted later to bring together the three connections, whose aims were so similiar—the Arminian Methodists, the Calvinistic Methodists, and the United Brethren; but, though John Wesley cordially responded, the project fell through. The two men, happily, never ceased to respect one another; and until his death, in 1755, Cennick continued to be a zealous and consistent preacher of the gospel.

With the planting of the good work in Ireland he had an immediate connection. A godly soldier had begun to preach in the Irish capital, and he was followed by a Baptist named La Trobe, who had been educated at Glasgow University. Then Cennick and his Moravians arrived on

the scene and pushed the work energetically To him is to be traced the origin of the nickname "Swaddlers," by which Methodists came to be known all over Ireland. In a fervent declaration he made against trusting in the merits of saints, he is said to have exclaimed: "I curse and blaspheme all the gods in heaven, but the Babe that lay in Mary's lap, the Babe that lay in swaddling clouts." The name of "Swaddling John" was forthwith fastened upon him, and Moravians and Methodists alike were dubbed "Swaddlers."

Cennick's name will survive through the contributions he has made to hymnology. As early as 1739 he was writing devotional verses for the press, which Charles Wesley revised and corrected. It was the period of his connection with Methodism, before he joined the Moravians. His masterpiece, which is found in every collection worthy of the name, belongs to the year 1742:

Children of the Heavenly King,
As you journey sweetly sing;
Sing your Savior's worthy praise,
Glorious in His work and ways.

We are traveling home to God
In the way our fathers trod;
They are happy now, and we
Soon their happiness shall see.

Another favorite belongs to the following year:

Jesus, my all, to Heaven is gone,
He whom I fix my hopes upon:
This track I see, and I'll pursue
The narrow way, till Him I view.

Earlier than either of these are the two quatrains of the date 1741, which find a place in many hymn-books:

When, O dear Jesus, when shall I
  Behold Thee all-serene,
Blest in perpetual Sabbath-day,
  Without a veil between?

Thy Spirit, O my Father, give,
  To be my guide and friend,
To light my path to ceaseless joys,
  To Sabbaths without end.

The fact that Charles Wesley and he worked on the same lines, comes out in the history of the hymn, "Lo! He comes with clouds descending, Once for favored sinners slain." This is really a composite hymn, put together in 1760 by Madan, who borrowed three of the stanzas from Charles Wesley and two from Cennick, and linked them together.

The career of Thomas Maxfield, which began in a promising way is less pleasant to contemplate. He was quite a youth when, at a revival meeting in Bristol in 1739, he experienced a change

BRISTOL.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL AND QUEEN'S STATUE.

of heart, which led him to join the Methodists. This was shortly before Cennick arrived in the city. For some time he seems to have traveled with Charles Wesley in the capacity of servant. Being left on one occasion in charge of the meetings at the foundry, he was led from praying on to preaching. As a preacher he showed considerable fervor; and won the hearty approbation of Mrs. Wesley and the Countess of Huntingdon. The humble station of Maxfield made his case a test one; and after approving of his appearance in the pulpit, Wesley could not draw back from a full approval of lay-preaching. Maxfield proved so zealous and efficient, that Wesley found him almost indispensable. In the year 1745 he accompanied Wesley on a tour in Cornwall, where a society had been formed some time previously at St. Ives. The magistrates of the district showed themselves extremely hostile, and strained the press-gang laws in order to annoy the preachers, who were nicknamed "Canorums." Maxfield was seized under a press-warrant as "an able-bodied man, who had no lawful calling or sufficient maintenance," and was handed over to the captain of a man-of-war, who, however, refused to receive him. He was then imprisoned at Penzance for a time. A similar unscrupulous use of the press-gang in Yorkshire resulted in the death of a lay-preacher named Beard, and great annoyance to John Nelson, the Birstal evangelist.

Maxfield raised himself socially by marrying a rich wife; and Wesley secured ordination for him from Doctor Barnard, Bishop of Londonderry, who bade him "assist that good man, lest he work himself to death." He seems to have lost his early simplicity of character, and by his arrogance to have made not a few enemies; for Wesley was constantly called upon to justify his conduct. At length a crisis came, when Maxfield showed how much he had changed for the worse.

The tenet held by Wesley, which exposed him to most obloquy, was his doctrine of *Christian Perfection*. Friend and foe alike misunderstood his real position. Whitefield and the Calvinists

persisted in calling it "sinless perfection." Certainly, he never meant to assert that a Christian had reached a condition in which he had rid himself of ignorance, error, and other human infirmities; but he did mean an attitude of entire love toward God and one's fellow-men; "the image of God stamped in the heart; the life of God in the soul of man; the mind that was in Christ, enabling us to walk as Christ walked." This perfection cannot be a delusion unless the Bible also be a delusion.

The words quoted are his own statement of the doctrine. But certain of his followers began to expound another perfection, which consisted in the attainment of perfect sanctification in this life. These men who formed a select band in London, saw visions, and dreamed dreams. They fancied that the possession of perfect holiness endowed them with immortality, and also with power to heal the sick. A discharged life guardsman, named George Bell, was supposed to have completely cured a young woman, suffering from an ulcer in her breast; and Wesley was not indisposed to believe the story But later developments persuaded him that Bell and the others were dangerous enthusiasts, and he entrusted Maxfield with the task of dealing with them. Instead of loyally doing his best to bring them to a sane way of thinking, Maxfield seems to have used the men for his own purposes. He entered upon a factious course of conduct, which finally resulted in a complete separation. Several hundreds of the members declared their lack of confidence in "Blind John," and followed Maxfield, who set up a chapel in Moorfields. Bell seems to have been crazy. Recovering his senses, he threw away all profession of religion, became a blatant infidel, and devoted himself for the remainder of his long life to political agitation. Maxfield, who survived until 1783, showed a bitter and ungenerous spirit in the manner of his separation, and continued through the press to attack malignantly his former friend and benefactor. Some years before his death it seemed as if a reconciliation was about to take place; but nothing came of it.

Another enthusiastic itinerant preacher, who has left us one of the noblest sacred odes in the language, was Thomas Olivers,

MRS. SARAH WESLEY, WIFE OF REV CHARLES WESLEY.

TRETWR, BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

a Welshman, born in Montgomeryshire in the year 1725. Left an orphan when quite young, he was religiously brought up by a relative; but, falling among dissolute companions, he got the name of being the worst boy who had been known in the country-side for thirty years. At the age of eighteen he was apprenticed to a shoemaker. Some time afterward he left the neighborhood in bad odor, and removed to Shrewsbury, where he continued his profligate ways, with brief intervals of repentance. Finally, being in the city of Bristol, he went to hear Whitefield preach. The text chosen was: "*Is not this a branch plucked out of the fire?*" The effect was powerful and immediate. Olivers gave himself up to reading devout books and to prayer; and so constantly was he on his knees begging the divine mercy that he made himself temporarily lame.

A request that he might be admitted to the Bristol Society was not favorably received, and a period of discouragement, amounting almost to distraction, followed. At length, having removed to Bradford in Wiltshire, he was received into fellowship; and his joy in believing became so intense that he determined to testify. His band-fellows did not hinder him, and he devoted all his spare time to preaching. A long and severe attack of small-pox prostrated him for several months; and when he recovered he returned to Wales to claim the property which still belonged to him there, and to pay his numerous debts. The people were astonished that so notorious a reprobate should have changed to a godly man; but the reality of the change was manifest to all. When he returned to Bradford, with the intention of setting up in business as a shoemaker, John Wesley, who recognized the extraordinary qualities of the man, advised him to devote himself to the work of preaching; and his advice was cheerfully followed. Unable to afford a horse, Olivers set out on foot for Cornwall, carrying a pair of saddle-bags, and the rest of his worldly goods on his back. Shortly after, at Tiverton, he was presented, by a sympathizer, with five pounds, that he might buy an animal. He was not long in finding one to suit him. As he was walking in a field with a farmer, a colt came up to him and laid its nose on his shoulder. He was pleased with its friendliness, and forthwith entered into a bargain for it; and it carried him on its back for the next quarter of a century, proving as stanch and tireless as its master.

On one occasion both of them were exposed to imminent danger. Olivers, being stationed at Norwich, was determined to visit Yarmouth, although the mob of that great fishing-center had sworn to have the lives of any Methodists who entered the town. Accompanied by a half-hearted volunteer, he made his way to the church, and when service was over took his station in the market-

place and gave out a hymn. During the singing and the prayer which followed, the people kept tolerably quiet; but when he gave out his text and began to preach, the disturbance began. One of his adherents, anticipating danger, dragged him off into one of those narrow streets, known as rows, which are a feature of the place. The mob having followed, Olivers decided to run the gauntlet. Mounted on his faithful steed, he pressed his way slowly down the row, forcing the crowd before him, and receiving from either side the water, refuse, and missiles which the unfriendly residents threw at him as he passed. His companion had meanwhile gained the open street, where he clapped spurs to his horse, and made for home; but Olivers retreated in a more orderly way, and finally succeeded in escaping without much damage.

At York he was entrusted with the care of sixty societies, which entailed constant journeying; and his health was by no means of the best. But, with a few intervals of dejection, he persevered in the good work until the year 1777, when he was invited by Wesley to London to superintend the printing press. This position he held for twelve years, when he was removed because of the insufferable *errata* he allowed to slip into the publications, besides carelessness in other matters. He also assisted Wesley in bringing out the *Arminian Magazine*, started in 1776. For the last twelve years of his life, until 1799, he lived in retirement in London. In the numerous controversies which raged during Wesley's life, Olivers took a prominent part. Though not a highly cultured man, he wielded a powerful pen; and the disinclination of Wesley to take a part in religious disputes threw much of the work on honest Thomas. Wesley considered him more than a match for Toplady, who was disgusted that Wesley did not enter the lists himself. He referred to Olivers as Wesley's bully-in-chief, under whose cobbler's apron he skulked for shelter. The tone of the discussion is amazingly scurrilous; and we find it difficult to believe that the authors of hymns like "Rock of Ages," and "Lo, He Comes With Clouds Descending," should have put their pens to so ill a use. It is a happy circumstance that the progress of refinement has rid us of such unseemliness. Though Olivers indulged in needlessly strong language, he was certainly not the worst offender. He had frequently to protest against the continual and unnecessary insistence on the fact that he had been a shoemaker. He asserted, and rightly, that Sir Richard Hill had no more right to dub him "Cobbler Tom" than he to use the name

BATH ABBEY.

THE BRIGGATE, LEEDS.

Dick in similar contemptuous fashion.

Olivers was very musical, and has contributed a hymn-tune, "Helmsley," to our psalmody. He was also a writer of hymns, and has secured literary immortality for himself by an ode, which is one of the lyrical gems of English literature. The musical service in a Jewish synagogue at Westminster is said to have suggested its composition, which bears the date 1772. The tune to which it is usually sung, "Leoni," is an historical Hebrew melody. There are eight stanzas in all:

The God of Abraham praise,
Who reigns enthroned above,
Ancient of everlasting days,
And God of love!
Jehovah! great I AM!
By earth and heaven confessed;
I bow and bless the sacred name,
For ever blest!
He by Himself hath sworn;
I on His oath depend:
I shall, on eagle's wings upborne,
To heaven ascend;
I shall behold His face,
I shall His power adore,
And sing the wonders of His grace
For evermore.

In 1757 Olivers wrote a hymn which is often confounded with the composite one already referred to. The first line of each is the same, and the metrical form chosen is the same. The two hymns will be found together in Roundell Palmer's "Book of Praise." The following is Olivers' first stanza:

Lo! He comes with clouds descending!
Hark! the trump of God is blown,
And th' Archangel's voice attending
Makes the high procession known:
Sons of Adam!
Rise, and stand before your God!

YARMOUTH.

Several of the early lay-preachers were soldiers in the British army, and proved useful in spreading religion among their fellow-soldiers, and providing its consolations in the hour of sore agony and of death. John Haime was one of these, a native of Shaftesbury, who, having joined the Queen's regiment of dragoons, found himself in trouble over the state of his soul. Bunyan's "Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners" gave him some comfort; but he was thrown into despair by a depressing interview with one of Whitefield's preachers, who fancied that the devil was working in him. Happily, he heard Charles Wesley, who was wise enough to encourage him; a treatment which was of lasting benefit to the man. The regiment being soon after ordered to Flanders, he wrote from there to Charles Wesley, who in reply bade him miss no opportunity of speaking for Christ. At the battle of Dettingen, he was under fire for seven hours, but never lost the feeling of happiness and peace of mind with which he had gone into action. While in winter quarters in Flanders, he busied himself organizing a society, which numbered three hundred, with six other preachers besides himself; and he frequently had audiences of one thousand or more. There was plenty to do in striving to stem the overflowing wickedness of camp life; and happily his commanding officers put few hindrances in his way. When quartered at Bruges in the winter of 1744–5, he was granted by General Ponsonby the use of the English church; and, by the help of hearty singing, was able to gather together a large congregation.

JOHN HAIME.

Two tabernacles were built in the camp near Brussels, and rooms were hired at Ghent and other places, in which religious services were held. Sometimes two nights in a whole week were spent in devotion. We can well imagine how zealous in these religious services must have been the poor men who had been impressed into the service because of their Methodist sympathies. The interest created at this time, gave rise to the foundation of the first Bible society—the "Naval and Military."

The battle of Fontenoy, fought in the ensuing May, gave the Methodist sol-

JOHN HAIME AT THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN.

diers an opportunity of showing their mettle. They went into action not only fearlessly but rapturously, like the early Christians, assured of happiness if they should fall. Three of the preachers were killed in the battle, and a fourth had both his arms broken; while Haime had his horse killed under him. Haime had to endure a long period of depression which succeeded this season of religious elation. On one occasion when he was attending a church in Holland, he desired to partake of the Lord's Supper. But evil thoughts and influences seemed to seize upon and overwhelm him; and the inward struggle became so fierce that blood gurgled from his mouth and nostrils. Finally he triumphed, and was able to take the elements. These spasms frequently came upon him when he was about to preach, but "God gave him just strength enough to bear them;" so that, although he sometimes spoke in a depressed mood, he found that his words, labored as they were, brought comfort to others.

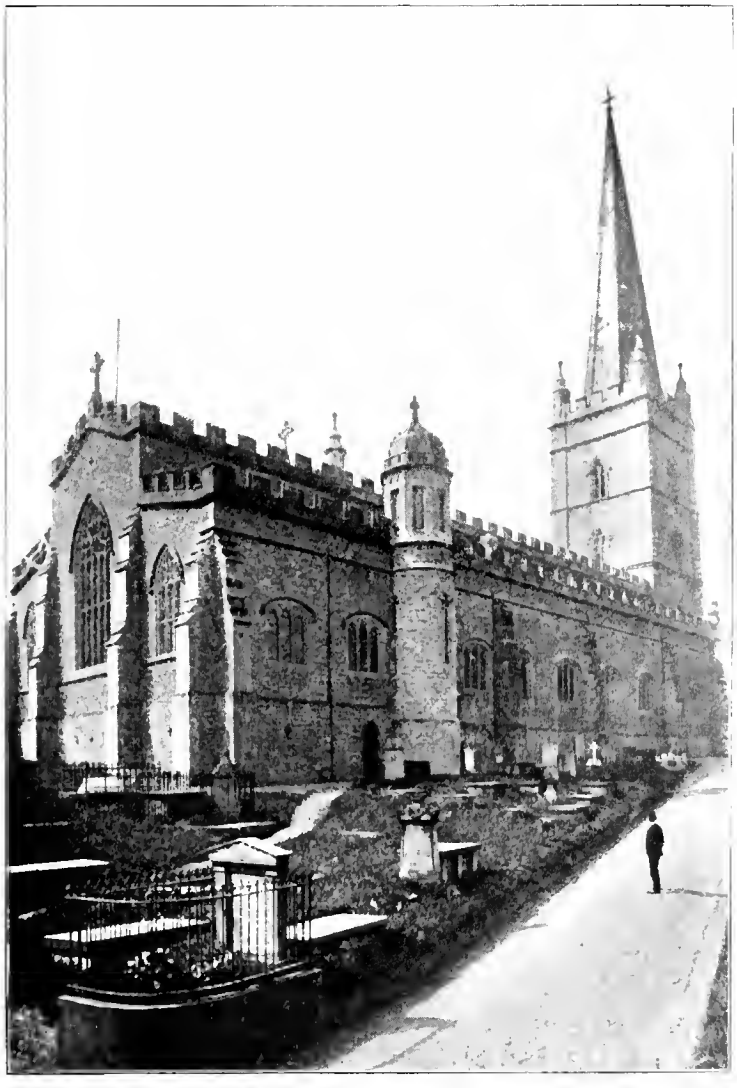
On his return to England, he obtained his discharge, and was admitted by John Wesley as an itinerant preacher. Knowing his tendency to become discouraged, Wesley selected him as a companion on one of his rounds, that he might deal with him gently and soothe him. He continued active in preaching until the year 1766, when he accepted an invitation to live in a household at St. Ives, as a kind of domestic chaplain. But he was not content until he had again resumed his itinerant labors. The close of his life was a period of spiritual sunshine, and he died in 1788 with the closing line of the "Te Deum" on his lips: "O Lord in Thee have I trusted, and have not been confounded."

The fruit of Haime's labors while in the army was seen in the case of Sampson Staniforth, a native of Yorkshire, who had in the same company another Yorkshire man, named Bond. Bond, whose life had been saddened by a sense of guilt in having uttered blasphemous words, joined the army in hope of being killed. Happily, having listened to the preaching of Haime, he recovered his peace of mind; and he set himself to influence Staniforth. By the divine blessing his efforts were successful; and Staniforth, after passing through a severe spiritual crisis, became a new man. He forthwith wrote repentant letters to his parents, announcing the change, in which expressions were used which required to be interpreted by one of the Dissenting ministers at Sheffield. Shortly after this, his regiment was ordered

home, where he had opportunities of attending Methodist services in London and Deptford. He married, and on his wedding-day had to re-embark for Holland. In one of the battles which followed, his dear friend Bond was twice wounded, the second time mortally; but he died, "his heart full of love, and his eyes full of heaven."

Staniforth's wife being well-to-do, he soon bought a discharge, and, settling down at Deptford, became a leader in the Society there, and a preacher in the neighborhood. From the beginning he made it a rule to pay his own expenses. He proved highly successful as a preacher, and tempting offers outside of the connection were made to him, but he refused them all. He lived a pious, consistent and happy life, much esteemed by every one.

Such men as Staniforth, Olivers, and Haime, to whom their religion was not merely a creed to which their reason assented, but a powerful, abiding influence which dominated both body and soul, were the strength of early Methodism. It is no wonder that John Wesley should have valued their services so highly and have clung loyally to them, although every now and then one or more lapsed or failed him. The proportion of those who fell by the way was sufficiently large to cause a man having less faith in human nature to be discouraged. It had this effect on his brother Charles, who seems to have overvalued the merits of the regularly ordained clergy. But, with all their good points, the regular clergy were too lukewarm for his brother's greater heart. "I am," he remarks in one of his sermons, "far from desiring to aggravate the defects of my brethren, or to paint them in the strongest colors. Far be it from me to treat others as I have been treated myself, to return evil for evil, or railing for railing. But, to speak the naked truth, not with anger or contempt, as too many have done, I acknowledge that many, if not most, of those that were appointed to minister in holy things, with whom it has been my lot to con-



DERRY CATHEDRAL

THOMAS WALSH.

verse, in almost every part of England or Ireland, for the last forty or fifty years, have not been eminent either for knowledge or piety. It has been loudly affirmed that most of those persons now in connection with me, who believe it their duty to call sinners to repentance, having been taken immediately from low trades, tailors, shoemakers, and the like, are a set of poor, stupid, illiterate men, that scarcely know their right hand from their left; yet I cannot but say, that I would sooner cut off my right hand than suffer one of them to speak a word in any of our chapels if I had not reasonable proof that he had more knowledge in the Holy Scriptures, more knowledge of himself, more knowledge of God and of the things of God, than nine in ten of the clergymen I have conversed with, either at the universities or elsewhere."

The statement was made deliberately, and not without good reason. The strength of the lay-preaching element in early Methodism was the immediate knowledge these men had of the Holy Scriptures as containing a message for ordinary daily life. It was the sole arsenal from which they had to draw directly their stores of ammunition. With clergymen of the Established Church it was far different. The Church of England has always been notorious for the slender requirements it demands of candidates for the ministry. A university degree, implying a certain knowledge of the classics or of mathematics, with no further theological curriculum, practically qualifies for entry into the Church. Once in the Church, the clergyman has a liturgy ready made for him. His whole education has trained him to be a man of the world, with the prejudices of the squirearchy; a guardian of conventional morality and propriety. With the dynamics of religion, so to speak, he is as little familiar as the squire. What wonder, then, that men to whom the words of Christ meant rescue from spiritual death and despair, and who had wrestled sorely with the powers of darkness, should have proved far more efficient propagators of the faith than university-bred clergymen, with their social aims and ambitions?

The weakness of the lay-preacher system—for it had its weakness—was this: that the emotions which carried men into Methodism ebbed as well as flowed, and that men of strong passions were apt to sink deep as they had risen high. Of the six preachers who served with Haime in the army in Flanders, the two who came unhurt through the battle of Fontenoy both lapsed, and, living an evil life, continued to preach a soul-destroying Antinomianism. But the worth of the true-hearted and stanch preachers who bore the heat and burden of the day, and lived self-denying and consistent lives, far more than counterbalanced such deficiencies, and justified Wesley's confidence.

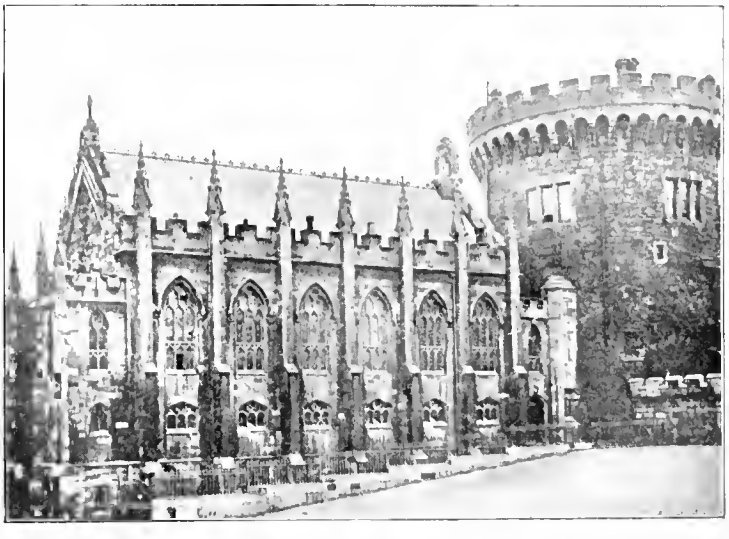
If the clergy of the English Church were, in too many cases, but blind leaders of the blind, the case was infinitely

worse in Ireland. Probably no church in Europe was burdened with greater scandals than the state church of Ireland during the last century The Episcopal bench, while it could boast of men like Archbishop King and Bishop Berkeley, was mostly recruited from office-seekers of the most worldly type. Many of them made no pretensions whatever to a religious manner of life, but, throwing aside clerical garments, feasted and drank like the fashionables of the day. The condition of affairs appalled Whitefield. Absenteeism was general. One English clergyman, who was appointed to the see of Derry, expressed his unqualified surprise and disgust that he was expected to reside across the Channel! When he did arrive in his see, he used his patronage to provide for his poor relations. It is small wonder that, in the absence of decent spiritual guides, many of the Protestants should have lapsed into practical heathenism or become Roman Catholics. On the other hand, those clergymen who did remain at their posts were often excellent men. Wesley, in his journal, frequently refers to impressive sermons which he had the privilege of listening to; and the Church had certainly the merit at this time of being tolerant. The furious opposition manifested in different localities in England by the parish incumbents was not encountered in Ireland.

John Wesley recognized the crying spiritual wants of Ireland, and made a point of visiting the kingdom at least every second year. The work was begun by Thomas Williams, one of the itinerants, of whom we know but little, except that he was a man of attractive appearance and a pleasant address. It was in response to Williams' appeal, made in the summer of 1747, that Wesley paid his first visit to Dublin. He found that Williams had gathered about him nearly three hundred members, ninety-nine per cent. of whom were English. The absence of Irish adherents struck him as strange; but he reflected that it was no wonder that the Irish remained Papists when the Protestants could find no better ways to convert them than penal laws and acts of Parliament.

As John Wesley could spare only a fortnight at this time, he was succeeded by his brother Charles, who, for the next six months, acted as pastor to the little flock. Under his superintendence a "New House" was opened, and the Dublin society was fairly planted and organized. It was the beginning of a great work, which was to breathe new life into Irish Protestantism, and do much for the cause of religion throughout the island. The effects were to be seen less in a permanent and powerful Irish church organization than in the education of elect spirits, who were to serve as missionaries in other lands.

The first half of the eighteenth century



ROYAL CHAPEL, DUBLIN.

MALAHIDE CASTLE, NEAR DUBLIN.

is known in Irish history as the period of desolation. A selfish mercantile policy, based on a misunderstanding of the real laws which govern commercial dealings and ensure a country's prosperity, bore hard upon the Emerald Isle and its inhabitants. Laws were enacted by the British Parliament with the express purpose of beggaring Ireland that England might be enriched. There was no career for her ambitious sons in their own country. As many as half-a-million young Irishmen from the southwest of Ireland are said to have entered the French military service during this period. The more enterprising Protestants kept emigrating to the American colonies, as one industry after another was snuffed out. It was a seething period of unrest and unhappiness; and the institutions of the country did not afford any materials for the growth of a strong and efficient new church.

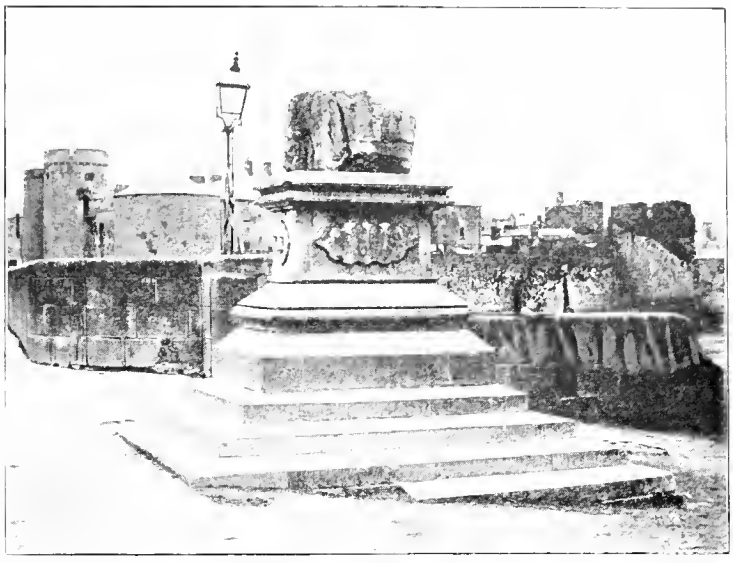
The first Conference held in Ireland met in the capital of Munster, which lies by the broad waters of the Shannon:

> River of billows! to whose mighty heart
> The tide wave rushes of the Atlantic Sea—
> River of quiet depths! by cultured lea,
> Romantic wood or city's crowded mart.

Wesley, who had visited Limerick in the spring of 1749, found an attentive audience of about two thousand people. It was here, at the close of the seventeenth century, after the second siege, that the Treaty of Limerick was signed by the two commanders, of which the celebrated stone still remains as a memorial. Its repudiation by the English Parliament has given the name "City of the Violated Treaty" to Limerick. Unfortunately, the liberal spirit of the treaty was so repugnant to the House of Commons in London, that its stipulations were not observed, and a century of tyranny and terror followed, when the tendons of society were cut. Ten years after the Limerick society was

formed, the political agitators, known as "Whiteboys," began their depredations in and around Limerick.

By the year 1750 the society had leased an old abbey, and turned it into a preaching-house. A good work was going on at the barracks, where was stationed the regiment to which John Nelson had for some time been attached; and there was also a class of Scotch Highlanders of a serious turn of mind, whom Wesley addressed. About twenty miles southwest of Limerick, there is a district still known as the Palatine, from a colony of Germans who were settled there early in the eighteenth century. They were Lutheran Protestants, who had been driven from their homes in the infamous devastation of the Palatinate by the French armies at the close of the seventeenth century.



TREATY STONE, LIMERICK.

The story of the great Protestant exodus from the Palatinate is an interesting one. The woes of that beautiful province lying on the western bank of the Rhine began at the close of the seventeenth century. Its position Franceward excited the cupidity of the Grand Monarch, to whom it was as Naboth's vineyard. To add it to the possessions of the monarchy at Paris, and thus make the Rhine its eastern frontier, became his consuming desire.

PHILIP EMBURY.

For over a century the rulers of the Palatinate had been Protestant. It was somewhat late, not until the middle of the sixteenth century, that the Count Palatine embraced the Reformed faith, and in its Lutheran form. His successors alternated between Lutheranism and Calvinism. At Heidelberg, which remained the capital of the Palatinate until the year 1720, the celebrated Calvinistic catechism was compiled which still retains its authority with many of the sects of Protestant Christendom.

The dogs of war were let loose upon the doomed province in the year 1688. History contains few more harrowing pages than those which relate the devastation of this fair land by the armies of Louis, under express orders from Paris. A lasting infamy rests upon the reputation of the king, and of his generals, Montclas and Melac, who carried out the savage orders to the letter. Many Huguenots banished from France by the cruel edict of Nantes, had again to seek a new home.

For the next twenty-five years, with but one short interval of peace, war raged on the Rhine. Heidelberg, spared in 1688, was left a ruin four years later, when its castle, one of the most pictur-

BARBARA HECK.

esque of modern ruins, was blown up by the French soldiery. Another malign influence was to be added to the already too heavy calamities of the Palatine peasantry. The Count Palatine, John William, who succeeded in 1690, was a gloomy, persecuting Catholic, who came into power determined to restore the province to the "true faith." When, in 1708, the French Marshal Villars again laid waste the province, the people, harassed in every way, finally abandoned their ancient homes, and determined to seek a refuge in countries where they could find some rest from foreign foes and domestic tyrants.

The winter was an extremely bitter one, and many perished on their way to Rotterdam. In this city they were charitably entertained, and thence made their way by thousands across to London. It is one of the praiseworthy deeds of "good Queen Anne" that she opened her arms to these starving people. The heart of the English nation was touched, and a sum of money was voted by Parliament for their support. Buildings in which they were housed still, by their names, recall the circumstances of the immigration. Many were temporarily lodged in soldiers' tents, supplied by the government, two camps being formed in the neighborhood of London.

By far the largest number continued on their way to the American colonies, where they settled, principally in Pennsylvania. About five hundred families, numbering nearly four thousand souls, were invited to Ireland, and in the fall of 1709 crossed the Irish Channel from the port of Chester. They made their way to the province of Munster, in the southwest, and a body of them took up their location in the neighborhood of Limerick, under the shadow of Castle Matrix. The Southwell family, who resided there, welcomed them as desirable settlers, and introduced superior methods of husbandry into these wilds. In the second generation, the community lost much of its orderly and religious character. Having no pastor to minister to them, its members lapsed into swearing, drunkenness, and irreligion.

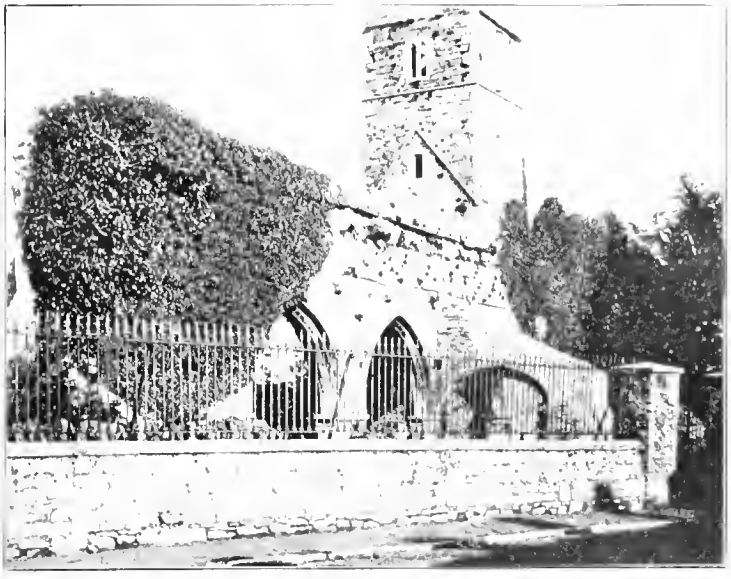
The arrival of the Methodist preachers fanned the embers of the religious spirit which still glowed beneath the surface. Among those who had remained faithful to the old ways was the schoolmaster of Ballingran, named Philip Guier, who became the leading spirit in the society at Limerick. At the Conference held there in 1752, he was appointed local preacher among the Palatines.

Guier was held in the highest esteem by the whole neighborhood, and the reformation he effected kept his memory green for several generations. The people loved him as a father; and during a long life he enjoyed the confidence of Protestants and Papists alike. His influence upon Thomas Walsh had much to do with the wonderful usefulness of that great evangelist.

Walsh was the son of a carpenter in the village of Bally Lynn, in the county of Limerick. He was brought up a strict Romanist, and one of his brothers was intended for the priesthood. Naturally religious, he was anxious to find a reasonable basis for his faith; and this led him to obtain a Bible and study the book for himself. The text in First Timothy, which proclaims that there is but one God, and one Mediator between God and man, overthrew his belief in the merits of saints and angels as beings to be worshiped. Then followed a period of inward conflict and distress, which was happily brought to a close by the "winged words" of Robert Swindells, one of the earliest of the Irish itinerants. Happening to be in Limerick one evening, Walsh noticed a great crowd on the Parade. He found that it was gathered round Swindells, who was discussing from the passage in Matthew's gospel (xi. 28): "Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." The words fell gratefully upon the listener's ears, and he became a diligent inquirer. After a period of struggle he found peace and joy in believing. The change came over him as he read the magnificent passage from the Evangelist of the Old Testament: "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? This that is glorious in His apparel, traveling in the greatness of His strength" (Isaiah lxiii. 1). So great was his agitation at the critical moment when light broke in upon him, that he cried aloud in the midst of the congregation. Henceforth the commandments of God were his delight, and he could obey with all freedom and sincerity the injunction to love those that hated him, and pray for such as persecuted him.

He now felt it to be his duty to offer his services to Wesley as an itinerant. His wonderful knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, combined with his singular devotion, rendered him peculiarly fitted for the work. "Thomas Walsh," remarks John Wesley, in a letter dated June 28, 1755, "has given me all the satisfaction I desire, and all that an honest man can give. I love, admire, and honor him; and wish we had six preachers in all England of his spirit." Of his scholarship he had also the highest opinion. "The best Hebrean I ever knew I never asked him the meaning of a Hebrew word but he could tell me how often it occurred in the Bible, and what it meant in each place."

His familiarity with the Irish language gave him a great advantage in preaching. When addressed in their mother-tongue, the poor Catholics could not refrain from listening; and Walsh was careful to dwell on the fundamentals of religion—on sin and death, on Christ's redemption, and His coming to judgment. So powerfully did he appeal to his coun-



SLIGO ABBEY.

trymen, that the very beggars on the streets would fall on their knees, confessing their sins and imploring the divine mercy.

He had to endure much rough treatment in his evangelical tours, and frequently was in imminent danger of losing his life. But his serene courage bore him through all his trials, and, in the last resort, saved him from the fury of the mob by the effect it had upon the rabble. The Romanists of the south treated him less roughly than the Presbyterians of the north of Ireland; indeed, the cruelest mob he ever had to face was in Ulster, and the treatment he received threw him into a fever for several days.

His work was not confined to Ireland. In Wesley's system the Irish itinerants interchanged with the English, and so Walsh had opportunities of preaching in London and elsewhere. It must have been singularly grateful to the warm-hearted Irish colony in London to hear the gospel preached to them in the native Erse, by a sympathetic speaker like Thomas Walsh. When he preached in his native land, so powerful was the current of personal influence, that many who did not understand the language in which it was spoken, were deeply affected by the discourse; and in the county of Antrim a deaf and dumb man actually became a sincere convert and lived thenceforth a changed life.

Few men, in any age or country, have devoted themselves with more zeal or unselfishness to the service of God than Thomas Walsh. His soul, it has been said, seemed absorbed in God, and his every hour was devoted to God's service. His incessant labors wore him out prematurely. In the year 1758, when Wesley came to Limerick, he found Thomas Walsh there, "alive, but just alive," and despaired of by the physicians. He was then in the last stages of pulmonary consumption. The sword had proved too sharp for the scabbard.

The same causes, which had forced so many of the best in Ireland to seek a career across the Atlantic, at length operated to send a band of the Palatines westward. One day in the summer of 1760, a service was held in the little chapel at Ballingran, when Philip Embury made a farewell address before sailing with a company of others from the same district. His wife, Margaret, accompanied him, as well as his brothers John, David, and Peter. Among the company were two worthy people, Paul Heck and Barbara, his wife, all unconscious how historically significant was the step they were taking. Some of their friends went on to Limerick to see the last of them as the vessel sailed down the river Shannon. It arrived in New York harbor on the tenth day of August, 1760.

Not all of the company were Methodists. Philip Embury, who by trade was a carpenter, had assisted with his own hands in the building of the Methodist chapel at Court Mattress (or Matrix). His name had been accepted by Wesley as an itinerant, and was on the reserve list; and he seems to have served as a local preacher. There is a tradition that he retained his Lutheranism, and joined the Lutheran Church in America. But in a petition addressed to the governor of New York, three years after his arrival, praying for land, he and his friends describe themselves as members of the Church of England.

Another district in the west of Ireland has also the distinction of having sent a Methodist pioneer across the Atlantic. On the upper reaches of the same river Shannon, among the wilds of Connaught, lies the picturesque little village of Drummersnave, known by the abbreviated form Drumsna. Hither in the

spring of 1758 came John Wesley and his friend Francis Okeley, who was at that time, and for long after, Moravian minister at Bedford. One of the results of their preaching at Drumsna was the conversion of two young men named Robert and Leonard Strawbridge, whose history it is interesting to follow, although there is not the same certainty regarding dates and other details as exists in the case of Embury and Barbara Heck. It has seemed best, on the whole, to follow the account given by the Rev. William Crook in his "Ireland and the Centenary of American Methodism," a work of acknowledged merit.

So bitter was the opposition aroused by his conversion that Robert Strawbridge removed in the year 1761 to the town of Sligo, the ancient home of the O'Connors, where tombs are still to be seen in the beautiful Abbey ruins. Finally, in 1763 or 1764, he made Terryhugan his headquarters, a town which was the center of the work in the district. At Wesley's first visit the people of Terryhugan had heard him gladly, and had built for him and his itinerants a hut, the floor, walls, and ceiling of which were all of mud. It was nine feet long by seven and a half broad and six high, and the furniture consisted of a clean chaff bed. Truly a primitive lodging; but it pleased Wesley. At the first early five o'clock preaching all the inhabitants of the place turned out to hear him, and in the audience was a woman who had walked seven miles with her ten-days'-old baby in her arms that Wesley might baptize it. This was the beginning of a hearty Wesleyan community, where Strawbridge found himself in congenial society It furnished him with a wife—a Miss Piper—who, in 1765 or 1766, sailed with her husband for America. There, at Sam's Creek, in Maryland, they began a work which was to grow like the mustard-seed of Scripture

FRANCIS ASBURY

MILFORD HAVEN, PEMBROKESHIRE.

CHAPTER X.

THE FIRST DECADE OF AMERICAN METHODISM.

THE company of Limerick County settlers, who arrived in New York in the summer of 1760, seem to have been fairly prosperous in worldly matters; but the pressing duties of every-day life amid new surroundings caused them to slacken in their religious zeal and to neglect their duties as Christians. For five years or more the preacher who had ministered to them in the chapel at Court Matrix remained dumb, while the flock whom he ought to have fed was left uncared for. This undesirable condition of affairs preyed upon the conscience of a good woman who had belonged to the old society, and she was finally induced to speak out.

One day, early in the year 1766, a number of men seated in the kitchen of the Heck family were engaged in playing cards. The mistress of the house, Barbara Heck, entered the room and, seeing their occupation, approached the table, indignantly swept the cards into her apron, and then threw them into the fire. This done, she put on her bonnet and went to visit Philip Embury, who lived near by. "Philip," said she, "you must preach to us or we shall all go to hell together, and God will require our blood at your hands!" "But where shall I preach?" was the reply. "Preach in your own house," earnestly responded his visitor, "and I, at least, will come to hear you."

This settled the matter, and Embury at once began to hold services in his own house, the congregation consisting of five hearers. These were Mrs. Embury, the two Hecks, John Lawrence, and Betty, a colored servant of Mr. and Mrs. Heck. For the next four years the Hecks remained in New York, and lent all the aid they could to the little society. To Barbara Heck, who has the credit of its initiation, fitly belongs the title of "Mother of American Methodism."

Embury is said to have occupied the upper room of a house in Barracks street, ten doors from the military barracks, which gave the name to the street. The Hecks lived right across the way. The name was afterward changed to Augustus street; and the site of the barracks is now occupied by Chambers street.

Such a neighborhood is not usually

CAPTAIN THOMAS WEBB.

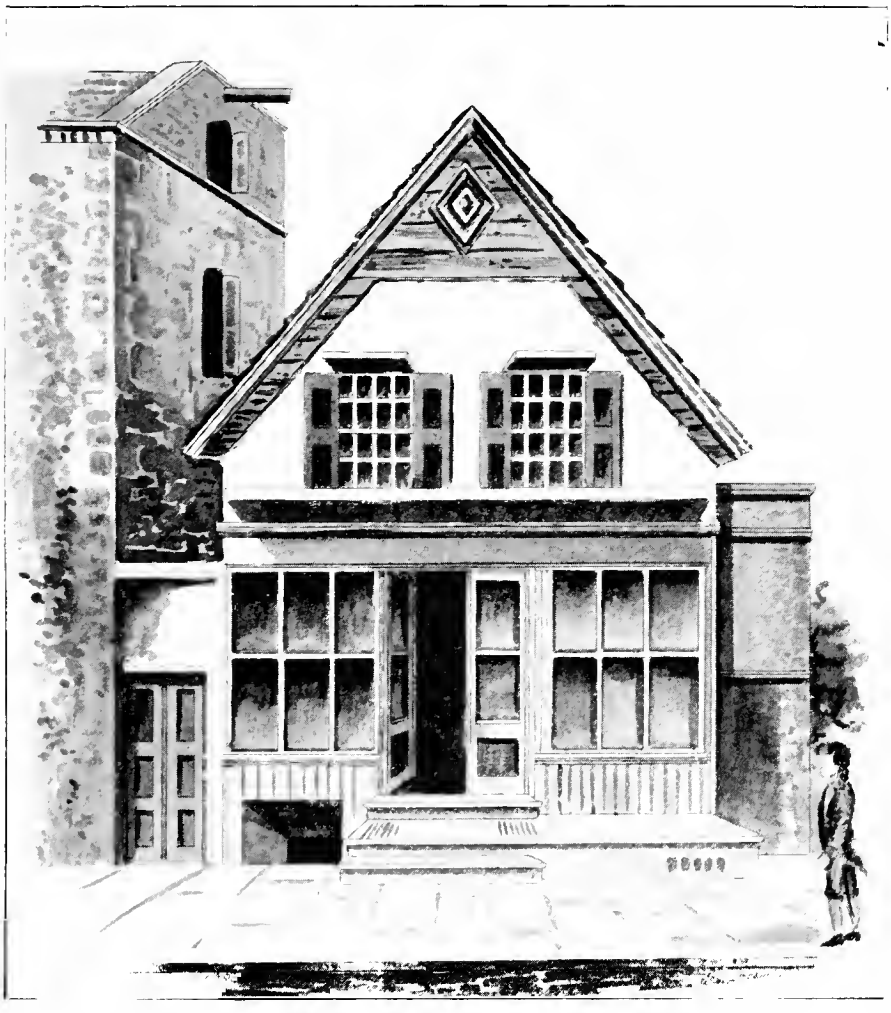
distinguished for its orderliness or morality, nor was the barracks quarter in New York an exception to the rule, being reputed "infamous." All the more need was there for the planting of a vigorous Christian organization to stem the tide of wickedness. At first the company of enthusiasts numbered but a few despised and persecuted individuals, but soon the work began to grow apace. An empty room adjoining the barracks was rented for revival work, and here a class of twelve assembled. Three members of the band of the Sixteenth Regiment, then stationed at the barracks, named respectively James Hodge, Addison Low, and John Buckley, gave their hearty support to Mr. Embury, and became exhorters. The religious needs of the inmates of the poor-house were attended to, and its superintendent, "Billy" Littlewood, was awakened and converted. Considerable religious excitement came to be manifested in the community.

At this conjuncture there appeared on the scene a remarkable character, who soon played the most conspicuous part in the whole New York movement. This was Captain Thomas Webb, of the British army, whose wife's home was near Jamaica, Long Island. It was customary at this time for British officers to wear their uniform when off duty, and the appearance on the platform as an evangelist of one wearing the king's uniform and epaulets created no little gaping wonderment. Unbuckling his sword he would lay it on the table beside him, and, opening the Bible, address the audience in blunt, soldier-like fashion, but with intense fervor. The effect was singularly powerful.

A gentleman by birth, Thomas Webb had entered the army in the stirring times when Pitt was guiding the destinies of the empire, when the national spirit was high, and British troops were everywhere marching to victory. He had been at the siege of Louisburg, had served under the gallant Wolfe in Canada, and had scaled the Heights of Abraham on that memorable morning in September, 1759, when the destiny of the North American continent was finally decided. There he saw both Wolfe and Montcalm fall; the British leader surviving just long enough to know that his work was accomplished. The troops Wolfe had led to victory entered the citadel that had hitherto been deemed impregnable, and Quebec was added to the possessions of Great Britain. In the engagement Webb lost an eye and was wounded in the right arm.

At this time Webb was not a religious man. It was five years later, in 1764, that, being stationed in the west of England, he heard John Wesley preach, and awoke to a sense of his dangerous condition. He spent a year of perplexity and sadness in groping after the light, but finally, some time in 1765, he found rest for his soul. The clouds of doubt

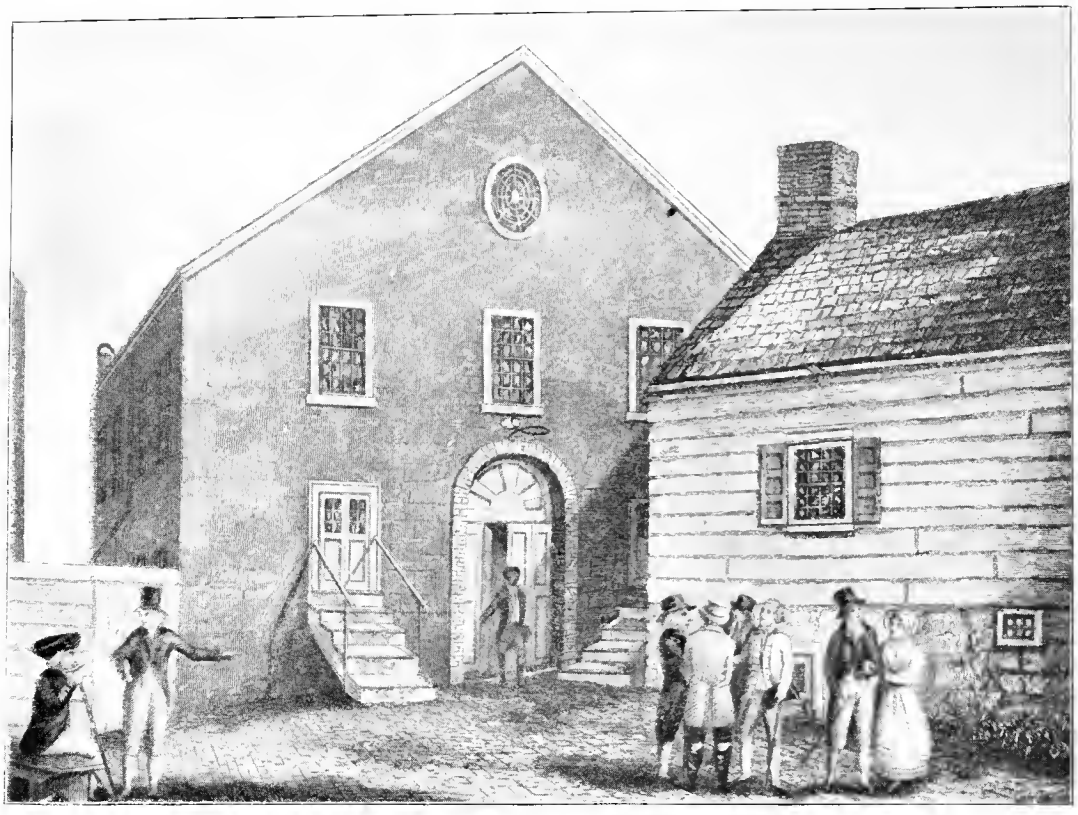
HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM.



THE RIGGING-LOFT, NEW YORK.

seemed suddenly to pass away, and like Thomas of old he exclaimed in a rapture of devotion: "My Lord and my God!" Thenceforth he identified himself with the Methodists, and began to show great zeal as an exhorter. On one occasion, when in Bath, he was present at a meeting where the preacher of the day failed to make his appearance. Invited to take his place, Webb held forth with great power and success; and this proved a turning-point in his career. His usual mode of address was to relate his Christian experience, and then encourage others to follow his example.

Having been appointed barrack-master at Albany, he sailed for his post shortly afterward. In Albany he did not slacken his religious efforts. To the regular family worship, which he held in his house morning and evening, neighbors were invited, and no opportunity was lost of exhorting them. News of Embury's work in New York having reached him, he paid Barracks street a visit, and cordially offered his help. Henceforth he was a loyal and hearty friend, assisting not only with his voice and presence, but also liberally with his purse. He was wont to express his want of confidence in converts whose "purses were not also converted," and his own conduct was consistent with this remark. He was of a portly figure and a commanding presence. A blind which he wore attached to a ribbon over



OLD ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, NEW YORK, FOUNDED 1768.

his wounded eye, gave him a somewhat odd appearance. Having settled down at Jamaica, he began to preach in the neighborhood and made many converts, more than half of whom were negroes. An interesting reference to Webb is made in a letter received by John Wesley in the summer of 1768. The writer, who signs himself "T T.," was probably a Thomas Taylor who emigrated to New York early in that year, and whose name frequently occurs later on in the records of the society. He remarks in the letter that he had heard from his host of one Captain Webb, a very strange sort of man, who lived on Long Island and who sometimes preached for Embury.

Some years later Wesley met the captain in Dublin, and formed a very favorable opinion of him. "He is a man of fire," he states in his journal, "and the power of God constantly accompanies his word." Having invited him to preach at the Foundry in London, he was confirmed in this good opinion. "I admire the wisdom of God in still raising up various preachers, according to the various tastes of men. The captain is all life and fire; therefore, although he is not deep or regular, yet many who would not hear a better preacher, flock together to hear him, and many are convinced under his preaching, some justified, a few built up in love." Ten years later he found that Webb had been doing admirable work as a preacher in the streets of Winchester, in England. To Francis Asbury he appeared to be "an Israelite indeed."

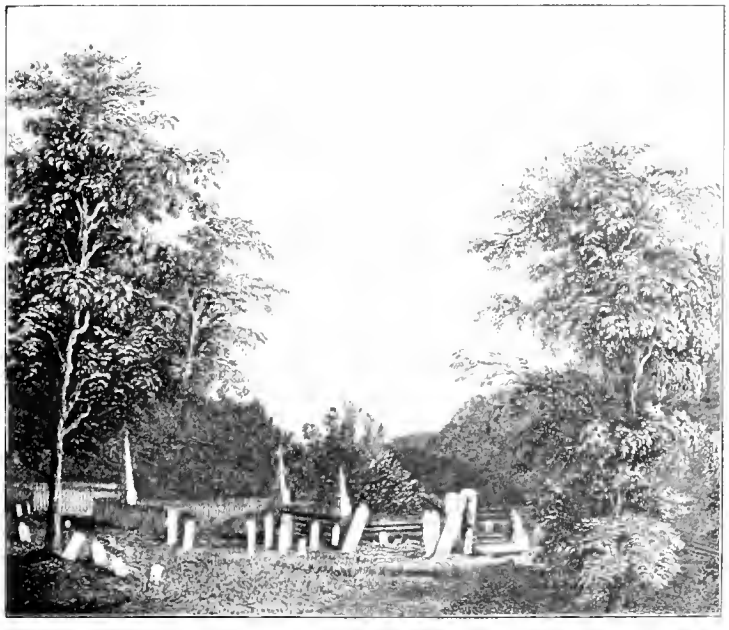
From the hired room, in which Captain Webb first preached, a change was made in 1767 to a rigging-loft in what was then Horse-and-Cart street, and is now William street. The street received its designation from the fact that many wagons were accommodated there; and

a tavern in it bore on its sign a horse and cart. The fact that the early Methodists worshiped in rigging-lofts at Baltimore and Philadelphia as well as in New York, is to be explained by the circumstance that the centers of population were at that time all seaports, and that these rigging-lofts were necessarily long and roomy chambers, easily accommodating large audiences. This change to the rigging-loft signified the growth of the work; for the previous hired room must certainly have been far less capacious.

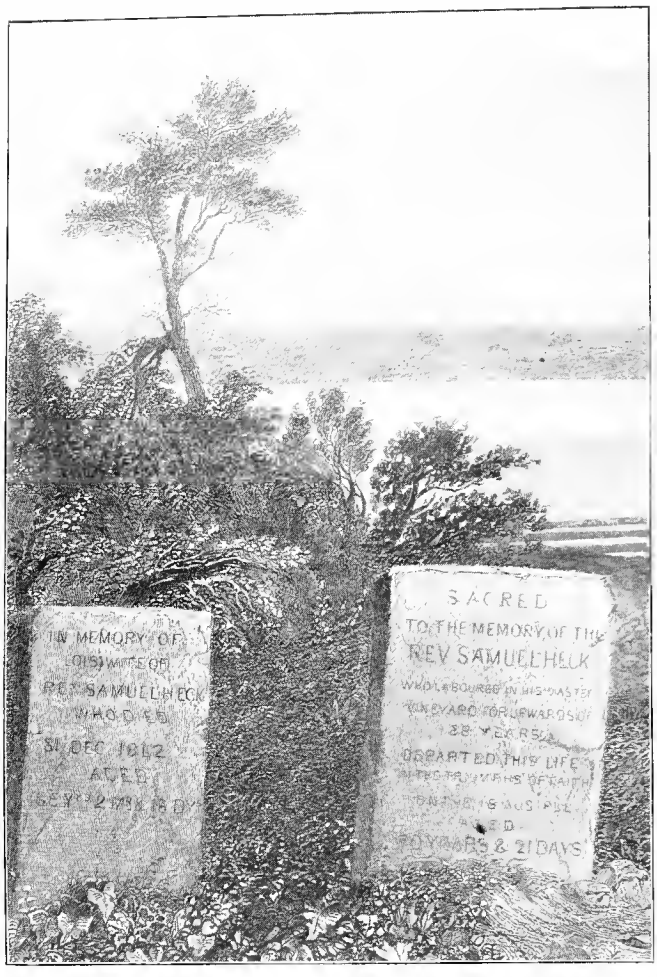
In this rigging-loft, measuring sixty feet long by eighteen wide, Philip Embury and Captain Webb preached to earnest and inquiring audiences the gospel of salvation. Soon the room became too small for the work, and a special place of worship had to be built. The tradition, however, of the sacred use to which the loft had been put, lingered about the place; and many visits were paid to the quaint old building at 120 William street, which outlived its successor, the chapel, and was not removed until the year 1854.

The meetings were held at such an hour as not to conflict with the regular services of the Church of England. There was a morning gathering at the early hour of six, and an evening gathering; and members of the society continued to be regarded as members of the Church of England. The clergy of New York favored the movement; and it was the widow of a lately deceased rector of Trinity, Doctor Barclay, who granted them the lease on which they built their first chapel. Mrs. Barclay showed further interest in the work by subscribing two pounds to its erection, and the names of three clergymen are also on the list. The first conveyance was made in 1768, and the second in 1770. The locality was then known as Golden Hill, a piece of rising ground on the outskirts of the city, afterward named John street. Fortunately for the progress of the work the society at this time received a notable accession to its membership in the person of William Lupton, a merchant of wealth and position in the community. Like Webb, he was English by birth, and had worn King George's uniform. Born in Lancashire, in 1728, he came to America when twenty-five years old, as quartermaster of the Fifty-fifth infantry. Later he served as ensign in the Forty-third. Having served through the war and obtained his discharge, he decided to make New York his home. In 1761 he married one of the Schuyler family, who died eight years later, at the early age of twenty-seven. They had five children born to them.

Of large frame and commanding aspect, William Lupton was a stanch Christian and a generous giver to the



THE GRAVE OF PHILIP EMBURY.



GRAVES OF REV AND MRS. SAMUEL HECK, ON THE ST. LAWRENCE.

cause. He it was who became responsible for the ground-rent of the newly acquired property; and when the subscription list for the building went round among the members, he followed Captain Webb's thirty pounds with twenty pounds, which he afterward increased by ten. As treasurer of the society he continually advanced money out of his own pocket, and was as generous with his time as with his money.

By October, 1768, the new edifice was ready for occupation. In order to evade the law of the colony which forbade Dissenters to worship in a church, a fireplace was built in its interior, which allowed it to be classed as a dwelling. The fittings were of the very simplest kind. For a long time the benches were without backs, and the gallery without a front railing or stairs. Boys would mount by a ladder, and sit upon the platform. The pulpit is said to have been wrought by the hands of Philip Embury himself, who by trade was a carpenter. Externally the structure was plain, yet substantial. The walls, constructed of ballast stone, had a facing of light blue plaster.

William Lupton's residence was close to the preaching-house, and he was thus able to enjoy all its privileges. On one occasion when a fire threatened both buildings, he told the firemen to save the meeting-house. "The church first, then my family," were his memorable words. He married again in the year 1770, and had a large family by his second wife. In the old John street preaching-house he was laid to rest in the year 1798, in the family vault under the pulpit; a vault for which good Philip Embury had constructed the doors a few months before he bade a final farewell to New York.

The edifice survived only some twenty years after Lupton's death. On May 22, 1817, the foundation sermon was preached for the second preaching-house of the name. Beside the old preaching-house stood an unpretending frame cottage which served as the parsonage, or preacher's house. It had come to the trustees with one of the lots they had purchased, and was prepared for occupation in the summer of 1770. Roughly built, and not over comfortable, it was difficult to heat in winter. A flight of stairs connected it at the back with the chapel. There is extant an interesting list of the good women

who contributed chairs, tables, pots, gridirons and tea-sets to furnish the house. The list was not closed until the end of November, when Embury had already left for Camden. The place, therefore, in no way recalls his amiable personality The building abutted on the street, while the preaching-house stood some distance back, leaving a considerable space in front.

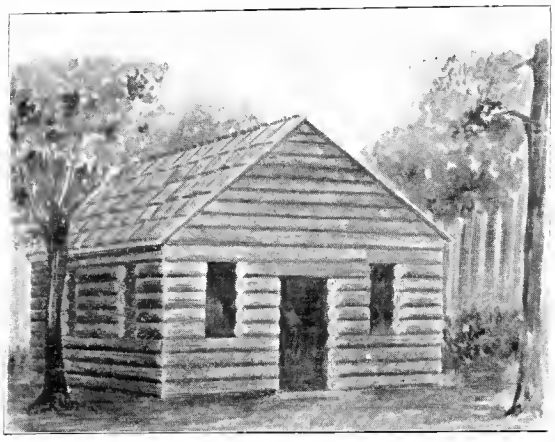
The memorable day of the dedication of the main edifice, to be known later as Wesley Chapel, was the thirtieth of October, 1768. The pastor, Philip Embury, gentle and somewhat melancholy in demeanor, chose as his text a passage from the prophet Hosea (x. 12): *Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy; break up your fallow ground, for it is time to seek the Lord, till He come and rain righteousness upon you.*

The assertion he made on this occasion, that the best consecration of a pulpit is to preach a good sermon in it, was not contradicted in his own case, if we may judge by the audiences he attracted. Two years after the dedication his hearers had increased from tens to hundreds, and sometimes the open space in front of the edifice was filled with those who failed to find accommodation within. Sound gospel preaching, hearty congregational singing, and consistent Christian living, proved to be powerful missionary influences.

Philip Embury's connection with the preaching-house was not long-lived. Regular missionaries—of whom more anon—having been sent out from England to assume charge of what had grown into an important work, the excellent carpenter moved from New York to the town of Camden, Washington county, in the same state. Continuing faithful in well-doing, he formed a society at Ashgrove, which consisted mostly of Irish immigrants. He was highly esteemed in the community as a humble, laborious, faithful citizen, and was elected to the office of civil magistrate. He did not survive to see the troubles of the Revolution, which sadly divided the Methodist community. Having injured himself while mowing hay in his meadow, he died suddenly in the summer of 1775, being then but forty-five years of age. At Camden he was buried in a retired spot, where his remains were suffered to rest until the year 1832. In that year some who were anxious to do honor to his memory had the body disinterred and removed to Ashgrove. Suitable services were held both at the earlier grave and in the beautiful burying-ground in Ashgrove, where lie others whose names are dear to Methodists. A marble tablet was erected over his grave, bearing an inscription of some length in commemoration of his services.

The name of Barbara Heck, who left New York for Camden at the same time as Embury, was confused later with that of a Mrs. Hick (Christian name not certainly known), whose son Paul be-

ROBERT STRAWBRIDGE.



LOG CHURCH, SAM'S CREEK, MARYLAND.

came an active member of the John Street Society. Dying when the boy was young, she was buried in Trinity churchyard, New York city, but no headstone was set up to mark the place. Many persons came to believe, but on wholly inadequate evidence, that she was the Barbara Heck whose influence so inspired Philip Embury. During four years of residence in Camden two children were born to Paul and Barbara Heck—Samuel, in whose house his mother was to die, and Nancy The year before Philip Embury's death they removed to Montreal, Canada, where Paul Heck enlisted as a volunteer in the British army, and served until 1778. Having received in 1785 a grant of land at Augusta, Upper Canada, as a reward for his loyal services to the crown, he removed thither. Several of their old associates accompanied them, notably John Lawrence, who had witnessed the original scene of the card-playing at New York, and whose wife was the widow of Philip Embury. A society was founded, believed to be the first Methodist community in British America, in which Samuel Embury, son of Philip, served for a time as leader.

After ten years' residence at Augusta, Paul Heck died, and was buried in the church-yard of the place. The Embury family seem afterward to have moved westward to the Bay of Quinte on Lake Ontario. His son Samuel also moved to a new locality, close to the river St. Lawrence. At Maitland, a hamlet between Brockville and Prescott, in full view of the American shore, he built a substantial house, where his sainted mother spent the few remaining years of her life, happy in the love and respect of the whole neighborhood.

Death came to her quietly one day, in the summer of 1804, as she sat in her chair in the orchard behind the stone house. She had the old black-letter German Bible, her constant solace, on her lap, and a hymn-book beside it. Suddenly, with the words "Glory to God!" on her lips, she fell forward and was no more. They took her to Augusta and buried her beside her husband, close to the old blue church, where a white marble slab marks the spot.

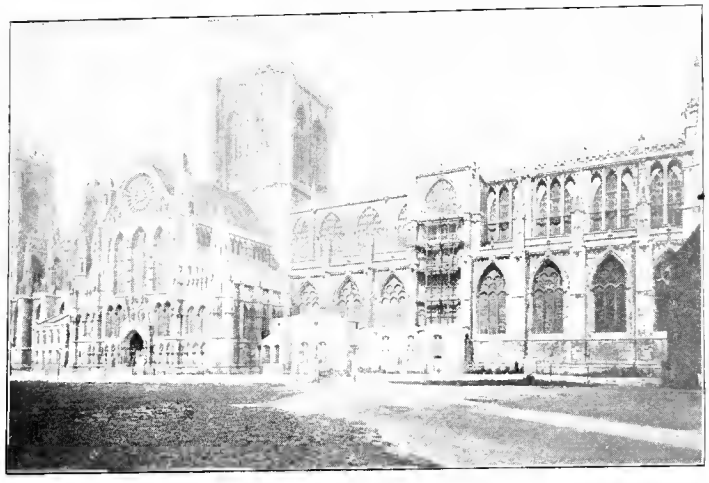
These were the pioneers of Methodism in New York city. Meanwhile in Maryland there had been formed a similar society, of which Robert Strawbridge, of Drumsna, was the moving spirit. There is considerable doubt as to the exact date of his arrival in Maryland, and of the formation of the society there. As we have seen, the historian of Irish Methodism finds the best explanation of his movements in his native country by supposing that he remained there five or six years after his conversion, and quitted it about the close of the year 1765. Nor is there any convincing evidence that he was in Maryland earlier than 1766. Several historians, animated as it would seem in many instances by a pardonable local pride, have insisted that the work of Strawbridge antedates that of Embury, and was the very first growth of Methodism on American soil. They rely mainly on a passage in Bishop Asbury's journal which speaks of the Maryland Society as

ST. IVES, CORNWALL.

the first in America, and on the reminiscences of old Marylanders as reported by their children. Unfortunately, however, for the general acceptance of this view, the earliest historian of Methodism, Jesse Lee, whose acquaintance with the matters involved was at first hand, who wrote systematically, and made chronological statements deliberately, and with a due sense of their relative importance as became an historian, is clear and definite in giving the precedence in time to New York. As his general accuracy is unimpeachable, and as his sympathies, he being a Virginian, were at least as much with Maryland as with New York, there seems no good reason to suspect an error. Wesley's testimony in his journal, that Humphreys was the first of his lay-preachers, has not settled the matter in Humphreys' favor—a fairly parallel case. Such casual entries in journals, indeed, are always open to criticism or revisal when they involve larger issues. Moreover, Lee's History, it must be remembered, was written and published during the lifetime of Asbury and others immediately interested in the correctness of such details; but they appear to have offered no protest or amendment. The later criticism was the result of a reasoning process, not the continued assertion of a contrary opinion, and as such has initially less weight.

Moreover, in the Discipline prepared by himself and Thomas Coke, and published in 1785 and subsequent years, for the direction and instruction of the churches, Bishop Asbury gives no priority in time to Maryland Methodism, but rather the opposite. The first place is given to an account of Embury's and Webb's work in New York, and then there follows a paragraph which mentions Robert Strawbridge s labors in Frederick county, Maryland. The essential fact remains that the two movements were "about the same time," as stated in the Discipline, and nothing further need be insisted upon.

When the Drumsna carpenter arrived on these shores, he was accompanied, if we may trust tradition, not only by his wife and possibly one or two young children, but also by a nephew and niece His family in time increased to six—three boys and three girls. Strawbridge has been described for us as a man of medium height, dark in complexion, with black hair. The possession of a sweet voice helped to increase his usefulness in evangelistic work, for he was an excellent singer. Of an energetic, self-reliant temper, he lost no time in starting evangelistic work. The log meeting-house, so well-known in Methodist story, was erected on Sam s creek, about a mile from his house, and here he minis-



YORK MINSTER.

tered to the people in sacred things. Three of his children, who died young, were buried under the pulpit.

As the work quickly spread to adjacent counties, he was called upon to preach in this place and that. Nor was he the man to refuse such invitations, even though his family were often thereby straitened for food. Kindly neighbors stepped into the breach and, by helping with the farm work, relieved him in part of pressing family cares. His labors were remarkably blessed in the raising up of young and energetic preachers who could continue it. It was of a different nature from the more concentrated city mission work in New York. Some have considered it remarkable that the membership in Maryland by the year 1773, amounting to five hundred, was almost half the total membership in the colonies, and thrice as numerous as the membership in New York. But two causes may well serve to explain this rapid growth. In the first place, Strawbridge's was a vigorous, self-reliant personality. He possessed the true itinerant spirit, and needed no Barbara Heck to arouse him to activity. Again, the clergymen of Maryland in colonial times were a by-word for inefficiency and even vice; and such immigrants as retained their attachment to the ritual and theology of the venerable Church of England must have welcomed the advent of a preacher of righteousness like the Irishman from Sligo. He took the bull by the horns, and soon insisted not only on awakening and edifying from the pulpit, but on dispensing the sacraments, a course which occasioned no little embarrassment to worthy Francis Asbury.

By the year 1768 those who had been awakened in Maryland through the efforts of Strawbridge despatched a pressing message to the British Conference, which assembled in that year at Bristol, begging for preachers. A similar appeal was sent from New York. Already had the claims of the American colonies been urged upon Wesley by those acquainted with their religious destitution; but the clamant needs of the home field seemed to him to leave no spare funds or energy for transatlantic mission work. The Bristol Conference failed to act upon the appeal, leaving the matter to be pondered over until their next meeting.

A wag of the time suggested that a hierarchy might be chosen for the American colonies from the leaders of English Methodism. He suggested that Whitefield be appointed archbishop of Boston; Romaine, bishop of New York; John Wesley, bishop of Pennsylvania; Madan, bishop of the Carolinas; Shirley, bishop of Virginia; Charles Wesley, bishop of Nova Scotia. Evidently at this time Whitefield's evangelistic work bulked most largely in the public eye.

The next Conference met in Yorkshire, a county that has always been the stronghold of English Methodism. At this time there were over forty circuits, over one hundred itinerants, and nearly 30,000 members in the connection. One-

fourth of the membership was to be found in the great and vigorous county in which Leeds was a busy center. When the American call was brought up at the Leeds Conference of 1769, on the third day of its session, Joseph Pilmoor, a Yorkshireman by birth, at at once offered himself for the work. In the previous September, while traveling in South Wales, he had specially devoted himself to the service of God, evidently anticipating an emergency which might call for separation from fatherland and kindred. This memorable covenant, which he drew out in writing and signed, was dated Pembroke, Saturday, September 3, 1768. At this time he was a man of thirty or more, and had been for fifteen years known to Wesley It is stated that Wesley himself was the means of his conversion, and gave him a place in the Kingswood School, where he studied English literature, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew After four years of this training he was employed as a lay-helper. In 1767 and 1768, when he was traveling in South Wales, he enjoyed the inestimable privilege of frequent intercourse with Wesley

Another of the preachers, Richard Boardman, offered himself at the same time, and was accepted. But little is known of Boardman's early life, although he is said to have been born at Gillamoor, in Yorkshire, close to Kirkby Moorside, a place identified as the "small cure," to which Goldsmith's *Vicar* retired with his family after leaving Wakefield, and in which most of the incidents of his tale occurred.

Having entered upon itinerant duties in 1763, he traveled in northern and central England, and in Ireland. At the time of his appointment he was suffering from a recent double bereavement, having in January of 1769 buried his wife and their daughter Olive. Boardman was universally esteemed as a man of tact, amiability, and force of character, joined to sincere piety Such were the two missionaries whom Wesley entrusted with the task of superintending mission work in the American colonies.

No long interval was allowed them to prepare their outfit or pay farewell visits to their friends. On his way to the vessel Boardman stopped at Monyash, in Derbyshire, where he preached upon the character of Jabez. Among his hearers was an earnest-minded girl named Mary Redfern, who was destined to bear an honored name. The sermon made a deep impression on her mind. Some years later, having removed to Lancashire, she married a tailor named Bunting. Their son, born in the year 1779, was named "Jabez," and became one of the noblest figures in the history of Methodism. In this seemingly accidental way is spiritual influence of the most far-reaching kind passed on. In the third week after their appointment they were at Gravesend, ready to sail for Philadel-

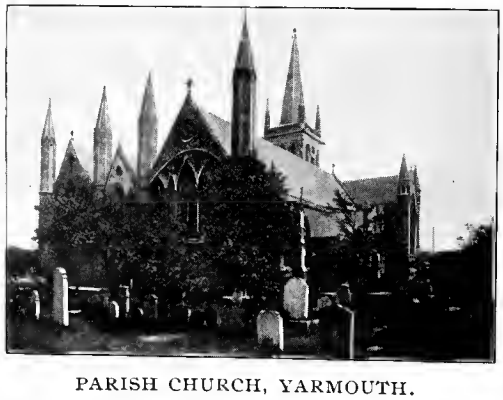
ST. MARY'S ABBEY, YORKSHIRE.

WHITBY, YORKSHIRE.

phia. The "Mary and Elizabeth," Captain Sparks, was the vessel which carried them across the Atlantic; and they took advantage of the opportunities offered them while on board to hold religious services for the crew and steerage passengers, whose demeanor was excellent. After a wild storm, in which foundering seemed imminent, they at length reached land, and disembarked at Gloucester Point, New Jersey, four miles south of Philadelphia.

Another of Wesley's local preachers, bearing the Welsh name of Williams, but belonging at this period to the Irish Conference, was already in America, having landed at least a month before Pilmoor and Boardman. The statement is made in many histories that before he left the old country Wesley gave him a permit to serve under his missionaries in America. This makes it necessary that he should have sailed after the third of August, when they were chosen for the work. As Pilmoor and Boardman lost no time in embarking on their long voyage, Williams must have been very quick indeed to have stolen a march upon them.

There seems to be no necessity of supposing any such extraordinary and unseemly haste on his part. Rather does it appear that he was already on the Atlantic when the Conference met. He had an Irish friend, named Ashton, who possessed some means, and had promised to take Williams with him if ever he sailed across the Atlantic. When, in the summer of 1769, Williams learned that Ashton had actually taken his passage, he hurried to the port and got on board the vessel. It was bound for Baltimore, but, being storm-stressed, put in at Norfolk, Virginia. The time was evening, and Williams was only too glad to get ashore. The desire to begin preaching in the new land was strong upon him. Noticing a vacant dwelling, he mounted the steps, and, taking out his hymn-book, began to sing. A crowd having gathered, he proceeded to exhort them, and then, falling on his knees, prayed fervently for the people and the neighborhood. Thereafter he related the circumstances which had brought him to

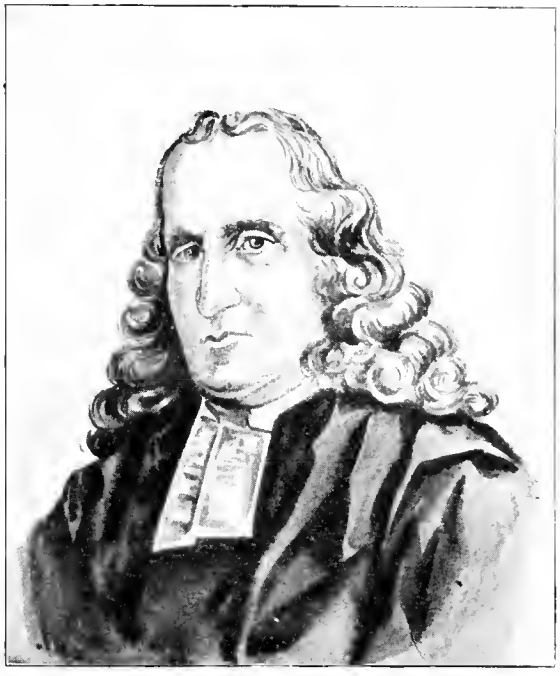


PARISH CHURCH, YARMOUTH.

the place, and asked for the hospitality of any one able to accommodate him. A lady who was present in her carriage responded, and drove him to her place in the country. She proved to be the wife of a captain who was then at sea.

The family prayers which he conducted that evening and next morning at her house were a means of awakening her, and she became an ardent believer. She was led at once to pray for the spiritual welfare of her husband. And now comes in a well-authenticated case of what modern science calls telepathy. That very night, out on the broad ocean, her husband, who had retired to his berth as usual, found himself afflicted with a strange restlessness and uneasiness. He began to think something was wrong with the vessel, and went to inquire of the mate, who, however, reported that all was going well. Twice did he get up to make sure of the vessel's safety, but still he remained uneasy At length the condition of his own heart occurred to him as a probable cause of his unrest, and, falling on his knees, he begged God for mercy. An answer came, and he was thenceforth a changed man. These circumstances he wrote out in detail in his log-book as they occurred. When he arrived at his home he found that the night was the very one on which Robert Williams had visited his home, and his wife had begun to pray for him. The story is related by a member of an early Methodist family of Maryland, Dr. William M. Dallam, whose father heard it not only from Mr. Williams, but directly from the captain himself.

From Norfolk Williams went on to New York, where there is an interesting record of his presence there as early as September 20, 1769. An item in the John Street Society's books, bearing this date, shows that a new hat was bought



JOSEPH PILMOOR.

for him, costing two pounds, five shillings. For the next two years similar entries occur, proving that he ministered to the New York people and was cared for after the simple fashion of the times. A society ticket, of date October 1, 1769, is also extant, which was issued by Williams to Hannah Dean:

> PSALM 147. 11. OCTOBER 1, 1769.
>
> The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear Him: in those that hope in His mercy.
>
> HANNAH DEAN. 75
>
> ROBT. WILLIAMS, N. York.

Hannah Dean, the recipient, was afterward married to Paul Hick, whose mother was supposed to be the friend and inspirer of Embury The figure 75 which follows her name is said to represent the number of members in the society at the date of issue. It has been confidently asserted that this is a love-feast ticket; but if so, then Pilmoor's deliberate statement, made in the following May, that he then held the first love-feast in New York is hard to explain away.

PEMBROKE.

There is a singular lack of definiteness in our information respecting the work of Williams in America. The various purchases made from time to time in his behalf which appear in the John street records show that he assumed charge temporarily of the organization. Ten days after Pilmoor arrived in the Delaware, Williams was at Philadelphia to meet him, and in the week or two following he preached several times in that city. Thereafter he set out for Maryland, where Strawbridge was much in need of help. He became the pioneer of Methodism in Virginia, and it was during one of his tours in 1774 that Jesse Lee, the first historian of Methodism, joined the connection. Though often in feeble health, Williams was a singularly eager and zealous worker. He preached through the country from Petersburg, entering North Carolina, where he succeeded wonderfully in making converts. His attitude toward the established church was friendly. After attending regular service, he would seek out a convenient log or stump from which to hold forth, and sing, pray, and preach to all who would hear him. His complete artlessness and childlike abandonment to the emotions of the moment led many of his hearers to believe him mad, and in some places he was treated with considerable roughness under this supposition. One of the Episcopal clergymen of Dinwiddie county, Virginia, the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, who entertained him at his parsonage, describes him as a plain, artless, indefatigable preacher, who delivered his discourses in an animated and attractive manner.

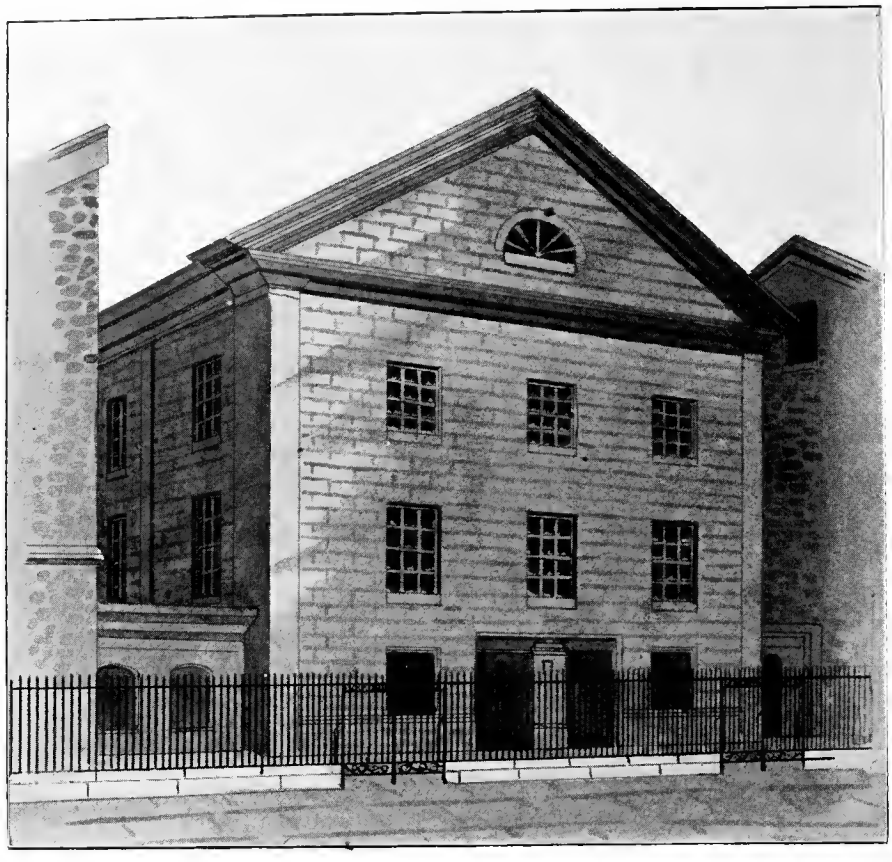
But six years of this active itinerant life in the colonies were granted him. During this period he married, and, at his death on September 26, 1775, he left a widow behind him. "Perhaps no one in America," wrote Asbury, "has been an instrument of awakening so many souls as God has awakened by him." With Williams were associated some of the earliest native Americans who became Methodist preachers and itinerants. William Watters, when a young man of twenty-one, accompanied him in 1772 on a tour through Maryland and Virginia, and there received his introduction to itinerant work. The name of Williams is not one to be lightly passed over or forgotten.

With the entry on foot of Pilmoor and Boardman into Philadelphia, at the end of October, 1769, the Quaker City, then the most populous on the Atlantic coast, becomes the chief center of interest. Captain Webb had just come up from Wilmington, after an encouraging visit to that neighborhood, and was delighted to meet the two missionaries. They found in him a "real Methodist." Boardman, after opening the work with a sermon on the call of Abraham, immediately set out for New York, leaving Pilmoor to prosecute it. The latter improved his opportunities. On the first Sunday he secured the stage at the race-course, and preached to an audience numbering several thousands; and on the second Sunday he was in the market-place, addressing a like mixed audience, who listened in a becoming manner to his appeals. Pilmoor was not one who reveled in displays of religious emotion, but seems to have preferred a grave and reverent behavior at religious gatherings. The demeanor of the Philadelphians impressed him more favorably than that of any audience he had ever addressed.

November of 1769 was a memorable month in the annals of early American Methodism. Pilmoor and Webb were busy in Philadelphia, preaching not only to the well-to-do and the church-going, but to prisoners in the jails and to the poor Africans in the slums and alleys. One of Whitefield's converts, named Edward Evans, a veteran in the Christian army, came forward to help them, and, in the ten years or more immediately following, did noble itinerant work around Philadelphia and in New Jersey. His death having occurred before the first Conference met in 1773, he has failed to receive the notice he deserves. Before the close of this memorable month, the members of the Philadelphia Society met to consider the pressing necessity of obtaining new premises, the old being altogether too narrow to accommodate them. At this time the society seems to have met in a pot-house in Loxley's Court, the name given to a passage running from Arch to Cherry street. The churches of the city, though they did not oppose the work, did not offer the use of the buildings, and, as the winter was approaching, the prospect was that crowds would have to be turned away, and thus be deprived of hearing the gospel message.

Happily a building, erected by the Dutch or rather German Presbyterians at a considerable cost, and left unfinished through lack of funds, was just then put up to auction. It came into the hands of Pilmoor and his associates at a third of the original cost, and they were able to enter into possession forthwith, although the legal transference of the property was not completed for several months. The edifice, known later as St. George's, was roomy, measuring eighty-five feet long by fifty-five feet wide. Pilmoor preached for the first time within its

RICHARD BOARDMAN.



ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

walls on Friday, the twenty-fourth of November, 1769. The passage he chose was from the prophecy of Zechariah (iv 7): *Who art thou, O great mountain? Before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain, and he shall bring the headstone thereof with shouting, crying, grace, grace, unto it.*

Meanwhile the poor Germans who had too rashly become responsible for the structure were, by the severe debtor laws of the time, lodged in jail. Their durance there so impressed the popular imagination that it became a proverb "to go to jail for building a church."

St. George's still stands as a memorial of pre-Revolution Methodism, the only structure of the kind which has survived until the present time. It has been called the Methodist Cathedral; and was for long the largest edifice belonging to the denomination. Within its walls, on the last Sunday in November, 1769, Captain Webb preached the morning sermon; and in the evening Pilmoor addressed a gathering of two thousand hearers. At first it was but a shell, requiring the expenditure of much time, labor, and money to render it a convenient place of worship. During the Revolution the British used it as a riding-school. As late as 1865 it was seriously damaged by fire, but not beyond repair. The memories which cluster round give it a peculiar interest. From its pulpit, on the first Sunday of December in that memorable year, Pilmoor made an important statement of the faith and body of principles of Methodism, proclaiming it to be an organization having no schismatic aim, but seeking earnestly the revival of *spiritual religion*. These two words were at the core of his declaration, and are underlined in the record he has left of it in his journal.

Many other notable gatherings have been held within its walls, but none more significant than this.

On the following Friday, at noon, a special prayer-meeting was held, known as the Intercession, which continued to be a regular feature of the work in Philadelphia and New York. Its intention was to intensify zeal in the work of revival and to prepare for the duties of the coming Sabbath. The last meeting ever attended by Boardman was an Intercession in Cork, Ireland, held fifteen years later. After joining in the prayers with particular fervor he returned to his lodgings to die.

The first love-feast in Philadelphia, and the first in America, if the ticket issued by Williams to Hannah Dean be not a love-feast ticket, was held at the close of March in the following year. The love-feast had always been a valued feature of the Methodist economy in England, the members partaking of bread and water in token of brotherly love. The occasion served for a free expression of Christian experience and religious emotion, where failing ardor was rekindled, where hesitating resolutions were strengthened and stimulated, and where new zeal was born. Pilmoor was highly pleased with the devout and decorous manner in which the Philadelphia members celebrated the occasion.

Meanwhile Boardman had proceeded to New York. On his way he stopped at a large town where there was a barrack containing soldiers. Finding them willing to listen to him, he succeeded in getting the use of the Presbyterian meeting-house, where a great company gathered.

Arriving in due time at New York, Boardman was pleased with the hopeful aspect of things there. The negroes who attended the services interested him much, and the peculiar difficulties under which they labored enlisted his sympathies. In the letter which he wrote to Wesley, bearing the date November 4, 1769, he strongly urged the latter to visit America, a proposition which seems to have been under serious consideration for the next four years; but, as we know, nothing came of it.

Boardman set himself to organize and regulate the work in New York. It was stipulated that preachers, after laboring three months, should receive three guineas to buy wearing apparel. They were expected to preach on Sundays, in the morning and evening, and on the evenings of Tuesday and Thursday, and to meet the society every Wednesday evening. Under Boardman's earnest and evangelical preaching the society in New York prospered. In a letter dated April 23, 1771, we have an interesting account of a local revival, when hundreds of believers joined the Church. One of the most notable of his converts was John Mann, who did excellent missionary work in Nova Scotia, and, during the troublous times of the Revolution, when disaster seemed to be overtaking the work in New York, was of signal use in keeping the society together.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ADVENT OF FRANCIS ASBURY.

NEITHER of Wesley's first delegates, Boardman nor Pilmoor, excellent men as they were, left any permanent impress upon American Methodism. This was the destiny of a younger and abler man, who followed them after an interval of two years, and who proved to be the right man for the particular work required in a country that was just then undergoing rapid and organic changes. The personality of Francis Asbury will always remain an interesting study because of the singular tact and directive faculty he displayed at a momentous crisis, combined with the deeper and richer qualities demanded of a Christian bishop.

He landed in Philadelphia just two years and one week later than Pilmoor and Boardman. Pilmoor happened at that time to be superintending the Philadelphia work, which it had been his good fortune to develop so successfully immediately after landing. Boardman was similarly in New York, the scene of his earliest labors on the American continent. This does not imply that they had specifically divided the work, Pilmoor taking the Philadelphia field while Boardman remained on the banks of the Hudson. Loyal to the Methodist practice of alternating, they had in the interval changed places at least thrice.

Francis Asbury was a Staffordshire man, born at Hampstead Bridge, in the immediate neighborhood of the town of Birmingham. He belonged to the sturdy yeoman stock of the Midlands, his father being a gardener or manager of estates for the local gentry. It is interesting to connect him with Robert Evans, father of George Eliot, and prototype of *Adam Bede.* George Eliot was brought up on a farm which had once belonged to the main branch of the Asbury or Arbury family. The same Methodist influences which touched and moulded Francis Asbury and his parents came to Marianne Evans through her pious aunt, Mrs. Samuel Evans, who joined the Methodists in the year 1797, when working in a tape-mill in Derbyshire, and became a preacher of remarkable power. The finest character study in "Adam Bede," *Dinah Morris*, owes everything to the fact that it was a study from life, Elizabeth Evans being the original. Her husband, Samuel Evans, was also a faithful local preacher and class-leader in the Methodist Society. In the scenes of that exquisite story we have a picture of the early surroundings of Francis Asbury. The parallel is complete when we recall the fact that both Joseph Asbury and Robert Evans were managers of estates. Probably the Asburys enjoyed the privilege of familiar intercourse with the gentry in whose employ the father was—as we know was the case with George Eliot's father.

In the Asbury home the singing of psalms was much practiced; and one of the boy's earliest memories was the overhearing his mother urge his father to family reading and prayers. He grew up well-principled and fond of religious society. A brutal schoolmaster to whom he was sent inspired him with such a dread of school that he refused to return, much as his father desired it. At the age of thirteen he was apprenticed to a saddler, and remained for about seven years in the trade.

During the very first years of his apprenticeship he came under the influence of a pious man, not a Methodist, who brought him into an awakened state. The consciousness of a spiritual change came to him in his father's barn, when he was praying there with a young companion. Prayer became an habitual exercise with him, and he began to read with interest the sermons of Cennick and of Whitefield. He also seized every opportunity of listening to the stirring addresses of Ryland, Stillingfleat, Venn, and other earnest divines who were invited to preach in West Bromwich church, where the incumbent sympathized with the evangelical revival. It was at this time that he began asking his mother who these Methodists were of whom every one talked. The name had long been familiar to him, for, when quite a boy, he had been dubbed by his schoolmaster the "Methodist parson." His mother spoke so favorably of them that he made a point of going to Wednesbury to acquaint himself personally with their work. It was in this very town of Wednesbury that the mob had, in 1743, attacked John Wesley in the most brutal fashion, endangering his life. The indomitable courage he displayed on that occasion won him the respect of the rioters, and must have left an abiding influence on the community. The society there was devout and earnest, and entirely congenial to the mind of Francis Asbury. The spontaneity of the prayers, the forcible sermons delivered without manuscript, the hearty hymn-singing, all struck him as altogether delightful, and, if novel, yet admirable.

GUY'S CLIFF, WARWICKSHIRE.

He returned home a thorough Methodist in spirit. Soon he began to hold meetings in his father's barn, and succeeded in bringing several souls into a state of inward peace. At this time he met class at Bromwich-Heath, and met in band at Wednesbury. Before he knew it, he was a full-fledged local preacher, visiting Derbyshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire, besides his own native county of Staffordshire.

TRENTHAM HALL, STAFFORDSHIRE.

MRS ELIZABETH ASBURY, MOTHER OF BISHOP ASBURY.

He had to part with affectionate and dearly beloved parents, and the wrench was a severe one, leaving painful memories in his heart for many a long year. His father, recognizing the scant likelihood of his ever seeing his only son again on earth, was almost inconsolable. The peculiarly noble character of his mother bravely stood the test of separation; she was seemingly upborne by divine comfort. Elizabeth Asbury survived for over thirty years, closing on the sixth of January, 1802, a life that was consistently a Christian one. For fifty years, to quote her son's testimony, her hands, her house, and her heart were open to receive the people of God and the ministers of Christ. For the four last years of her life she was a widow, her husband, Joseph Asbury, having died in 1798, at peace with God and man. Francis Asbury was certainly blessed in his parentage.

After nearly five years of this work his thoughts began to turn to the American field, and a premonition came to him that his life work lay there. At the Conference of 1771, held in Bristol, when a proposition was made that preachers should be sent across the Atlantic, he promptly offered his services, which were as readily accepted. He was now a vigorous young man of twenty-six. It is doubtful whether he had enjoyed any personal intercourse with Wesley up to this time.

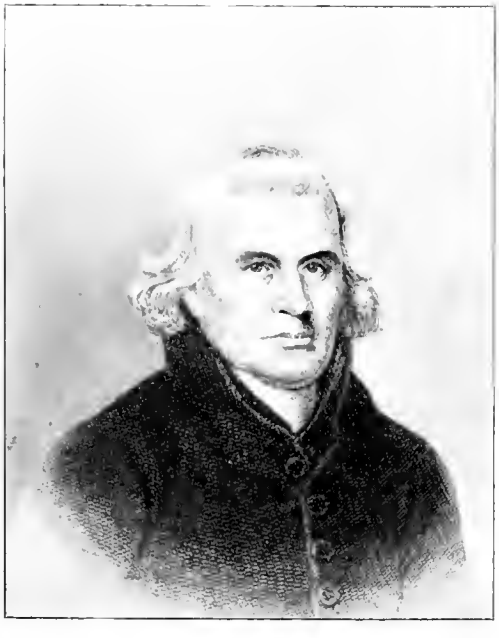
He began at once to make preparations for departure, taking his passage on a vessel that was to sail early in September. So poor was he that the Bristol community had to furnish him with clothes and the sum of ten pounds sterling. The short intervening time tried him severely.

His companion on the voyage, who had been appointed along with him to the work in America, was Richard Wright, of Bristol, who proved but an indifferent success, and was certainly not altogether congenial to Asbury. The two young preachers, after embarking, found that they had neglected to procure mattresses to sleep on, and had to content themselves with hard boards and a pair of blankets on the long eight weeks' voyage across.

The books which he studied on the voyage were mostly such as had been published at the Foundery by Wesley: Jonathan Edwards' "Faithful Narrative

of the Revival at Northampton," Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," and the "Life of Baron de Renty," a devout Catholic of the age of Louis XIII., whose austerities wore him out at the early age of thirty-seven. In the year 1738, Wesley, who greatly admired the baron's character, brought out an abridged life, cutting out much superstitious rubbish which marred the original life by Saint-Jure and the English translation. It was no doubt this abridgment that was in Asbury's hands.

When they reached Philadelphia a warm welcome awaited them; they were received, indeed, as "angels of God." A hospitable citizen, Francis Harris, took them to his home and entertained them. It must have been a matter of satisfaction to Pilmoor that their arrival was so different from his own, and that he could conduct them to a spacious church in which a considerable congregation of devout people was gathered. He introduced them with great heartiness to the numerous members of the society From the moment of arrival Asbury seems to have felt that he had at length found his real sphere of activity.



FRANCIS ASBURY.

THOMAS RANKIN.

Anxious to enter upon his duties without delay, Asbury preached the day after his arrival to the Philadelphia congregation, in such a way as to secure Pilmoor's approval. Next day the two set out for Greenwich, New Jersey, where the people were mourning the death of good Edward Evans. They called to comfort his widow, who was residing there. On their return journey they met a woman who had actually walked fourteen miles that morning to hear the gospel preached, and was on her way home with her child—a wonderful testimony to the eagerness of the people for spiritual nourishment.

Asbury remained for about ten days in Philadelphia, his destination being New York. Before he left he was present at a watch-meeting, which was opened at eight o'clock in the evening by Pilmoor, and lasted until midnight. The serious demeanor of the people impressed him favorably. On his way to the Hudson he preached in the court-house at Burlington, and also at the home of a Dutch

STONE CHAPEL, PIPE CREEK, MARYLAND.

gentleman named Van Pelt, who invited him to his home on Staten Island.

When he arrived in New York he found Boardman weak in body, but in a cheerful frame of mind. Like many others who crossed the Atlantic, among whom Asbury himself is to be included, Boardman suffered from the climate, and was frequently invalided. His amiable disposition and kindly ways at once won him the friendship of Asbury, whose earliest impressions of the place and of the religious temper of the people were highly favorable. He began his pulpit ministrations with a text from St. Paul, 1 Cor. ii. 2: *I determined to know nothing among you save Christ and Him crucified.* It seemed to him that the Americans were more willing to receive instruction than the English. The negroes who attended service and joined heartily in the singing, greatly interested and affected him.

The first glow of satisfaction was soon somewhat clouded over. It appeared to him that the Methodist plan of a continual circulation of preachers was in danger of being set aside, and that there was too much of a disposition to confine the work to the cities. Perhaps this was in a measure true of New York, which does not seem to have been a radiating center until after Asbury's advent. But then it must be remembered that the building of the chapel had taxed the resources of the feeble band of three hundred who formed the New York Society, and that it was necessary to attend to their home interests before they looked further afield. It is just possible that the youthful ardor of Asbury made him overhasty in censure.

During the first year of his ministry in America he does not seem to have opened up many new centers of work. At West Chester, East Chester, New Rochelle, Mamaronech, Amboy, Wilmington, and other places which he visited, Pilmoor had already been. Baltimore he did not visit until he had entered upon the second year of his ministry. Nor was he at this time probably the equal in pulpit gifts of his two predecessors. The defects of his early education are apparent at this time in his correspondence, and only continuous efforts could eradicate them. It is greatly to his credit that he found time, amid pressing duties, for systematic mental improvement, which bore admirable fruit in his later career.

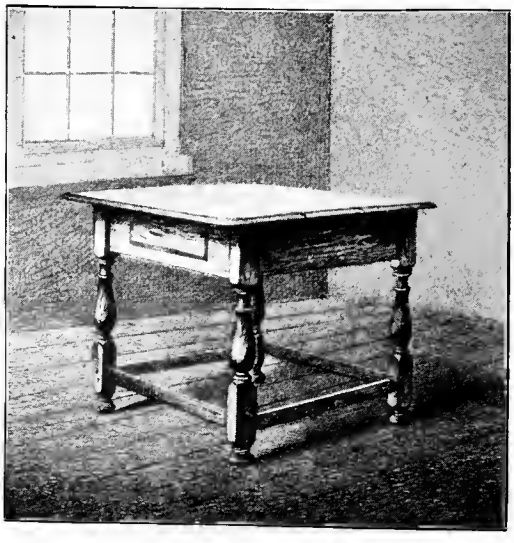


TABLE USED BY ROBERT STRAWBRIDGE AS A PULPIT.

He was particularly clear-sighted, free from jealousy, bent on making the most of his own capacities and of those of his associates and subordinates; and these qualities joined to unbounded energy and masterfulness were soon to constitute him the leading force in the American movement. Moreover, the purity and sincerity of his piety were evident to all; he carried about him the weighty influence of perfect consecration.

HOME OF ALEXANDER WARFIELD, NEAR PIPE CREEK, MD.

The progress of the work in America came up before the Conference which met at Leeds in August, 1772. It was yet too early to judge of Asbury's capacity, and Boardman was still in charge. Asbury's criticisms and other information had led Wesley to distrust the general management of affairs in the colonies, and he determined to send a new superintendent. Perhaps Boardman's feeble health and childlike rather than masterful temperament were thought to render him unfitted for so serious a task. Wesley wrote some very sharp letters to Pilmoor, and his criticisms so vexed that honest man as nearly to throw him into a fever. Captain Webb, then on a visit to England, was present at this Conference. He drew moving pictures of the spiritual destitution prevalent in the outlying settlements in the colonies, and his appeal was helpful in securing volunteers.

JACOB CASSELL'S HOUSE, FREDERICK COUNTY, MARYLAND.

The man chosen for the post was an energetic and devoted Scotchman named Rankin. Thomas Rankin was born in East Lothian, the district which had produced John Knox, and in the historic town of Dunbar. To this place there came a troop of dragoons who had served in Flanders. In place of bringing profanity and drunkenness in their train, they looked about for a room in which they might hold gospel services. Such were some of the fruits of John Haime's labors. Surprised at so uncommon a spectacle, many of the townsfolk gathered to the services, among whom was Thomas Rankin. He confesses that his motives in going to these meetings were not of the highest, and that he failed at this time to realize the real nature of the class-meetings which were established in Dunbar as a result of the revival work.

Rankin seems to have enjoyed con-

JESSE DURBIN'S HOUSE, BUILT 1767.

siderable advantages in his early education. At this period Scotland was far ahead of England in the privileges of this kind which she offered to her sons. Removing to Edinburgh, he attended some excellent preachers; and the discourses of Whitefield brought clearer light and fuller religious experience. Henceforth he was a steadfast, whole-souled disciple of Jesus Christ.

Shortly after his conversion he crossed the Atlantic on business, and remained for some months at Charleston. In this dissipated and thoughtless community he found the best scriptural teaching in a Baptist chapel; but the whole surroundings of the place were uncongenial to him, and he was glad to return home. Again he had the satisfaction of listening to Whitefield, who strengthened his faith and warmed his enthusiasm. He began to preach, and was appointed in 1762 to the Sheffield circuit. Thereafter he served in Devonshire and in Cornwall. In 1772 he had completed ten years of service as an itinerant, and was thus possessed of wide experience. Unlike the two previous delegations, he and his companions did not sail immediately after their appointment, but waited until the following spring, when Captain Webb and his wife could accompany them.

Largely in response to Webb's stirring appeal, George Shadford, who had been in the work only four years, volunteered for the American field. He was a native of the same county as Wesley, having been born at Scotter, Lincolnshire, in the year 1739. Early religious impressions had been obliterated by a love of sport and frivolous reading. Having joined the militia, a local force which goes into camp yearly, he heard at Gainsborough a Methodist preacher who made a powerful impression upon him. The serious thoughts which followed were dissipated by the ridicule of his companions, and he plunged worse than ever into sinful courses. Again he became serious, and fluctuated for some time between grace and folly until May, 1762, when the sermon of a Methodist preacher finally won him over. Henceforth he became a hearty, zealous Christian worker. From 1768 until the time of his departure for America he labored as an itinerant in Cornwall, in Kent, and at Norwich.

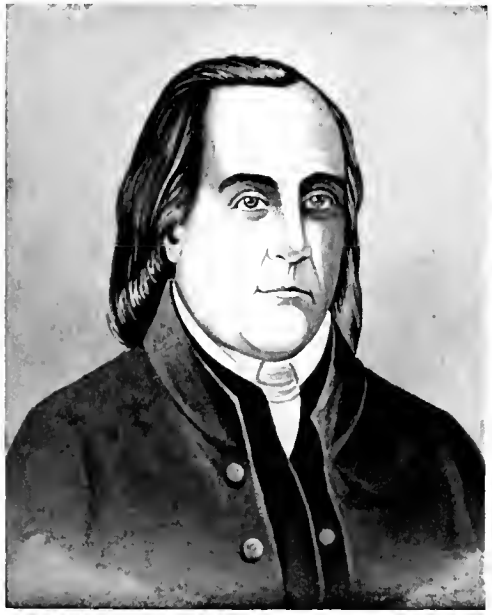
Meanwhile in America the men already in the field were not idle. Richard Boardman left New York for Rhode Island and Massachusetts early in the

SPRING, WITH THE WATER FROM WHICH STRAWBRIDGE PERFORMED HIS FIRST BAPTISM.

summer of 1772, and seems to have gone as far north as Boston. There is no detailed account of this journey; but some fifteen years later a few odd members still remained of a society which he had formed there. Asbury's companion, Richard Wright, was left in charge at New York, where he seems to have given satisfaction to the society members. He left New York for good in August; and, after a short time of service in Virginia, returned to England.

Methodism has been singularly blessed in the aid it has received at all times from energetic and devout women. The remark holds true of its very beginnings in England; and it is equally applicable to the history of the movement in America. Barbara Heck's was no isolated case of woman's initiative in evangelical effort; she is but the first in a long roll of honor.

The work in Philadelphia, begun in a small way by Captain Webb in a rigging-loft, and developed by Pilmoor and others, is associated almost from the start with the honored name of Mary Thorn. A Pennsylvanian by birth, she removed south with her parents, and married a South Carolinian named Thorn. Her married life was short. In the year 1762 she came under deep religious convictions, largely through the influence of a Baptist minister named Oliver Hart, who was fond of referring to the circumstance in terms of high gratification. Hart was a man of ability and of sincere piety, who for thirty years was pastor of a church in Charleston. A Pennsylvanian by birth, like Mary Thorn, he was privileged to hear the preaching of these "sons of thunder," the Tennents, and of the great Whitefield himself. The fifteen closing years of his life were spent at Hopewell, New Jersey, in which he was pastor of the Baptist church. That such a man should so highly have valued Mary Thorn is a striking testimony to her personal worth.



REV. PHILIP WILLIAM OTTERBEIN.

THE HISTORIC JOHN EVANS HOUSE, FREDERICK COUNTY, MARYLAND.

Now owned by the American Methodist Historical Society.

When her parents removed to Philadelphia in or about the year 1770, she went with them. A chance entry into a meeting conducted by Pilmoor brought the conviction to her heart that "these people were her people and their God was her God." Her parents thought she had gone crazy, and, when three other members of the family shared in her enthusiasm, they began to contemplate leaving the country. Her husband, who was still alive when she made her first acquaintance with Methodism, seems to

THE GATCH METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, BALTIMORE, MD.

have sympathized with her, for he nearly lost his life in rescuing a Methodist preacher from the fury of a mob, by assisting him to escape through a window.

It was no part of Mary Thorn's intention to sever her connection with the Baptists. Following Wesley's injunctions, she regarded the Methodist class and band as supplementary to the ordinary church life, not as superseding it. But the issue was forced upon her by the Baptist authorities, who spent three months in a deliberate endeavor to make her resign all connection with Methodism. The nickname, "Mother Confessor," with which she was taunted as she went to and from her class duties, shows that in the popular imagination of the time a leaning toward popery was suspected on the part of the new enthusiasts. Convinced at length that she and others, who shared her views, were determined in their course, and that further persuasion was in vain, the elders and deacons of the Baptist church summoned them to appear before the Association. After they had been called and examined singly, and ten remained firm, the books of the Association were opened, and a scene followed which reminds one of the incident in Spinoza's life when he was expelled from the synagogue at Amsterdam. Amid awful denunciations their names were solemnly erased from the church records in presence of the whole congregation. In the celebration of the sacrament which came immediately after, the degraded ten were placed on the left and forbidden to partake.

The decision left her without any means of support. A widow, she was refused help by her own family, and had to look out for some way of earning a livelihood. At one time she seems to have contemplated securing a position as traveling companion to a lady. Finally, she settled down as a school-teacher in Philadelphia, occupying a house near the corner of Mulberry and Broad streets, which was thenceforth a haven of all good influences. She was at one time in charge of three classes and two bands in Philadelphia. Nor did this suffice for her remarkable Christian activity. She became the first Methodist deaconess in this country, and as such the forerunner of a singularly noble and useful

THOMAS WARE.

army of Christian workers. In the distressful period which the city had soon to pass through, when war, famine, and pestilence filled its hospitals and desolated its homes, Mary Thorn busied herself in attending to the sick and the suffering.

PERRY HALL MANSION.

She remained barely six years in the Quaker city. Having formed the acquaintance of a sea-captain, well-to-do in the world, named Parker, she was married to him in the year 1778, and removed with him to England. Captain Parker was appointed by Wesley a steward for Gravel Lane Chapel, in London; and later, on removing to Scarborough, in Yorkshire, he became steward and trustee of the chapel there; while his wife was leader of two classes.

Misfortune marked the closing years of their life. Losses at sea so diminished Captain Parker's means that they were left with scarcely any support. Happily a son stepped into the breach and preserved them from abject want. He was an active Methodist, and at one time teacher in the Woodhouse Grove Wesleyan School, near Leeds, in England. The close of his life he spent in the city where his mother had lived and labored to such good account. He died in Philadelphia, leaving a widow and daughter there.

When Asbury superseded Wright at New York, he found much that was not to his satisfaction in the condition of affairs. He was of opinion that his predecessor had taken more pains to ingratiate himself with the members than to do real mission work; and that he had been somewhat spoiled. He did not hesitate to make his dissatisfaction known. Finally he came to loggerheads with the mainstay of the society there, the worthy merchant, William Lupton, who considered the young man "righteous overmuch." Asbury's eager spirit saw in the New York members a tendency to lukewarmness and to a loose condition of brotherhood, which seemed to him ominous for future expansion. People outside of the society were consulted as to its affairs and admitted in a careless way to its love-feasts and special gatherings, while the attendance of Lupton and others was far from regular. At this time Asbury was by way of being a precision, as Wesley had been before him at the same age.

After three months in New York, during which his spirit must have been often considerably tried, Asbury left for Maryland. His arrival in the old palatinate of the lords of Baltimore was an event of extreme significance. To Maryland he was to give the best days of his life, and in her borders after half a century of labors his earthly tabernacle was to find an honored resting-place.

At Philadelphia he was met by Robert Strawbridge, who was certainly the man best fitted to introduce him to his new sphere of labors. It is just possible that further research may show that Straw-

JAIL USED BY HARRY DORSEY GOUGH FOR HIS UNRULY SLAVES, PERRY HALL, BALTIMORE COUNTY, MD.

bridge's work preceded by a year or more the work of Embury in New York. This seems the limit of possible concession, and even this concession involves numerous difficulties. But, setting aside the subsidiary question of priority in time, we must concede the fact that in the Maryland work, of which Strawbridge was the pioneer, we have the real beginnings of American Methodism as a new and specific force. Numerically and inherently it had already shown an astonishing vigor in Maryland. This fact soon became patent to Asbury, who contrasted the provincial fervor with the lukewarmness of the city societies. Strawbridge was not a single voice crying in the wilderness; he had inspired others. A band of young men—William and Nicholas Watters, Richard Owings, Nathan Perrigo, Isaac Rollins—were already his zealous helpers. And these are but a few names out of many.

The sphere of Strawbridge's labors lay along the Pennsylvanian frontier of Maryland, in Frederick, Carroll, Baltimore, and Harford counties, all of which are bounded on the north by the Quaker state. A glance at the map will show Frederick county lying to the west of the other three counties mentioned. North of Frederick City, and close to the frontier line, the Western Maryland railroad crosses the county and enters Carroll county near the junction of Pipe creek with Sam's creek. The latter river flows north along the boundary line between the two counties, and the village of Sam's Creek stands on its banks. The Western Maryland railroad, in leaving Frederick county, runs eastward along the Pipe creek valley, and goes through Carrollton, not the seat of Charles Carroll, the statesman, which lies farther south.

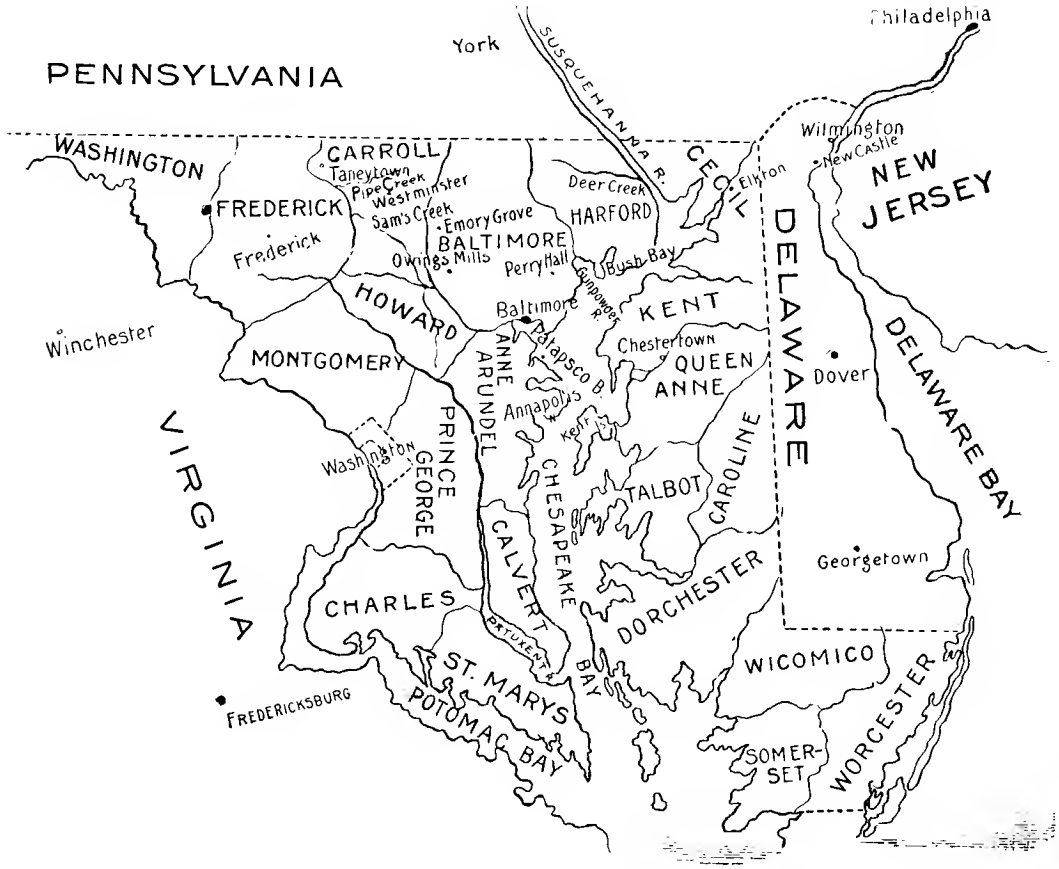
The peculiar history of the state of Maryland deserves a few remarks in passing. Granted to a Roman Catholic peer, and originally settled by Roman Catholics, Maryland suffered like the other portions of the British empire in the anti-Catholic revolution of 1688. The penal laws, which were in force against the celebration of the mass and other rites dear to Catholics, were rigorous and cruel. So much harassed, indeed, were the Catholic gentry by these laws that early in the eighteenth century Charles Carroll, one of the leading planters, and a descendant of the famous Irish family of O'Carroll, formed with other Catholic gentlemen the design of transferring their allegiance to France, and settling somewhere in the Mississippi valley. At this time Maryland ranked third in population among the colonies, Massachu-

setts and Virginia being respectively first and second.

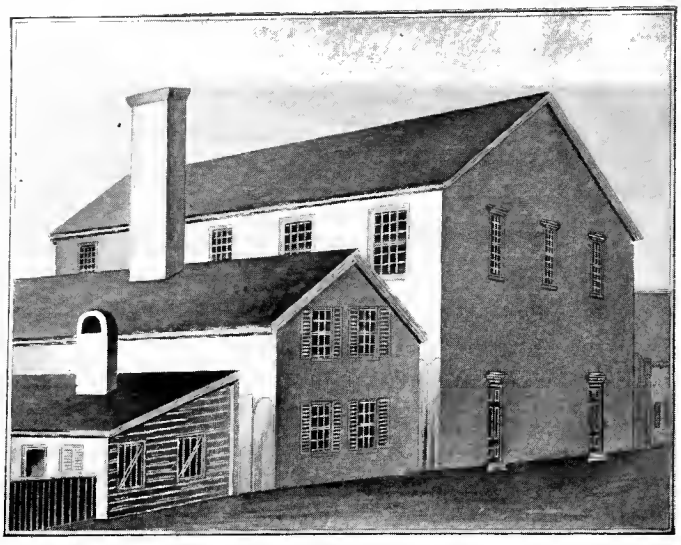
The Church of England, arbitrarily established among a community which was mostly attached to other forms of faith, commanded little respect and less attachment. That the members of other religious bodies should have to pay for the support of the English Church parson was felt to be an injustice, and certainly fettered the usefulness of the incumbents. The term "Maryland parson" was used in derision to signify a man whose tastes lay in the bar-room and the cockpit rather than in the exercises of religion. Quakers and other Protestant Dissenters, however, were free to build their own meeting-houses and worship in them without the severe restrictions that were enforced in New York and other colonies.

In a community where the prevailing sentiment was Catholic, where the dominant creed was professed by a small section, and was but poorly recommended by its representatives, and where other Protestant sects were feeble and scattered, a condition of spiritual destitution was certain to reign. A fruitful and inviting field lay open to the labors of faithful laborers, and Strawbridge and Asbury took advantage of the opening. In this way Maryland became the cradle of American Methodism.

German pietists had already been working to relieve the spiritual destitution of the state. Frederick City, in Frederick county, was one of the first places visited by Asbury and Strawbridge, who entered the state from Bohemia Manor in the northeast. Here they would find both a German Lutheran and a German Reformed church, the latter built during the pastorate of Otter-



MAP OF MARYLAND.



FIRST METHODIST PREACHING-HOUSE IN BOSTON.

bein, with whom Asbury afterward came into the most friendly relations. He had been induced to come to America by Michael Schlatter, a Swiss from St. Gall, who was sent to the American colonies by the Synods of Holland. The sympathy evoked by the distressful condition of the German emigrants who had passed through Holland on their way to the Far West, took this practical shape. Schlatter arrived in Boston in the year 1746, and immediately proceeded southward, to take up work in Pennsylvania. After five years of strenuous labor, in which he showed administrative qualities of a high kind, he returned to Holland to report progress to the Synods. When he returned in the following year he brought with him six young preachers, of whom Otterbein was one.

Otterbein was not the first German Reformed pastor in Frederick. He had been preceded by an able and accomplished preacher named Steiner, who had made quite a stir in Philadelphia. For the first few years of his stay in America he was stationed at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. At this time Schlatter, disheartened with the ill success of an educational scheme in which he had interested himself, resigned his connection with the mission and became a chaplain in the British army. He may have met Captain Webb in his new capacity, for both were present at the siege of Louisburg.

Although Asbury did not meet Otterbein at this time, he made the acquaintance of another prominent preacher in the Reformed Church. This was Benedict Schwob or Schwope (Schwab?), of Westminster, in what is now Carroll county, who had begun preaching as a layman some years before, and had given such satisfaction that he was specially admitted to full standing in the ministry. At this time he was acting as pastor to a small church in Baltimore.

Near the junction of Pipe creek and Sam's creek, which lie between Westminster and Frederick, it was the custom of the German Reformed Church in the district to hold meetings every August. It is remarkable that Strawbridge should have begun his revival work in this very locality. Asbury would be interested to meet with the Evans and other families who formed the congregation that met at the Log Meeting-house.

It has been stated that the two preachers crossed into Virginia and went up the Shenandoah valley as far as Winchester in that state: but this is a mistake, for Westminster, Maryland, was then called Winchester. On their way east they visited the Owings family, who were settled not far from Sam's creek. Before reaching Baltimore they also visited the homes of Samuel Merryman, who lived in a beautiful valley some twenty miles to the west of Baltimore, and of John Emory, father of Bishop Emory.

On the twenty-third of December, 1772, there met at the home of James Presbury the first Quarterly Conference

held in America of which any record remains, both Asbury and Strawbridge being present. Presbury's farm was situated further up Chesapeake bay than Baltimore, in what is now Harford county. Strawbridge proceeded to administer the sacrament, against Asbury's wishes, who, however, withdrew his protest. Like a good Church of England man, Asbury went to the nearest parish church to take the sacrament. This divergence of opinion and conduct was to remain for the rest of Strawbridge's life a bone of contention between the two men. Not until the final breach with sacerdotalism, twelve years later, when Strawbridge was in his grave, was the matter to be settled. When the settlement came, it was such as would have pleased the ardent Irishman. The other business of the Conference seems to have passed off smoothly.

At the close of 1772, Asbury made his first entry into Baltimore, then an inconsiderable town of some five thousand inhabitants. Baltimore county was formerly larger than now, and included several of the modern counties. The settlers at this period were poor, and lived frugally. The names that were common in the district, Howard, Gough, Ridgeley, Carroll, Eager, show a mixture of English and Irish blood. Across the bay, in Kent county, which was the first to be settled in these parts, was a community of thoroughly English stock. Here the young preacher was met by an indignant English Church parson, who demanded of him in arrogant tones why he intruded on his flock. Asbury answered with spirit that he came to help him in his work, not to oppose him; but the other, declaring that he had no need of his help, retired to his house in high dudgeon, and, when Asbury had done preaching, warned his parishioners not to attend the Methodist gatherings. He gave as one reason that the preachers despised learning and spoke against it.

From Kent Asbury proceeded north by way of Elk river, interesting as the home of the Labadists, a sect of pietists who had founded a settlement there in the seventeenth century, but of whom few traces now remain. A short excursion into Delaware, followed by further itinerancy in the western portions of Maryland, a Quarterly Conference at Susquehanna, and a second visit to Baltimore, completed this momentous six months' stay in Maryland.

Some of his converts were men of wealth and family Among them was Henry Dorsey Gough, a planter of large means, who lived at Perry Hall, a mansion situated about twelve miles from Baltimore, and noted for its spaciousness and elegance. Mrs. Gough, a daughter of Governor Ridgeley, had come under serious religious conviction, much to her husband's annoyance. He plunged more deeply into dissipation; and it was in sport that he first proposed a visit to a Methodist gathering where Asbury presided. The solemn words of the preacher,

HOUSE WHERE STRAWBRIDGE DIED, AND YARD WHERE HIS FUNERAL TOOK PLACE.

STRAWBRIDGE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

however, sank into his heart, and he became a changed man. To meet the spiritual wants of the community at Perry Hall, who numbered at least a hundred, he built a chapel, in which was hung the first bell belonging to an American Methodist preaching-house.

Shortly before this time occurred the awakening of Philip Gatch, a native of Baltimore county, who was to devote nearly sixty years of his life to successful evangelistic work. A sermon by Perrigo, one of Strawbridge's converts, greatly impressed him; and, in spite of strong family opposition, he joined the Methodists. He was already an active worker when Asbury arrived in Maryland.

After a severe attack of malarious fever, Asbury returned to Philadelphia, and was there when the new superintendent and his companions arrived from England.

The work in Delaware and New Jersey had, meanwhile, owed much to the zealous efforts of John King, a native of Leicestershire, in England, where he was born in the year 1746, being the third son in the family. Converted under the preaching of Wesley, he was thereupon disinherited by an intolerant father. There is a tradition that he was a graduate of Oxford University and received a medical education in London. In the summer of 1770, being then a young man of twenty-four, he sailed for America in order to preach the gospel there as he had been preaching it in England. He seems to have informed Wesley of his intentions, for the Bristol Conference, which was sitting when he was afloat on the Atlantic, assigned him, with Pilmoor, Boardman, and Robert Williams, to the work in America.

Wesley, who knew him well, and corresponded with him after his arrival in America, feared lest his zeal would pass the bounds of wisdom and decorum. He warned him earnestly against excess of vehemence, and exhorted him to curb his temper, which was naturally stubborn and unruly.

His arrival in Philadelphia in the middle of August, 1770, had caused some perplexity to worthy Mr. Pilmoor. King asked to be received as a preacher, but carried with him no credentials from Wesley or any of the Conference leaders. Pilmoor, though favorably impressed with his demeanor, did not feel justified in giving him any authorization until he had tested him further. A few days

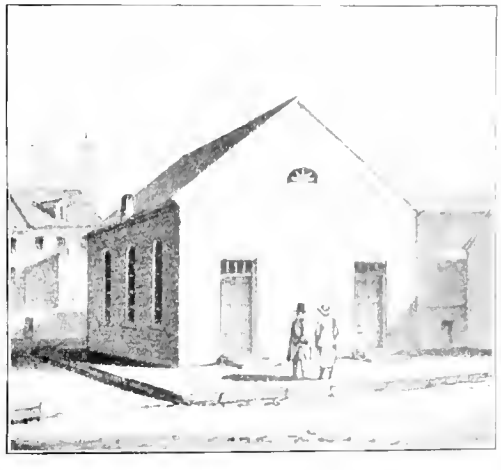
later King was addressing a large and attentive audience in the Potter's Field of Philadelphia, and it was evident that he could be made an instrument of great usefulness. On the last day of this month of August, on the evening of a Friday that had been set apart for Intercession, he preached a probationary sermon before Pilmoor and the leaders of the Philadelphia Society The result was satisfactory, although Pilmoor did not consider his gifts so well suited to city as to rural work. A curious criticism, if he were indeed an Oxford graduate.

He seems to have been recommended to gentlemen resident in Delaware state, and to have spent a year in preaching and exhortation at and around the town of Wilmington. In the next two years he traveled further south, and became one of the pioneers of Methodism in the southern states. There is a tradition that he was the first Methodist preacher to enter Baltimore; but what evidence we have would rather favor the claim of Robert Williams to this distinction. King indulged in a good deal of action to enforce his exhortations; and on one occasion astonished the congregation of St. Paul's in Baltimore by raising the dust from the velvet cushions of the pulpit so energetically that no opportunity of repeating the feat was afforded him. His active career as a preacher in America seems to have closed with the Revolution.

Pilmoor, who had been absent on an extended missionary tour in the South, arrived in Philadelphia just in time to welcome the new superintendent. He had left Philadelphia early in the summer of 1772, and had visited various places in Pennsylvania, among them Lancaster, associated with Schlatter and the early career of Otterbein. The guide he expected to conduct him into Maryland, failed him, and he crossed the broad Susquehanna alone. On the eleventh of June he entered the city of Baltimore, and for the next eleven days preached several times daily, both in the Dutch and Episcopal churches and in the open. He spoke especially on the nature of the society meetings, and gathered twenty-five people together who were anxious to form themselves into a society. The number increased to forty before he quitted the place for a tour in the country districts of Maryland. Both Robert Williams and John King were at this time preaching in the state. Pilmoor had met Williams soon after crossing the Susquehanna, and he fell in with King just after he left Baltimore. An interesting memento of his visit to the Watters' house, near Deer creek, remained until Doctor Emory's day, and may still be in existence. He wrote upon one of the window-panes the following lines:

> Soft peace she brings wherever she arrives,
> She builds our quiet as she forms our lives,
> Lays the rough paths of peevish nature even
> And opens in each heart a little heaven.
>
> "Exalt Jehovah, our God."
>
> June 30, 1772. J. P.

The custom of writing with a diamond or other instrument on a pane of glass was not uncommon at this period; to it



OLD "LOVELY LANE CHURCH," BUILT 1774.

MEMORIAL TABLET TO ROBERT STRAWBRIDGE, IN THE STRAWBRIDGE M. E. CHURCH, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

we owe some of Burns' cleverest epigrams.

Early in July he returned to Baltimore, and, after a few days of active preaching, proceeded south on his way to Virginia. This shore district on the west of Chesapeake bay remained for long hardly touched by Methodist efforts. Pilmoor entered Annapolis a perfect stranger, and had to send the bellman round to announce a meeting. A "fine congregation" gathered; and next day, being Sunday, he was able to preach to a "vast multitude." In the morning he was hospitably entertained by one of the clergy. His experiences in the Old Dominion were varied and significant. He had great success at Norfolk, where William Watters joined him, at Portsmouth, and at Williamsburg, at that time capital of the province. Here he fell in with some of the students attending William and Mary College, with whom he had some discussion on theology. Ill health greatly interfered with his labors. A sermon—delivered under the stress of severe sickness—so impressed a sea-captain who had hitherto been strongly prejudiced against the Methodists, that he became a truly devout man. He was successful in founding a strong society in Portsmouth, and, two days later, on the sixteenth of November, another in Norfolk, the two first on record in the colony.

Before Christmas he had entered North Carolina, where he found the Church of England singularly weak. Although it was the state church, it could boast of but eleven clergymen in a district four hundred miles long by two hundred broad. He preached with some success at Wilmington and other places, and then passed on to South Carolina. Nor did he turn northward until he had visited the Bethesda Orphan House at Savannah, the institution in which Whitefield had been so vitally interested. No doubt the comparatively recent death of the great preacher and philanthropist would make it a special duty on the part of Pilmoor to pay a visit to the orphanage. The interesting circumstance that Whitefield had met Pilmoor and Boardman in Philadelphia a few months before his death, and had given them and their mission his solemn blessing, would no doubt also have its influence. The institution was now under the care of Lady Huntingdon, from whom he had received many favors when in England, and who would expect him to report to her the results of his personal inspection of the institution.

Rankin and Shadford, who arrived in Philadelphia on June 3, 1773, the day following Pilmoor's return, had set sail from the port of Bristol on Good Friday

in the ship "Sally," commanded by Captain Young. Besides Rankin and Shadford there were on board Captain Webb and his wife, and an English local preacher named Joseph Yearbry The passage took eight weeks, and on their arrival they were kindly received by the Philadelphia brethren. Webb would certainly feel at home in a place where he had originally started the good work, and it must have gratified him to see the rapid growth of the society

It was with keen interest that Asbury listened to the first discourse which Rankin delivered after arrival. The text chosen was from the Book of Revelation, iii. 8: *I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it.* The preaching powers of Rankin did not impress him very favorably, but he thought the Scotchman would prove a good disciplinarian.

Rankin's strength lay in his well-ordered mind and systematic methods. It was but natural that immediately after his arrival he should set about holding a general Conference with the view of unifying the somewhat scattered work, and suppressing irregularities which had crept in. Its limits were no longer narrow or confined, although they did not embrace the whole extent of Whitefield's mission field. This city was naturally chosen as the most suitable place for such a gathering. Conveniently situated for the middle and southern colonies, it was also the most populous city of the colonies. Its inhabitants, numbering thirty thousand, were at once more numerous and more highly cultured than the people of New York; indeed, Boston was the only American city which could rival it as a literary center. Thither Benjamin Franklin, uncomfortable in the strict Puritan surroundings of the city on the Charles river, removed in 1723, and found employment as a compositor. Eighteen years later *The American Magazine* began its career in South Front street. In the year of the first Conference its population was double that of New York, and more than six times that of Baltimore.

Rankin's attitude at this time was one of disappointment with the slender dimensions of the work in the colonies. Before leaving England he had been given to understand that converts were joining by thousands; but on arrival he found that the grand total was but little over one thousand. A man of rather formal mind, and set in his ways, he did not possess that elasticity of temperament or fund of sympathy which was demanded of a leader at a critical time. He commanded respect rather than love. Order and regularity were his watchwords.

It was on the fourteenth of July, 1773,

PULPIT IN THE CHAPEL OF STRAWBRIDGE CHURCH, MADE FROM LOGS TAKEN FROM THE "LOG MEETING-HOUSE."

that the first Methodist Conference in America assembled, the business having hitherto been transacted at quarterly meetings. The principal business before the gathering seems to have been the checking of irregularities in the proceedings of Robert Strawbridge and Robert Williams. These useful and earnest men were employing methods which were distinctly out of accord with the practice of the English Methodists, and which, had they been practiced in England, would have called down upon them the emphatic censure of John Wesley.

STRAWBRIDGE'S GRAVE.

The practical question to be settled at the outset was this: Should the work in America proceed under the same rules and personal guidance as the work in England? If they decided that it should so proceed, then various restrictions would have to be put in force at once, before new precedents were established. When the preachers present were asked in turn whether Mr. Wesley's authority should extend to the preachers and people in America, and whether the doctrine and discipline of the Methodists, as contained in the minutes of the society, should be their sole rule of conduct, the reply was unanimously affirmative.

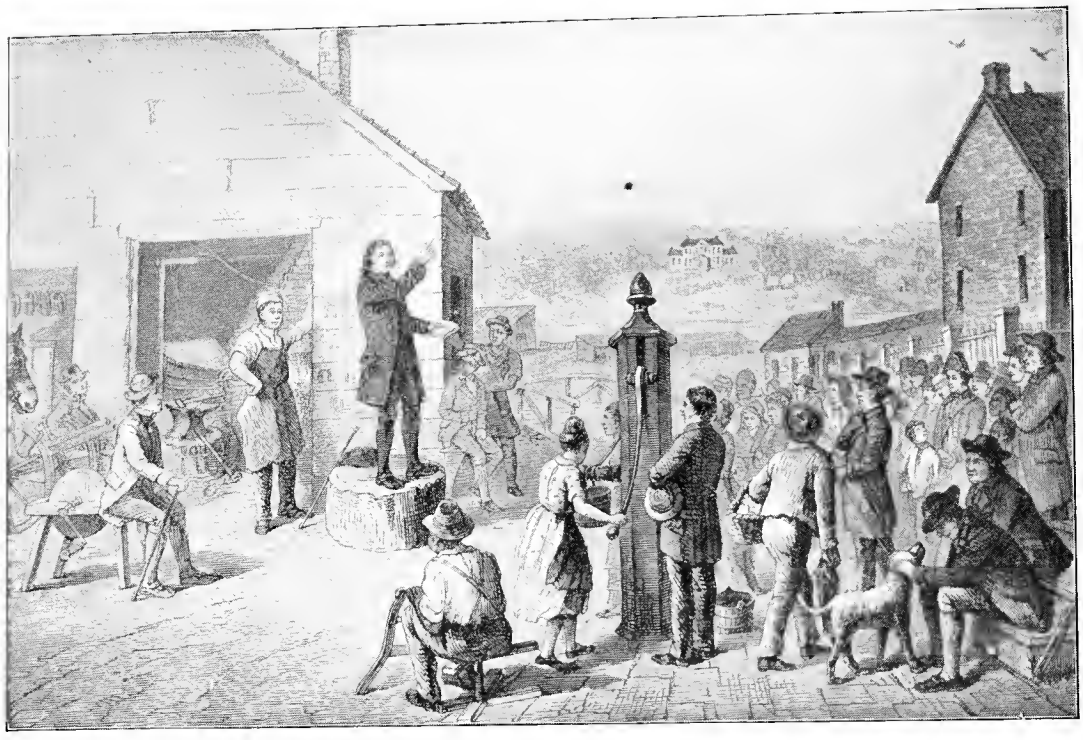
The particular rules which were then framed for the carrying on of the work, and which received the approval of all present, were six in number. The first and second, in forbidding preachers to administer the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper, and enjoining them to exhort the people to attend the regular church services, were evidently aimed at Robert Strawbridge and his innovations. Specific mention, indeed, was made of Maryland and Virginia in respect to the enforcement of the rule, because of previous irregularities. There had also been some looseness in admitting to the love-feasts persons who were not society members. This looseness in admitting outsiders to the society gatherings, which Asbury had noted with disapproval in New York, was condemned, and stricter rules of admission were henceforth to be enforced. It was also resolved that the unauthorized reprinting of Wesley's works should cease, although the stock in hand might be sold until exhausted. This was an irregularity of which Robert Williams, in his excess of zeal, had been guilty. In order to insure regularity in reporting proceedings, assistants were instructed to send in, every six months, an account

of the work under their charge. In this way greater uniformity was secured.

The appointments for the year gave New York and Philadelphia, each with one hundred and eighty members, to Rankin and Shadford, who should exchange every four months. John King, the Englishman, and William Watters, already mentioned as a Maryland convert and native American, but not present at the Conference, were intrusted with the district of New Jersey, having two hundred members. To Asbury, Strawbridge, Abraham Whitworth and Yearbry was given the important Baltimore circuit with its five hundred members; and to Norfolk and Petersburg, in Virginia, Richard Wright and Robert Williams were sent. These two districts had one hundred members between them.

That the Conference should have performed its delicate mission with so much harmony speaks much for the forbearing temper of the men who composed it. Boardman and Pilmoor were feeling a little aggrieved over the reports that had been sent across the Atlantic respecting their work, and some of Asbury's criticisms rankled in their breasts; but Christian charity overbore all petty rivalry. It had seemed to Asbury that his predecessors indulged secret preference for the city work, disliking the privations of country travel. The city societies had recently shown a distinct tendency to fall off in numbers; and the members ascribed this tendency to the constant absence on country tours of Boardman, Pilmoor and the other preachers, whom they wished to retain. There was thus a cleavage in opinion and considerable partisanship, in which the city societies seem to have sided with the two Yorkshiremen against Asbury and Rankin, and to have displayed some coolness to the latter. At one time the John Street congregation was threatening to close its doors against Rankin when he should next arrive. Happily, however, this jealousy passed away without any overt signs of friction. Rankin preached in the John Street church a month after the meeting of the Conference, and spoke earnestly against the fostering of party spirit. The audience, however, which assembled to hear him was small, and it was evident that a crisis had hardly been averted.

Another source of division was the refusal of Strawbridge to comply with the regulation respecting the dispensing of the sacraments. A tacit reservation in Strawbridge's favor seems to have been made at or after the Conference; and the rule was interpreted as framed to prevent his action being used as a precedent. Strawbridge, however, refused to act on this basis, or to recognize in any way their discipline in the matter. Rankin was rigid and Strawbridge was stubborn; and Asbury found himself in the awkward position of the conciliatory man who receives most of the blows. The upshot of the matter in the case of Strawbridge was his retirement from circuit work and direct association with the Conference. For the last five years of his life he devoted himself to local preaching around Baltimore, at Sam's creek, and at Bush Forest, in Harford county. In the summer of 1781 he died, and was buried on the farm of Mr. Wheeler, near Baltimore.



FIRST SERMON PREACHED IN BALTIMORE, BY JOHN KING, 1771, AT THE CORNER OF FRENCH AND FRONT STREETS.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REVOLUTIONARY STORM.

THE period of the Revolutionary War proved in many ways a season of trial and depression to the Methodist societies in America. In the fierce conflict between the colonies and the mother country, the sympathies of the members were divided. Many were stanch loyalists by conviction, and, like the Hecks and their friends, preferred to remain under the British flag. Of the Englishmen whom Wesley had sent out to take charge of the work, all except Asbury chose to retain their allegiance. As they were naturally viewed with suspicion by the patriots, their usefulness suffered. And yet in spite of these drawbacks, the work as a whole progressed wonderfully. A decrease of membership had to be reported but once or twice, while the gain was as much as sixfold for the entire period. No doubt the too frequent alliance of revolutionary enthusiasm with French infidelity caused a sensible reaction in favor of that simple, devout, personal religion of which the Methodist preachers were the exponents.

Before the second Conference met in May, 1774, Lovely Lane Church had been erected in Baltimore, and another church, known as the Kent meeting-house, was opened across Chesapeake bay, near Chestertown in Kent county. The latter suffered damage during its erection from some ill-disposed persons, who broke the rafters.

A total membership of over two thousand was reported at this Conference, and several new preachers were admitted. Asbury was again appointed to New York, where he passed a winter of much discouragement. The lukewarm tone of the society, the small numbers who at-

tended services, the unsympathetic and somewhat overbearing character of the superintendent, Thomas Rankin, made him feel sad and depressed. A tendency toward bodily asceticism helped to increase his sense of discouragement. Happily he found Mr. Lupton once more kind and friendly While spending most of his time in New York, he made frequent tours in the surrounding country. His heart, however, appears to have been among the ardent disciples of Maryland, to whom he resolved to pay a visit early in the new year. It proved to be an exceptionally successful preaching tour, in which he displayed unexpected powers as a preacher.

Philip Otterbein, the worthy German pastor, was now stationed in Baltimore, and Asbury found in him a congenial associate. Otterbein shared Wesley's views of the possibility of having an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*—societies working within the regular churches—and it was through the efforts of Schwope and Asbury that he settled in Baltimore.

Pilmoor and Boardman had now returned home. The two men were deeply attached to one another, and their popularity in America continued unabated until their departure. The closing days of the year 1774 saw them bid farewell to their friends in and around Philadelphia. In the first week of January, 1775, they set sail for England in a New York vessel. The rest of Boardman's life was spent in Ireland, where he was stationed at Londonderry, at Cork, at Limerick, and again at Cork. In the last-named place he died, as he had lived, in the exercise of piety and devotion.

The Conference of 1775 again failed to send Asbury to Maryland, the district that was most congenial to him. He was appointed, instead, to the unfriendly town of Norfolk, Virginia, where he continued to preach faithfully in the face of much opposition. By this time the war troubles had begun, and there was bad blood between loyalists and patriots. Asbury must often have sighed for the peacefulness of the home country, but the sense of responsibility for the numberless souls who needed his services kept him faithful at his post. Rankin and others had already made up their minds to abandon the work.

It was during his stay at Portsmouth in Virginia, the twin city of Norfolk, that Robert Williams went to his rest. His labors, with those of Shadford, a man after Asbury's own heart, and of Devereux Jarratt, the godly pastor of Dinwiddie county, Virginia, had laid the foundations of a good work which at this time broke out into a glorious revival. It was while visiting Petersburg during the progress of this revival that Asbury made the acquaintance of Jarratt, which resulted in a warm friendship. The Brunswick circuit, through which he proceeded twice, was a large one, including not only Brunswick, but also Sussex, Surrey, Southampton, Isle of Wight, Dinwiddie, Lunenburg, and Mecklenburg. The residents of these counties were of English stock, well-to-do settlers, who had been brought up in

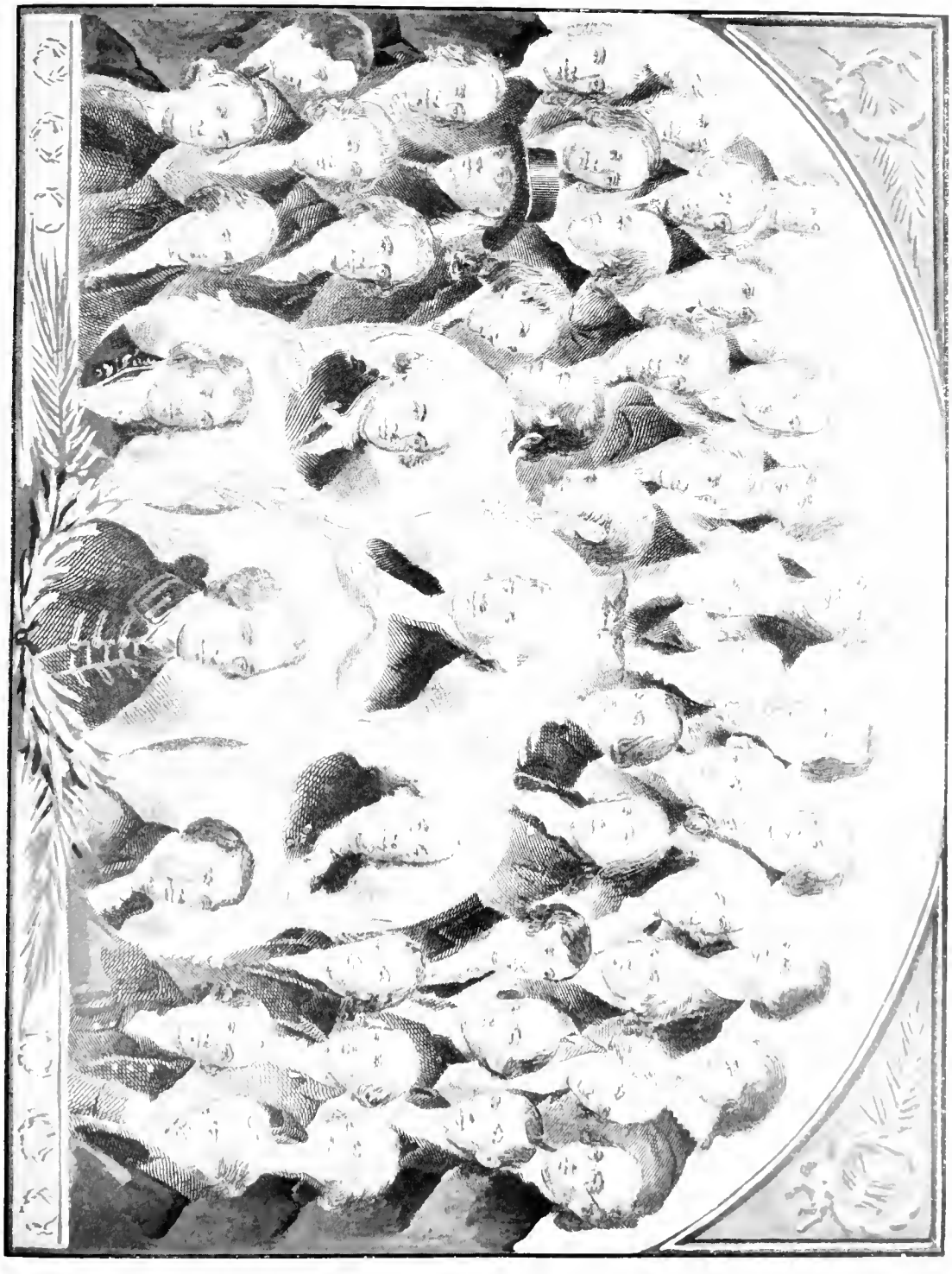
WILLIAM LEGGE, EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

the Church of England, but, through lack of proper spiritual guides and other privileges, had lapsed into thorough indifferentism.

The heavy burden weighing upon Asbury was at this time indefinitely increased by an imprudent step taken by Wesley. The intense excitement which existed in England over the revolt of the American colonies was felt to its fullest extent by the father of Methodism. To one member of the British cabinet, with whom he happened to be on friendly terms, he wrote an appealing letter. This was William Legge, Earl of Dartmouth, then secretary of state for the colonial department in Lord North's ministry, a position he exchanged at the close of the year 1775 for that of lord keeper of the privy seal. There have been few worthier noblemen in the annals of British history than Lord Dartmouth. When the novelist Richardson desired to picture an ideal gentleman in his *Sir Charles Grandison*, he took Lord Dartmouth as his model; "all but the Methodism," he was careful to add. The earl's mother, who was left a widow during his infancy, became the second wife of Baron North, and the close family relationship resulting from the marriage led to a brotherly intimacy with the Lord North who was English prime minister during the period of the Revolutionary War. Educated at Westminster and at Oxford, Lord Dartmouth early identified himself with the devout section of the English Church and was rejected for office in the royal household by Lord Bute, as being "too sanctimonious." People gave him the nickname of "Psalm Singer" because of his devout life. At the beginning of the American troubles he seemed disposed to favor the claims of the colonies, but finally voted against a conciliatory policy. Though an amiable man, with excellent intentions, he had little strength of will or administrative capacity. His virtues secured him the warm esteem of honest "Farmer George." His name still survives in America, in Dartmouth College, which received its charter in 1769, largely owing to his services. His relations were so close

with the pious Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, that he was selected by



THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

her to carry on her religious work in case of her death.

To this excellent nobleman, who was personally responsible for the regrettable colonial policy of the British government, Wesley addressed, in June, 1775, a strong appeal on behalf of the colonists, which betrays a singularly accurate estimate of the situation, and a substantially correct forecast of the consequences involved in a

GARRETTSON ASSAILED BY A MOB IN DORCHESTER COUNTY, MARYLAND.

continuation of the policy. It is a pity that he should ever have changed his mind, as he did later. He begins by declaring that, though bred a high churchman, with the highest notions of passive obedience and non-resistance, he cannot keep from regarding the colonists as "an oppressed people asking for nothing more than their legal rights," and that "in the most modest and inoffensive manner that the nature of the thing would allow." He strongly deprecates the use of force, and, setting aside the question of right or wrong, insists upon the futility of such a policy. Two thousand men clear America of these rebels? Twenty or sixty thousand men might not be sufficient! After a gloomy survey of the social condition of the kingdom, with trade decaying, food dear, and abject poverty side by side with profuse luxury, he closes with references to Rehoboam, Philip the Second, and King Charles the First, as parallel cases that may well be laid to heart.

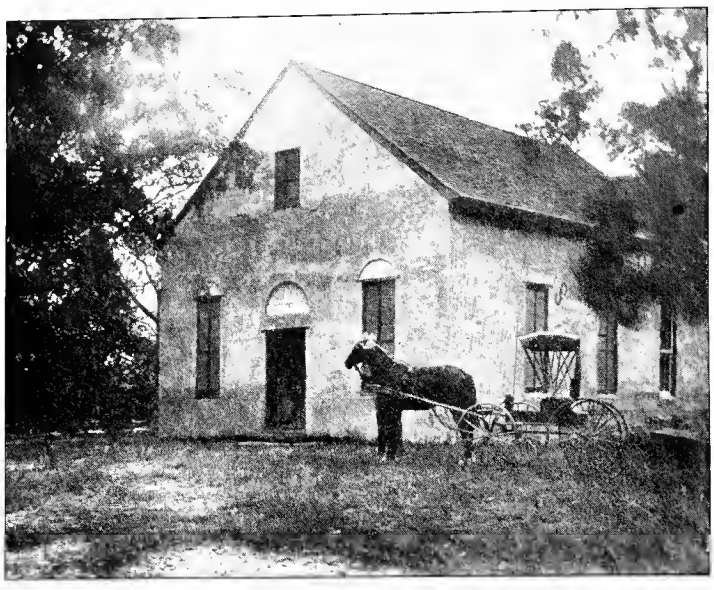
Up to this time Wesley had done all he could to support the conciliatory policy of Burke and the Whigs, by recommending Methodists to vote for the parliamentary candidates of that party, and by helping the sale of pamphlets advocating conciliation. Unfortunately in the summer of 1775 he saw reason to make a change of front. Dr. Samuel Johnson, to whom the government appealed to help it at this crisis, published in 1775 his celebrated "Taxation no Tyranny; an Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress." It was a powerful appeal, couched in the nervous and trenchant style of that famous writer. It seems to have exercised an immediate and extraordinary effect upon the mind of Wesley, who forthwith composed what was virtually an abridgment, in a quarto sheet of four pages. There was nothing in this penny pamphlet to indicate that it was borrowed; it bore the simple title, "A Calm Address to Our American Colonies. By the Rev. John Wesley, M. A." That this tribute to his argumentative powers pleased Johnson, clearly appears from a letter he addressed to Wesley early in 1776, in which he refers with gratification to the fact of having "gained such a mind as yours."

Most people will regret that Wesley succumbed to so reactionary an influence. Many as were Johnson's virtues, profound as was his literary capacity, he bears the unenviable reputation of having been the most insular and bigoted of all the leading lights in the history of English literature. In the matter of the dismissal of the St. Edmund's Hall students at Oxford, for the dire offense of being too religious—an act which even

indifferentists deplored or ridiculed—he took the side of the authorities, and exercised considerable ingenuity in inventing pleas to justify them. His biographer, Boswell, had but a poor opinion of the "Taxation no Tyranny" pamphlet. "Positive assertion," he states, "sarcastical severity, and extravagant ridicule, which he himself reprobated as a test of truth, were united in this rhapsody."

Certainly it is full of the animus of political partisanship. Johnson's prejudices were as numerous and as irritating as the bristles on a hedgehog; and he was wholly destitute of the capacity to realize sympathetically the aspirations and needs of an alien community. He seems to have convinced Wesley that, in favoring the cause of the colonists, he was helping to play the game of unscrupulous agitators who were making catspaws of conscientious men. That there did exist among the revolting colonists a strong element of this objectionable character—men of the stamp who, a generation later, changed the French Revolution into a carnival of anarchy—is undoubted. History, however, showed that they were very far from being in the ascendant. In every respect the publication of Wesley's pamphlet is to be deplored. It bore on its face the marks of an abridgment, and the charge of barefaced plagiarism was hurled at him by his enemies. A prominent man in the community and known to possess great influence on public opinion, he became the center of a bitter paper war. During the controversy he made a too hasty denial, which persuaded one of his antagonists, a worthy Baptist minister of Bristol, that he was ready even to stoop to an untruth; and he was accused point-blank of shamelessness and deceit. Only those who knew his personality could feel certain that his hasty denial had been the result of mere forgetfulness—as was the case. With others, honest and honorable men, his reputation suffered considerably, and with his reputation the cause of which he was the center and support. In England, where he was known and trusted, and where the political position he had assumed was popular, the general result was a distinct increase in personal popularity. But this did not offset the damage done to the cause in America by the double act of imprudence—the unnecessary and injudicious publication of the "Calm Address," and his rash denial that he had ever recommended a book that favored the American claims. It is a mistake to suppose with Stevens that Wesley modified or abandoned the position maintained in the pamphlet; on the contrary, he definitely reiterated his belief in the statements it contained.

FREEBORN GARRETTSON PREACHING FROM THE DORCHESTER COUNTY JAIL.



DUDLEY'S MEETING-HOUSE.
The oldest Methodist meeting-house in Queen Anne County, Maryland. Said to have been built in 1783.

Rankin and the other English preachers in America, with the sole exception of Asbury, were in sympathy with the "Calm Address." One of them, Martin Rodda by name, was so imprudent as to busy himself actively in distributing a royal proclamation, and had to take refuge on board the British fleet. With Asbury it was a matter of deep regret that Wesley should ever "have dipped into the politics of America." He himself refrained almost entirely from politics, and there is little or no reference in his diary to the stirring events then happening. The Declaration of Independence might never have been signed, the battle of Bunker Hill and its successors might never have been fought, for all the impression these events seem to have made on Asbury—judging at least from his diary. Shortly before this he had received a pressing invitation to go to the island of Antigua, which would have proved a singularly limited missionary field for one of his unbounded energies. Wesley was relieved to hear that he had refused the invitation. At this time he was anxious that Asbury should return to England. But the latter wisely chose to remain where Providence had eminent service for him to perform.

On the famous fourth of July, 1776, Asbury was again in Maryland, the district assigned to him by the Conference of that year, which met in May. At this Conference Freeborn Garrettson, then a young man of twenty-three, was admitted on trial. During the summer Asbury suffered a good deal from fever and sore throat, and was also hampered in his work by the state authorities, who fined him five pounds for preaching at John Colgate's without a license. The Maryland test oath contained a clause which offended his conscience, and he thought it best to retire for a time into Delaware. This step he took very unwillingly.

At this time the Established Church in the state was particularly unpopular, as the result of a financial dispute in which the clergy claimed what the people were unwilling to grant. Before the war there were fifty-four parishes, each having its well-paid incumbent. Some few of the livings were worth a thousand pounds, while but three were less than a hundred pounds annually. At the close of the war but eighteen or twenty clergymen remained, the rest, many of them consistent and high-minded men, having left the country. As the larger number had thus sided against the patriots, clergymen were in ill repute, and the Methodists, then recognized as a mere branch of the Establishment, shared their unpopularity

One of those who suffered most from this odium was Freeborn Garrettson, a Marylander by birth and a property-

holder. He had been engaged in preaching throughout Queen Anne county, and had been successful in the conversion of many. On one occasion, while on his way to Kent county, he was seized by a former judge of the county, named John Brown, was beaten with a stick, and thrown violently from his horse. Had it not been for the timely aid of a lady who was passing by and noticed his prostrate form, he might have been left to die. She had him taken to a house near by, where he was restored to consciousness.

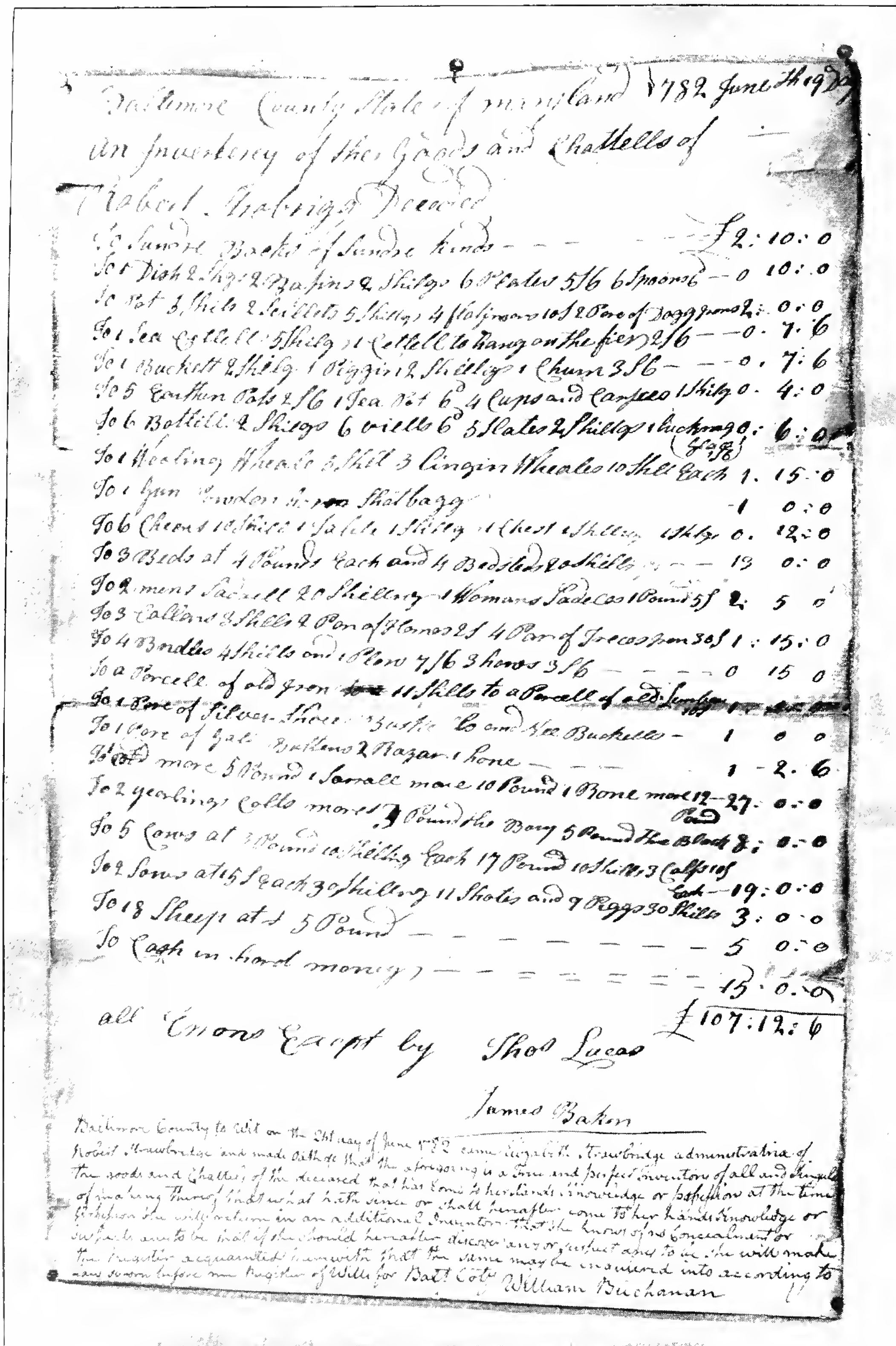
His persecutor was not yet satisfied, but had him dragged before a magistrate, who began to write out a *mittimus* to commit him to jail. He protested against such procedure, as the lawful penalty was at best only a fine of four pounds, to be doubled on the second offense. At this the proceedings were dropped, and his charitable friend and succorer took the wounded man away in her carriage.

Two years later, in the month of February, 1780, the same devoted preacher again suffered from the tyranny of bigots. After preaching to a large and attentive audience in Dorchester county, he was arrested as a Tory and rebel and thrown into prison. No bed, other than the bare floor, was provided for him; he had merely his saddle-bags for a pillow, and two large, unglazed windows let in the cold air from without. However, he called to his aid the consolations of religion, and was greatly encouraged by the visits of friends and sympathizers. His release was finally brought about through the friendly offices of the governor of Delaware, who favored the Methodists After his release he did not discontinue his labors, and was so successful that, not long after, on a spot close to the jail, he addressed an audience of nearly three thousand persons, some of whom had been his bitterest opponents.

Asbury and the friends with whom he took shelter in Delaware were also destined to suffer from the violence. Another traveling preacher, named Joseph Hartley, who showed himself zealous in the work, was arrested in Queen Anne county, Maryland, and had to give security that he would appear for trial at the next court. Forbidden to preach, he prayed upon his knees with such fervor that it had the same effect. For this offense he was committed to prison, but even here he was not silent. From behind the grating of his window he exhorted the people so powerfully that the inhabitants began to remark that unless he were released from prison he would convert the whole town! The effect of his persecution was to create such an interest in the religion he so faithfully proclaimed, that a great revival followed, and a powerful society was formed in the place.

The Conference of 1777, which was held

FRANCIS ASBURY AS HE STARTED ON HIS ITINERANT TOUR IN 1771.



Baltimore County State of Maryland 1782 June the 19th

An Inventory of the Goods and Chattells of

Robert Strabriggs Deceased

To Sundre Books of Sundre kinds		£2 : 10 : 0
To 1 Dish 2 Shig 2 Basins 2 Shilgs 6 Plates 5/6 6 Spoons 6		0 10 : 0
To Pot 5 Shils 2 Skillets 5 Shillgs 4 Flatirons 10/ 2 Pare of Doggirons 2		1 : 0 : 0
To 1 Tea Kettell 5 Shilg 1 Kettell to hang on the fier 2/6		0 : 7 : 6
To 1 Buckett 2 Shilg 1 Piggin 2 Shillgs 1 Churn 3/6		0 : 7 : 6
To 5 Earthen Pots 2/6 1 Tea Pot 6d 4 Cups and Sauceers 1 Shilg		0 : 4 : 0
To 6 Bottill 2 Shilgs 6 vialls 6d 5 Plates 2 Shillgs 1 Lucking glass [illegible]		0 : 6 : 0
To 1 Heeling Wheale 5 Shil 3 Lingin Wheales 10 Shill Each		1 : 15 : 0
To 1 Gun Powder horn Shot bagg		1 0 : 0
To 6 Cheers 10 Shils 1 Table 1 Shillg 1 Chest 1 Shillg 1 Shilg		0 : 12 : 0
To 3 Beds at 4 Pounds Each and 4 Bedsteds 20 Shills		13 0 : 0
To 2 mens Sadell 20 Shilling 1 Womans Sadel 05 Pound 5/		2 : 5 0
To 3 Callars 3 Shills 2 Par of Hames 2/ 4 Par of Tracechan 30/		1 : 15 : 0
To 4 Bridles 4 Shills and 1 Plow 7/6 3 hows 3/6		0 15 0
To a Parcell of old Iron 11 Shills to a Parcell of old Lumber		[illegible]
To 1 Pare of Silver Shoe Bucklls & and Kee Buckells		1 0 0
To 1 Pare of Gold Buttons 2 Razar 1 hone		1 - 2 . 6
To old mare 5 Pound 1 Sorrall mare 10 Pound 1 Bone mare 12 Pound		27 : 0 : 0
To 2 yearlings Colts mares 3 Pound the Bay 5 Pound the Black		8 : 0 : 0
To 5 Cows at 3 Pounds 10 Shilling Each 17 Pound 10 Shills 3 Calfs 10/ Each		19 : 0 : 0
To 2 Sows at 15/ Each 30 Shilling 11 Shoats and 7 Piggs 30 Shills		3 : 0 : 0
To 18 Sheep at 5 Pound		5 0 : 0
To Cash in hard money		15 : 0 : 0
		£107 : 12 : 6

all Errors Except by Thos Lucas

James Baker

Baltimore County to Wit on the 21st day of June 1782 came Elizabeth Strawbridge administratrix of Robert Strawbridge and made Oath that the aforegoing is a True and perfect Inventory of all and Singular the goods and Chattels of the deceased that has Come to her hands Knowledge or possession at the time of making thereof and that what hath since or shall hereafter come to her hands Knowledge or possession she will return in an additional Inventory that she knows of no Concealment or [illegible] and that if she should hereafter discover any or suspect any to be she will make the [illegible] acquainted therewith that the same may be enquired into according to law sworn before me Register of Wills for Balt. Coty

William Buchanan

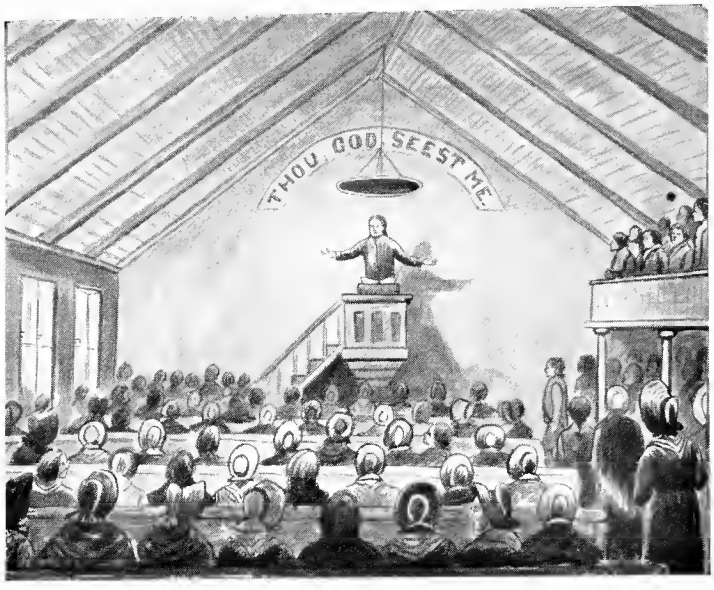
THE INVENTORY OF ROBERT STRAWBRIDGE'S ESTATE.

at Deer Creek, at which Rankin is said to have presided, revealed the growing rift between the English and the native American element. Mr. Rankin was bent on preserving unity of methods in England and in America, which meant a continued denial of the ordinances to the congregations in the colonies. This denial was resented as an unnecessary hardship, and the friction became considerable. However, the Conference as a body pledged itself to make no change. No appointment was given to Asbury, probably because at this time Wesley had ordered him home. Rankin and he were not very friendly, and the reports which the Scotchman had sent to Wesley seem to have been distinctly unfavorable to his gifted subordinate. In the tone of Rankin's letters there is a certain note of hardness and of self-sufficiency, which must often have jarred upon the more amiable and sympathetic Asbury. The latter decided not to respond to the message of recall.

THE GARRISON CHURCH, BALTIMORE COUNTY, MARYLAND.
Asbury was called to the rectorship in 1777. It was begun in 1743. The picture is of date 1794.

At this period he discarded the wig he had hitherto worn, and henceforth appeared in his natural hair, as he is portrayed in the picture familiar to us. For the next fifty years he set the fashion for Methodist preachers in the South —the square-cut black coat and pantaloons, and the hair brushed down on the forehead. During the next few years his headquarters were in Delaware, where, near Dover, there lived a highly respectable lawyer and farmer named Thomas White. A profoundly religious man, White identified himself with no political party, but was generally recognized in the district as an upright citizen. His wife was a woman of a lofty Christian type, and had been first attracted to the Methodist preachers by the spirituality of their preaching. With these good people Asbury lived in retirement, studying and meditating. Like Wesley he hungered after spiritual perfection or "wholeness," and strove by earnest spiritual exercises to attain it. Nor did he neglect preaching, although his activity was circumscribed by the political conditions of the time. For many months he seems to have ventured out only after nightfall. The tobacco-barn of his host was a favorite meeting-place for the pious or inquiring folk of the district.

In April, 1778, his host was arrested on suspicion of treason, much to Asbury's distress, who believed that he was in large measure the cause. He decided to leave the pleasant home which had been his shelter, and to seek lodging elsewhere. A hard journey over a rough and lonely road brought him to a friend's house, but he was warned not to remain there. The next day, until sunset, he spent in a swamp; and for about a month he lay hid among strangers, lodging as he best might. Meanwhile his host had



INTERIOR OF STRAWBERRY ALLEY CHURCH.
The first church started at Baltimore (in 1773). The Lovely Lane Church was begun later, but was finished sooner.

been spending some weeks in prison; but happily, on being brought to trial, was acquitted. The authorities were now beginning to understand that the Methodists were politically inoffensive. A letter Asbury had written to Rankin, in which he expressed his conviction that the cause of independence would triumph, and that he was too closely bound to his friends in America to desert them, fell into the hands of the authorities, and is said to have greatly modified their attitude toward the movement.

While many of the Methodists were loyalists, and others like Asbury himself had conscientious objections to serve as soldiers and take human life, there were many who were sturdy patriots. Such was Joseph Everett, of Queen Anne county, Maryland, who was brought to a knowledge of the truth in 1763, under Whitefield's ministry. He was at this time about thirty years old, and for several years afterward he lived a consistent Christian life as a member of the Presbyterian Church. Later he began to slacken in his zeal. In the Revolutionary War he served as a volunteer in the Maryland militia. At this time he was prejudiced against Methodist preaching, but in 1778 he went to hear Asbury preach, and was favorably impressed. The works of Wesley and Fletcher were put into his hands, and his old zeal revived, though associated with a less rigid dogma. From October, 1780, he began to travel as a preacher, and was noted for his consuming energy, his plainness of appeal, and the success that attended his admonitions. Like so many of the early Methodist preachers, he seemed entirely absorbed in his desire to save souls, and oblivious to personal fear and other ordinary influences.

Philip Gatch was another preacher who received very rough treatment near Baltimore. While traveling from Bladensburg he was seized by a mob, who proceeded to tar him as a Tory and rebel. Some of the tar stuck to his eyeball, causing him excruciating pain, and damaging his eyesight permanently. On another occasion his arms were nearly dislocated by the violence of two ruffians.

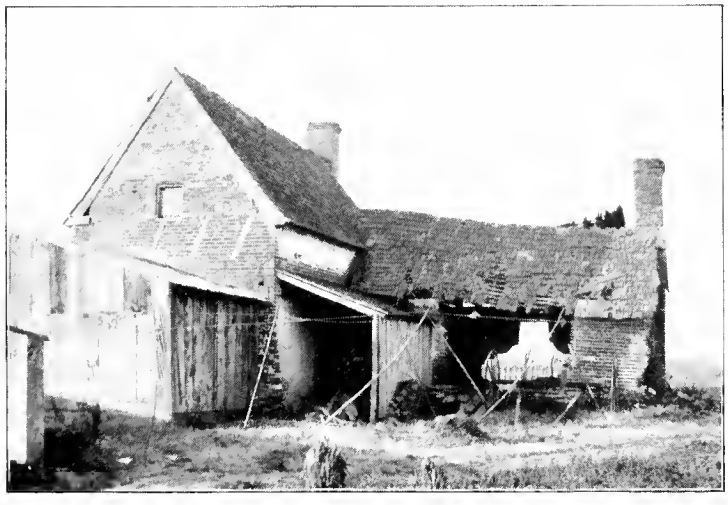
It was indeed a trying time for all concerned in the work. During the occupation of Philadelphia by the British forces, St. George's was turned into a riding-school, and services were held at the house of Mary Thorn. Her marriage to Captain Parker was followed by their departure to England, on the same vessel as Rankin and several other preachers who received a free passage from her husband. They sailed to Cork, where they were delighted to find good Richard Boardman. Of Wesley's missionaries only Shadford now remained, who of all his associates was the one Asbury

loved most. His ministry in Virginia had been greatly blessed, and his friends were anxious that he should stay; but after a day spent with Asbury in fasting and in prayer, Shadford came to the decision that his work in America was done. He did not deny that Asbury might be right in remaining; "I may have a call to go," he remarked, "and you to stay." His departure was a sharp trial to the lonely man.

For several years there were two Conferences held—one for the northern stations, which represented the more conservative and weighty element; the other for the southern stations, which were anxious for greater freedom and more privileges. At the northern Conference, held at Judge White's house, the important and significant step was taken of appointing Asbury general assistant in America, with the right of determining questions in Conference after due discussion. Henceforth, Asbury becomes the recognized center of Methodism in America.

The other Conference, which met at Fluvanna, Virginia, represented that wing of Methodism which was determined, in spite of a possible breach with Wesley, to allow its preachers to administer the sacraments. The more conservative of the brethren shrank from this step, and there was a sharp division on the question; but the progressives carried the day. The next Conference of the northern stations, which met at Baltimore, passed a resolution censuring the step taken by the brethren in Virginia. Its president was William Watters, the oldest of the American preachers, who supported the conservatives. The war was a period of great gloom and depression to him and other faithful workers. Watters was at Trenton, New Jersey, when John Hancock and John Adams passed through the town on their way to attend the Philadelphia congress in 1774, and he noted the high tokens of respect they received from the people. His work during these eventful years lay mostly in Fairfax county, Virginia, where he married and finally settled. There was a prejudice then and long afterward against the marriage of itinerants, arising from the conviction that their labors were too fatiguing and engrossing to allow of superadded family cares. Watters, after four years of the combined responsibility, found it too heavy, and retired from the itineracy. His wife was an excellent Christian woman.

It was immediately after the meeting of this Conference that the historic building known as "Barratt's Chapel" was erected near Frederica, Delaware, through the efforts of Judge Barratt, a neighbor of Judge White, and a warm friend of Asbury. In November of 1780



OLD HOME OF TOBIAS STANSBURY, WHERE ASBURY FREQUENTLY PREACHED.
The age of the house is indicated by the date "1777" shown on the end wall. Situated on the Trapp road, three miles from Baltimore. The Stansburys were grandchildren of Nathan Perigao, pioneer Methodist of Baltimore county.

THE OLD THRASHER HOUSE, NEAR ROANOKE, VIRGINIA.

Built in 1751. Asbury frequently preached from its porch.

it was ready for occupation, and the first quarterly meeting, attended by a thousand people, was held within its walls. For over two generations it remained in an unfinished condition; but yet it was recognized as the best country meeting-house in America belonging to the Methodists. The suspicion attaching to the patriotism of Methodists led to considerable opposition in its erection; and a resident of the neighborhood thought it folly in them to build it, as before the war was over "a corn-crib would hold them all." The first Methodist meeting-house in the state had been erected the year before, at Dover, largely through the efforts of Doctor M'Gaw, an influential clergyman of the Church of England in Delaware, who later became rector of St. Paul's in Philadelphia. This was known as "Forrest Chapel."

The Conference of 1781, which began its session at Choptank, Delaware, and adjourned eight days later to Baltimore, met under hopeful conditions. Revivals in Maryland and elsewhere had increased the membership to nearly eleven thousand. Mr. Jarratt attended its meetings, took a share in its exercises, and administered the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper. In Asbury's enforced absences he was empowered by the society to take the place of general director and adviser. Asbury was now as active an itinerant as ever. In the fall of 1781, while traveling in Maryland, he came to Bush Chapel, where Robert Strawbridge had been laboring. That worthy Irishman was now no more. The later years of his life had been spent somewhat under a cloud. Asbury, sternly repressing the disruptive tendency involved in the unclerical administering of the ordinances, had been offended and alienated by Strawbridge's assertiveness and obstinacy. The entry in his journal reads as follows: "Monday, September 2d, I visited the Bush Chapel. The people here once left us to follow another. Time was when the labor of their leader was made a blessing to them; but pride is a busy sin. He is no more. Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that the Lord took him away in judg-

THE COLONIAL RESIDENCE OF THOMAS JONES, A PROMINENT METHODIST IN 1773.

The house, which was begun in 1747, and finished in 1776, is well preserved. It overlooks the junction of the Patapsco river with Chesapeake bay.

ment because he was in the way to do hurt to the cause, and that He saved him in mercy, because from his death-bed conversation he appears to have hope in the end."

The entry strikes the ordinary reader as somewhat censorious. Friends of Strawbridge never ceased to love and admire the man, and his death-bed, according to Garrettson, was happy and peaceful as became his whole life.

During the period immediately preceding the declaration of peace Asbury made several long tours. Hitherto the western shores of Chesapeake bay had been left almost unvisited, but now Asbury passed through Calvert county, where he found a simple-minded people of good English stock, men after his own heart. Thence he proceeded into Virginia, crossing into New Virginia. After a rough two days' ride, in which he covered sixty miles, he preached at Shepherdstown to an audience of two hundred. In the beginning of 1783 he was traveling in North Carolina, where he found many of the people proud and prayerless. While on this tour he first heard rumors of the peace.

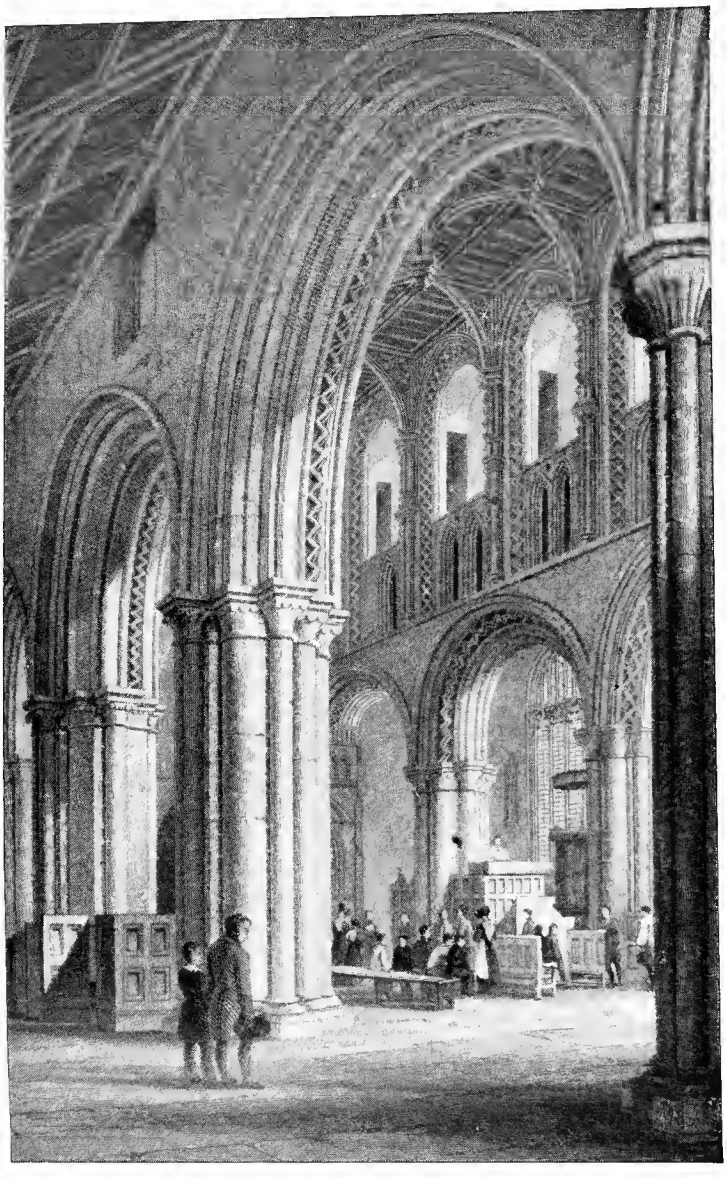
In New York city, which remained in possession of the British until the close of the war, Methodism was left undisturbed, and the society flourished. The numbers of respectable refugees who sought protection within the walls from violence and injustice outside increased the membership.

Probably from its association with the Episcopal churches of the city, Wesley Chapel was not turned into a riding-school, as happened to the regular dissenting chapels. The stated services were kept up during the whole time of the war, by John Mann and others; the audiences were numerous and the collections larger than ever. Mann's successor was a native preacher from the South named Samuel Spraggs, who had been admitted on trial at the Philadelphia Conference of 1774; and who later took orders in the Episcopal Church, and died at Elizabethtown. The British occupation, which lasted until November, 1783, was favorable to Methodist work. When, at the conclusion of peace, the American troops entered the city, John Mann and many of the other Methodist loyalists at once left for Nova Scotia, and the number of society members fell off considerably

In the bitterness of the struggle which ended in the independence of the thirteen colonies, and eventually in the

ROBERT LOWTH, BISHOP OF LONDON.

formation of a new nation, the American patriots showed scant mercy to the loyalists who refused to break with the old traditions and forswear allegiance to the British crown. Many of the latter were good Christian people of the very highest type; and it was a calamity to the colonies that they were compelled, or felt constrained, to leave their old homes. Those who went north to Nova Scotia and the shores of the St. Lawrence founded there a Methodist church which is second to none in the world for spirituality, zeal, and overflowing Christian life. The historian of early Methodism in New York, in his description of Evac-



THE NAVE OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL, WALES, WHERE LOWTH WAS BISHOP.

uation Day in New York city, refers with evident zest to the confiscation of the property of Tories and loyalists, who "suddenly left the country, not only for their country's good, but for their own." Surely every Methodist, if he but reflect, must regret such an utterance, and see reason to mourn the loss, in this emigration, of men like John Mann and Charles White. At this distance of time, when narrow hatreds have died out, we can recognize, in the position taken by the loyalists, an allowable difference of opinion. To them the presence of the British troops meant the establishment of law and order where anarchy and rebellion seemed to reign; nor were they "foreign" troops until the colonies had finally shown their ability, on many a well-contested battlefield, to maintain the right not only to tax themselves, but also to rule themselves. This ability was doubted by Wesley in England, and by many good Christians in America. Like the Non-jurors of 1788, and the Jacobites of 1715 and 1745, they supported a losing cause; but, as the Non-jurors could boast of a Ken and a Law, and the Jacobites of noble Christian gentlemen like the Laird of Gask, the loyalists had also among them men of whom any country might be proud. It is not generosity, it is the merest justice, to acknowledge the solid virtues of these much maligned and often harshly treated Americans. So utter has been the triumph of those who believed in the destiny of an independent America, that a lack of justice to the losing side is gravely to be deplored. The time has long since passed when sympathy with the men might be mistaken for sympathy with the cause.

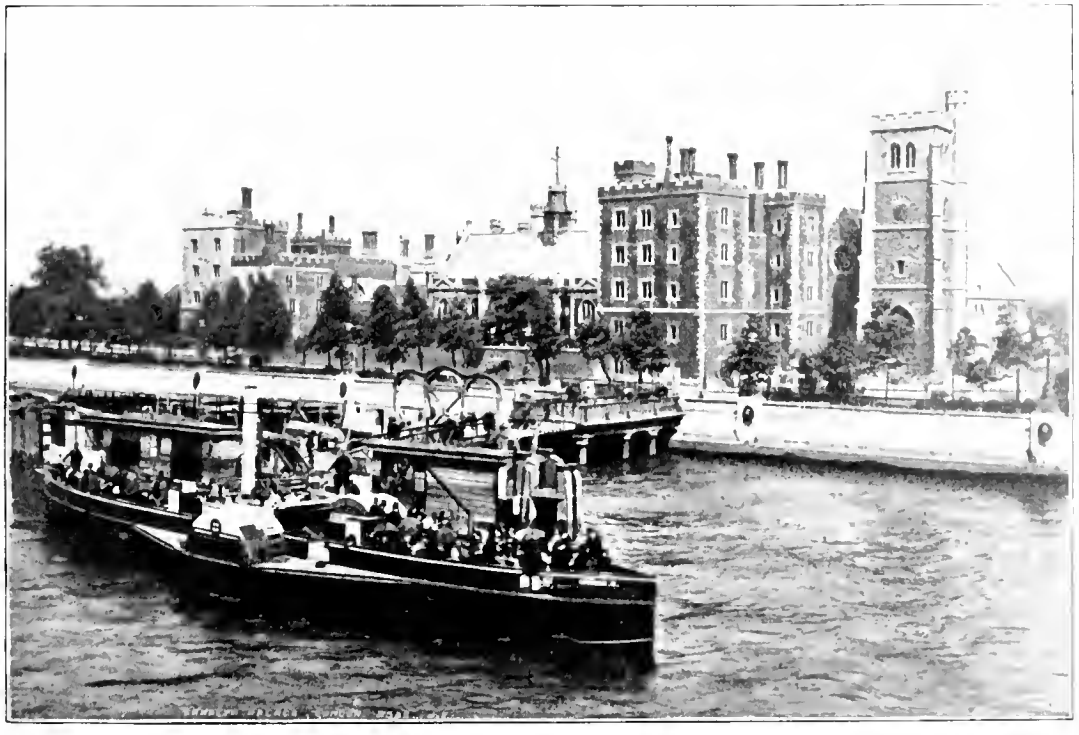
Through the forced emigration of these loyalists the United States was deprived of the services of perhaps 100,000 excellent citizens, "for the most part peaceful and unoffending families, above the average in education and refinement"—to quote the words of a recent historian.[1] Asbury found himself almost unsup-

[1] Fiske: "The Critical Period of American History," p. 130.

ported; and the heroism of his character, in courageously bearing on his own shoulders so heavy a load, stands out conspicuous.

The organization which was to prove the most serious and successful rival of Methodism, especially in the southern states, was the Baptist Church. At this period its evangelists were busy in Virginia and elsewhere, and their methods of work showed a striking similarity to those of the early Methodists. In fact, they carried on more essentially than any other organization in America the revival work begun by Whitefield and the leaders of the great awakening. The doctrine of the new birth, based on a Calvinistic theology, has a certain logical tendency to associate baptism with the sudden change of heart. Certainly it was not until Whitefield and his associates inoculated the Baptists with the vivifying new evangel that they became aggressive. Hitherto, in the New England states, they had been disposed to a mild intellectual Arminianism verging on Socinianism. But now the type of Baptist preacher was the plain man who engaged in the work from love of it, and who usually was self-supporting. When he erred, it was not from cold intellectualism, but from excess of zeal in the proclamation of salvation for the elect. In the war the sympathies of the Baptists were entirely with the colonies, and their devotion to the cause was never called in question. Consequently they had a free hand during the period when the Methodists were badly hampered by the political sympathies of their founder and his missionaries; and in the state of Virginia alone, through revivals and the cultivation of a devoted Christian life, they were as numerous at the close of the war as all the Methodists combined. It is interesting to trace the subsequent progress, in parallel lines, of these two Christian armies.

As the drama of the Revolutionary War progressed, it became evident to



LAMBETH PALACE, RESIDENCE OF THE BISHOPS OF LONDON.

THOMAS COKE, D. C. L.

Wesley that the Anglican Church in the colonies ran a danger of extinction. In the state of Georgia, where he had been rector of Savannah, it was actually exterminated. In two states only had it ever possessed any real vigor—in South Carolina and in Virginia. The clergymen of South Carolina, most of whom supported the popular cause, retained their influence and weathered the storm. In Virginia the Episcopal clergymen were mostly loyalists, and the Revolutionary period was particularly disastrous to their Church.

Their position was assuredly an anomalous one—Episcopalian, and yet without any real bishop, certainly without any episcopal care. During the century effort after effort had been made to create bishoprics in the colonies; indeed, so early as the reign of Charles I., Archbishop Laud had set on foot a scheme for sending out a bishop to New England. In Queen Anne's reign the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had matured a scheme, which the queen was regarding with favor, when her death postponed its execution. During the reigns of the first two Georges the most zealous of the clergy were more or less Jacobite, while the government was certainly Latitudinarian in its sympathies, and so united action was almost hopeless One scheme after another miscarried, greatly to the distress of zealous churchmen in the colonies. At length the Bishop of London, to whose diocese the colonies were attached, empowered the clergy of Maryland to appoint one of their number to act as suffragan bishop, and a suitable man, the Rev. Mr. Colebatch, was nominated. But when he was preparing to sail to England for consecration the legislature interfered, and forbade him to go.

The later hindrances, indeed, came not from England, but from the colonies, and were due chiefly to anti-prelatic Presbyterians, Baptists, and other religious people who feared to see spiritual lords created in America. Politics began to enter into the discussion. It was thought that if parliament could erect dioceses and appoint bishops, they might, to use the words of John Adams, introduce the whole hierarchy, "establish titles, establish religion, forbid dissenters, make schism heresy, and impose penalties extending to life and limb as well as

to liberty and property." The high social station attaching to lords bishops in the old country, where they were all peers of the realm, led those who favored colonial bishoprics to propose a salary of at least one thousand pounds, a sum that appeared altogether extravagant to the frugal colonists.

The long and dangerous voyage across the Atlantic was of itself a bar to the development of the Anglican Church in America. It was computed that one out of five candidates who sailed to England for ordination never returned to take up duties. The imported clergymen were usually of an inferior kind—men whom their relatives and friends were delighted to get rid of, because of intemperate or other habits which caused scandals at home.

Wesley had probably but little sympathy with the patriot section of the clergy who, having severed their connection with the Bishop of London, were preparing to reorganize themselves in the different states. An act passed in the state of Maryland in 1779, known as the Vestry Act, made it possible for the Episcopal Church in Maryland to continue in possession of the old endowments. It was at Chestertown, in Kent county, in November, 1780, that a Conference of clergy and laity resolved to assume the name, Protestant Episcopal Church, and secure legislative recognition. Three years later a Conference at Annapolis proceeded to prepare a charter of incorporation for adoption by the legislature on the basis of the resolution.

With this movement Wesley can hardly have been in sympathy. To him, as a loyal Englishman, the colonists were rebels, and the breach with the Bishop of London an act of schism. At this very time he was in correspondence with that prelate on the sad condition of spiritual affairs in the colonies. He had no longer to deal with the able but unfriendly Gibson. A more congenial man was now the occupant of Lambeth Palace, the learned and excellent Robert Lowth, a native of Winchester, where he was educated at the great public school. From it he proceeded to New College, Oxford, where he had a distinguished career. For nine years he was professor of poetry in the university, and enjoyed the reputation of being one of the best Hebraists of the time, his special department being Hebrew poetry. So fond, indeed, was he of Hebrew, that he believed it to have been spoken by Adam and Eve in Paradise. Created bishop of St. David's in Wales in 1766, he was translated to the see of London eleven years later. When the primate died, the king sent for him to make him Archbishop of Canterbury, but, being too feeble in health, he declined the post; and Bishop Moore, of Bangor, was, on his recommendation, appointed. Lowth was an active and excellent bishop, anxious to get rid of abuses in his diocese, and reverencing

BRECON IN WALES, COKE'S BIRTHPLACE

HAY CHURCH, BRECONSHIRE.

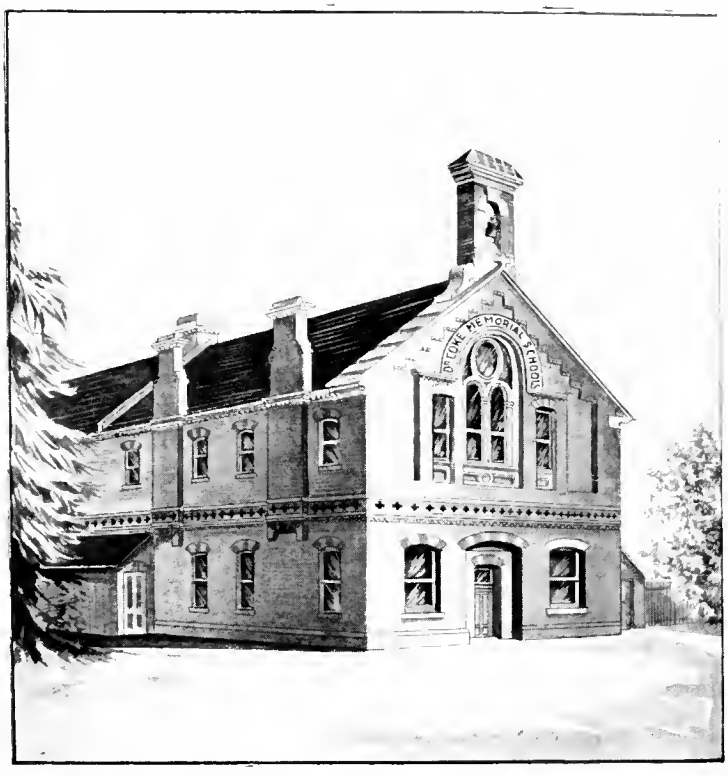
good men. His fine taste, his accurate scholarship, and his great industry commanded general respect.

It was to him that Wesley appealed in 1780 to do something for the American churchmen. The two were personally acquainted, having met in Norfolk in 1777, when Bishop Lowth was visiting one of his relatives there with whom Wesley was intimate. It is interesting to imagine the two men as they exchanged courtesies; the tall, well-built, somewhat florid bishop, anxious to show his esteem, and the slight but dignified Wesley, with an inherited respect for the office of bishop, and a real appreciation of the virtues of this particular holder of the office. The religious world was now recognizing Wesley's worth, and Lowth was thoroughly sincere in his admiration. When they entered the dining-room the good bishop, finding that the place of honor had been reserved for him, instinctively stepped back and refused to take it. "Mr. Wesley," he exclaimed, "may I be found at *your* feet in another world." Wesley in his turn was unwilling to go above the bishop, but was finally persuaded to take the higher place by a convenient plea of deafness made by his lordship. He found the latter easy, affable and courteous; his whole behavior worthy of a Christian bishop.

There is extant a letter of Wesley's, dated August 10, 1780, in reply to a communication from Lowth in which the bishop had refused to ordain a certain individual to serve in America because of his deficiency in the classical tongues. The bishop was known to be strict in his examinations, and Wesley commends him for this diligence, but regrets at the same time that he should have rejected the application of a candidate of deep piety and blameless life. Surely there were more essential qualifications than a smattering of Latin and Greek. The bishop had also questioned the need of another missionary for America when there were three already in the field. "But what are three," asks Wesley, "to

LORD NORTH.

watch over the souls in that extensive country?" He speaks in a tone of deep discouragement respecting the quality of the resident American clergy, and closes with a lament for "poor America; for the sheep scattered up and down therein."



THE DOCTOR COKE MEMORIAL SCHOOLS, BRECON.

At this time Wesley had come to rely much on a young Welshman, who was barely thirty when their acquaintance began. Thomas Coke was an Oxford scholar and a well-to-do gentleman, whom zeal for evangelical religion had driven out of the Church. Born at Brecon in Wales, the third son of a successful medical practitioner, he enjoyed all the advantages of a good home-training and classical education. His grandfather, Edward Cooke, had been a clergyman in the neighborhood of Brecon; and it was his father, Bartholomew, who changed the spelling of the name to Coke. At Jesus College, the Welsh college at Oxford, he matriculated as a gentleman commoner in 1764, and for a time came under skeptical influences. These he soon shook off. At the age of twenty-one he became a town-councilor of the borough of Brecon, and four years later was elected chief magistrate, positions which gave him valuable experience in dealing with men and affairs. Shortly afterward, having received priest's orders, he accepted a curacy in Somersetshire, and entered on his clerical duties with distinctly high church sympathies, and a frigid attitude toward dissenters. In 1775 he received from his *alma mater* the distinction of D. C. L., and high hopes of church preferment were held out to him. These hopes he surrendered that he might have liberty to preach the gospel. A visit of Thomas Maxfield to the neighborhood resulted in his conversion. He was introduced at his own request to Wesley in 1776, when the latter was visiting Taunton in Somerset, and from this time he may be definitely classed as a Methodist. The open-air services and cottage meetings which he now set on foot in the parish gave umbrage to influential parishioners, who prevailed upon the bishop to censure him. This censure was followed by dismissal from the curacy. We next find him attending the Conference of 1777 at Bristol, and serving on the London circuit. In 1782 he visited Ireland, and acted as president of the first Irish Conference. Coke was henceforth to enjoy in a signal manner the trust and confidence of Wesley; to be to him, indeed, in his old age, the staff upon which he leaned. Our next chapter will deal with a decisive step which they took in common.

JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD, WHERE COKE WAS A STUDENT.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BREACH WITH SACERDOTALISM.

THE refusal of so excellent a prelate as Doctor Lowth to ordain a candidate for orders on the ground that he was ignorant of Latin and Greek drew from Wesley, in a letter quoted in the previous chapter, a warm protest. It is evident to one studying his life that only his strong hereditary attachment to the Church of England hindered him from securing to his lay-preachers the full privileges of Christian pastors. The friend and associate of his later life, the enthusiastic Welshman, Thomas Coke, cannot be said to have retained so deep a reverence for the state Church. It is true that he began his ministry an intensely narrow churchman; but it is also true that many of the influences which changed him into a fervent preacher of the gospel and one of its most zealous pioneers were such as to lessen this devotion. He found in Mr. Hull, a dissenting preacher who came to hear him preach at Petherton, and then opened up a correspondence with him, a sincere Christian and capable theologian. At first he had shown himself unwilling either to visit or to be visited by a Dissenter; but these prejudices melted away as he discovered Mr. Hull's excellent qualities.

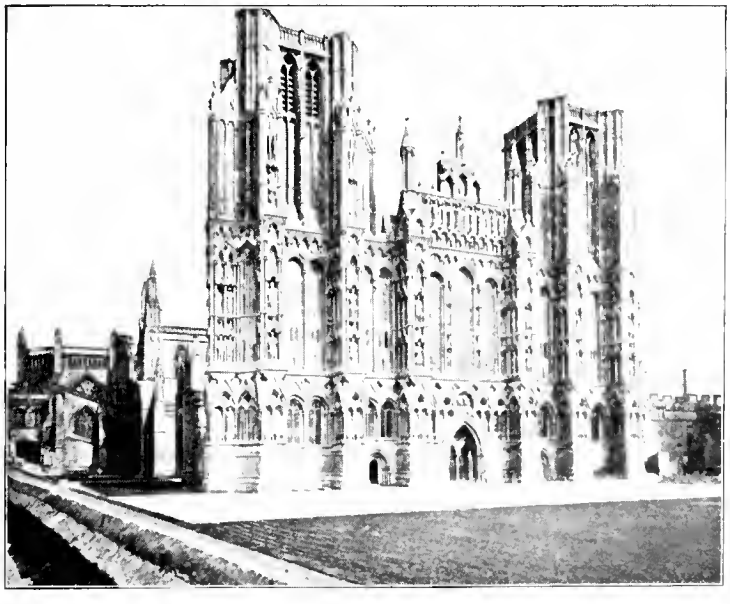
This Mr. Hull, beginning life as a Calvinist, had found himself, while preaching from Acts x. 34, unable to expound the high predestinarian views which then formed part of his creed. A week of deep meditation and searching of the Scriptures led him to modify his views, and he entered the pulpit on the following Sunday as an expounder of a milder creed. Hull's influence told upon Doctor Coke; who, moreover, confessed that he received at this time from a laborer in Devonshire, a devout Meth-

odist, more spiritual light than from any other person. The books which had most impressed him at this crisis in his life were Fletcher's "Appeal" and "Checks to Antinomianism," and Alleine's "Alarm to the Unconverted."

His dismissal from the curacy at South Petherton in Somersetshire had been studiously disrespectful. It was done openly at the Sunday service, and his enemies rang the church bells to "chime him out." To supply his place there came a curate who was avowedly opposed to evangelical preaching; and Doctor Coke deemed it his duty to remain in the parish and continue his testimony. On the following Sunday, taking his stand close to the church entrance, he proclaimed to an attentive gathering the doctrines for which he had been made to suffer. When, on the next Sunday, he again appeared with the same intentions, it was evident that a rowdy element prevailed. He escaped injury from stones and other missiles only by the timely aid of a courageous young lady and her brother, who belonged to a highly respected dissenting family in the district. Coke's conduct would certainly appear contumacious to the rector of the parish and to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, in whose diocese he was, and who had already reproved him. But the young Welshman had all the aggressiveness of a born missionary and pioneer.

Of the older and more conservative clergymen on whom Wesley had hitherto relied for advice and sympathy, all, or nearly all, held office within the Establishment, and their interests were thus, in the first place, with the Church to which they belonged. Coke possessed all the qualifications considered requisite for success in that Church: courtly manners, powerful friends, solid learning, administrative gifts. When Wesley first set eyes upon him, in Somersetshire, in the year 1776, he felt that the Welshman was a man after his own heart. "An union then began," we read in his Journal, "which, I trust, shall never end." The very important practical result of this interview was that Coke cast in his lot entirely with the Methodist movement, and easily secured by common consent the second place in the connection. No one else was so well qualified to supply Wesley's place in an emergency; and almost at once he was recognized as his natural representative. His influence upon Wesley, though undoubtedly exaggerated, was great.

The influence on the whole, if we consider the manner of Doctor Coke's conversion and his dismissal from his curacy, was not likely to act as a deterrent to the spirit of schism latent in Methodism. From an early period in the movement it had become evident that there was a strong and determined



WELLS CATHEDRAL.

WELLS CATHEDRAL AND BISHOP'S GARDEN.

party among the lay-preachers which was antipathetic to the Established clergy. Many who were hereditarily Dissenters, and therefore jealous of the pretensions of the clergy, were able and active members of the Conference or of the local societies. But it was a difficult matter to support heartily a movement intended to supply the spiritual deficiencies of the Establishment while dependent on that very Establishment for the most sacred ordinances of the Christian life. Where a clergyman of the Church happened—as was too often the case—to be worldly or a loose liver, why should devout people be compelled to receive from his hand the sacred elements? Those who had received all, or nearly all, of their religious instruction within the walls of one of Wesley's chapels, were certain to demand that they should not be required to go elsewhere for the rites of their religion.

This growing sentiment had not been ignored by Wesley, who sought eagerly for some compromise which might grant the substance of these claims while avoiding or minimizing the essential breach with the state Church. A seeming opportunity presented itself in the year 1764, when a Greek, named Erasmus, who was Bishop of Arcadia in Crete, visited London. The pretensions of this foreigner, termed a vagrant and foreign mendicant by the fierce Toplady, were widely called in question; but inquiries proved that he was really a Greek prelate in Crete, whom the patriarch of Smyrna was ready to vouch for. The certificates which he issued to the persons whom he ordained were couched in ancient Greek of an inferior kind, and ran as follows: "Our measure from the grace, gift, and power of the all-holy and life-giving Spirit, given by our Savior Jesus Christ to His divine and holy apostles, to ordain sub-deacons and deacons, and also to advance to the dignity of a priest! Of this grace, which hath descended to our humility, I have ordained sub-deacon and deacon, at Snow Fields Chapel, on the nineteenth day of November, 1764, and at West Street Chapel, on the twenty-fourth of the same month, priest, the Rev. Mr. J. C., according to the rules of the holy apostles and of our faith. Moreover, I have given to him power to minister and teach,

in all the world, the gospel of Jesus Christ, no one forbidding him in the Church of God. Wherefore, for that very purpose, I have made this letter of recommendation from our humility, and have given it to the ordained Mr. J C. for his certificate and security. Given and written at London, in Britain, November 24, 1764.

"ERASMUS, Bishop of Arcadia."

Wesley allowed John Jones, one of his most useful and trusted lieutenants, to receive ordination from the wandering prelate. But it soon became too evident that the scheme was impracticable and must be abandoned. His brother Charles utterly refused to recognize the validity of the orders conferred; and his enemies charged him with violating the oath of supremacy in inducing a foreign prelate to exercise ecclesiastical functions within the kingdom. Moreover, it touched him in a sensitive point that some of his lay-assistants, without his sanction, applied for and obtained these orders. This action on the part of Samson Staniforth and Thomas Bryant he instantly and peremptorily condemned; and he took steps to nullify all that had been done. The result was that Staniforth had to refrain from priestly functions, and John Jones left the connection. Bryant, by wearing the gown, caused a rent in the Sheffield society. Wesley's enemies did not fail to make as much scandal as possible out of the business, and as late as 1771 were busy with accusation and innuendo. They declared that it had been Wesley's own intention to receive Episcopal ordination through this medium, and that the sole obstacle was the provision in the canons of the Greek Church by which more than one bishop is necessary for such a rite. The animus and unfairness in their attacks, throwing doubt on each and all of their statements, appear in the accusation made in the *Gospel Magazine*, that Charles Wesley had offered Erasmus forty guineas to be made bishop, and that Erasmus had refused the money!

It would have been a matter for deep regret had Wesley secured ordination for his preachers in this hole-and-corner way. The transmission of ecclesiastical powers in a tactual fashion, through a chain whose continuity is lost in the dim centuries, is an element wholly alien to the popular Methodism of the latter half of the eighteenth century. The question was eventually to be solved in a much more radical and efficient manner.

The influence of Coke upon Wesley does not seem to have been a depressing

HORN WITH WHICH PHILIP EMBURY CALLED TOGETHER HIS CONGREGATION IN IRELAND.

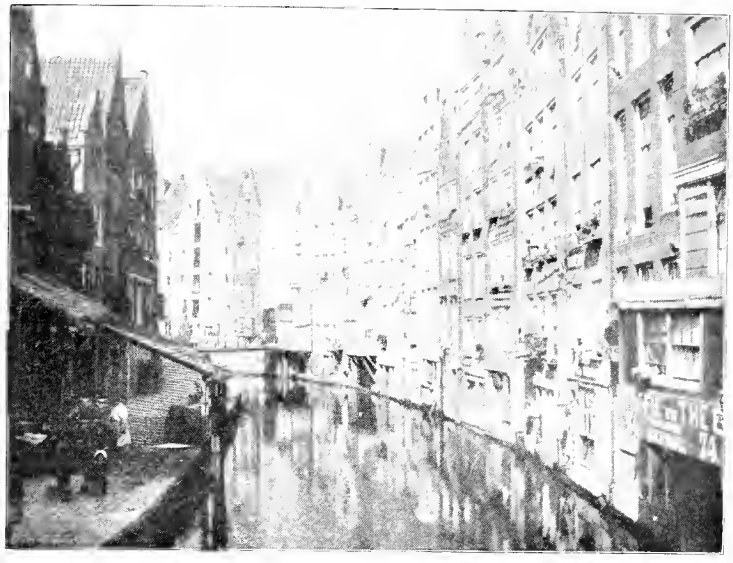
one. The years preceding his eightieth birthday were marked by extraordinary vigor and freshness. At the close of 1780, when he was seventy-seven years of age, we find him record that he does not remember having felt lowness of spirits for one quarter of an hour since he was born. In this year he actually made an abridgment of a novel, and published it under a new title. The novel was Brooke's "The Fool of Quality," which had appeared some ten years before. The hero of the tale is *Henry, Earl of Moreland*, a pattern of goodness and virtue; and Wesley gave his abridgment the title, "The History of Henry, Earl of Moreland." The work has been de-

scribed as less a novel than a series of dissertations on society in general; on what constitutes a gentleman, on the position of women, imprisonment for debt, commercial morality and similar subjects. In later times it received the warm approval of Charles Kingsley. That Wesley should have abridged and republished it shows his keen and lively interest in current social topics. Notwithstanding his age, he was fully alive to the issues of the time, and was moving with the times. Some of his rigidly righteous followers were shocked at this seeming frivolity in circulating a novel. One of them, John Easton, having expressed himself freely in condemnation, Wesley inquired if he had read without emotion certain passages in the book. Easton replied that he had neither laughed at the one place nor wept at the other; a stolidity which moved Wesley to exclaim: "O earth—earth—earth!" He was very fond of the book, as the following passage shows: "The greatest excellence of all in this treatise is, that it continually strikes at the heart. It perpetually aims at inspiring and increasing every right affection. And it does this not by dry, dull, tedious precepts, but by the liveliest examples that can be conceived: by setting before your eyes one of the most beautiful pictures that was ever drawn in the world. The strokes of this are so delicately fine, the touches so easy, natural, and affecting, that I know not who can survey it with tearless eyes, unless he has a heart of stone. I recommend it, therefore, to all those who are already, or desire to be, lovers of God and man."

In how bright and genial an aspect do these lines display the veteran evangelist! Three years later he writes of himself·

ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH, AMSTERDAM.

"On the twenty-eighth of last June, I finished my eightieth year. When I was young, I had weak eyes, trembling hands, and abundance of infirmities. But, by the blessing of God, I have outlived them all. I have no infirmities now, but what I judge to be inseparable from flesh and blood. This hath God wrought."



CANAL IN AMSTERDAM.

In the year 1778 he launched a new enterprise, which was destined to have a prolonged life. We hear first of the project of publishing the *Arminian Magazine* after the British Conference of 1777, at a time when the ablest Arminian theologian of the day was in so feeble a state of health that his death seemed close at hand. As the saintly Fletcher entered the Conference, leaning for support on the arm of a friend, the whole assembly rose in token of respect, and when he began, in feeble accents, to address them, all were soon dissolved in tears. Wesley prayed fervently on this occasion that Fletcher's life might be spared; and at length, filled with confidence that his prayer was answered, he exclaimed: "He shall not die, but live and declare the works of the Lord." The whole scene must have deeply impressed Coke, whose first Conference it was, and who owed much to Fletcher's teaching.

It has been remarked by a capable authority that the theology of the Methodist movement was the theology of John Fletcher of Madeley. The *Arminian Magazine* was intended to expound and enforce that theology: to maintain the truth, that God *willeth all men to be saved* by *speaking the truth in love.* It was to be partly controversial and partly homiletical. To quote from the prospectus, article 4: "Our design is, to publish some of the most remarkable tracts on the universal love of God, and His willingness to save *all men* from *all sin*, which have been wrote in this and the last century. To these will be added original pieces, wrote either directly upon this subject, or on those which are equally opposed by the patrons of *particular redemption.* We are not yet determined, whether to insert any poetry or not; but we faithfully promise not to insert any *doggerel.*"

During the previous forty years requests had been made to Wesley to publish such a periodical, but he had not hitherto seen his way clear. The disposing influence at this time seems to have been a Welshman from Doctor Coke's town of Brecon, named Walter Churchey. Writing to him from London, under date of October 18, 1777, Wesley states that the magazine will contain no politics. But he is determined on having poetry, whereof Charles and he shall be the sole judges, and he fears the public will consider them somewhat fastidious.

Modern readers may regret the name *Arminian Magazine*, as tending to per-

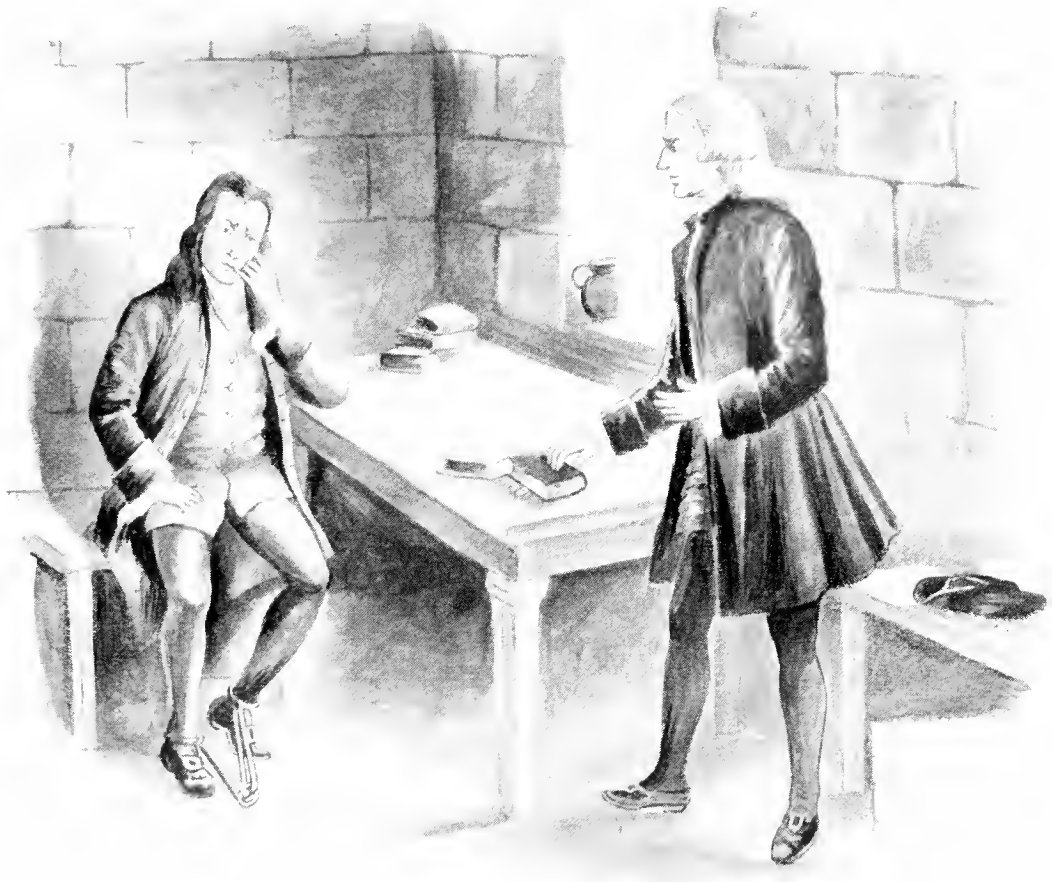
petuate the memory of the fierce and somewhat unedifying controversy which was waged during the 1770–80 decade. The controversy was professedly between Calvinists and Arminians; but, as an able writer has remarked, many of the so-called Calvinists knew little or nothing about John Calvin, while all the so-called Arminians would have strongly disagreed with many of the teachings of Arminius. The writers on both sides, with some honorable exceptions, disgraced themselves by descending to the most scurrilous abuse. Especially was this true of the able and spiritually minded Toplady, and of the excellent Rowland Hill. The extensive literature of the controversy has but a small re-

ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL, TOWER OF LONDON.

siduum of what is really valuable. It is certainly the case that Wesley found little to disapprove of in the "moderate Calvinism" of saintly men like Henry Venn and Thomas Scott. His Journal shows that his practical mind turned from the shallow polemics of the disputants to the solid theology of old-fashioned churchmen. In treating of Fletcher of Madeley, whose "Checks to Antinomianism," which he valued highly, is really one of the few productions born of the controversy that deserve to survive, we shall have an opportunity of dealing more fully with the matter.

Some of his assistants were unfavorable to the publication of the magazine, fearing possibly that it might be devoted too much to the unseemly theological controversy which had already proved a distinct hindrance to Christian work. Thomas Taylor wrote Wesley a letter in December, 1777, strongly disapproving of the enterprise, as one likely to "do hurt and no good." He received a reply which recommended a certain amount of doctrinal testimony, as a preacher's bounden duty. "I have done this too seldom," remarks Wesley: "scarce once in fifty sermons. I ought to do it once in fifteen or so." The aim of the magazine, he continued, was not to convince Calvinists, but to preserve Methodists; and it would contain the "marrow of experimental and practical religion." In the first number appeared a sketch of the life of Arminius, of whom, as Wesley remarked, the people maligning him knew no more than of *Hermes Trismegistus*.

As the theology of Arminius is the source from which Fletcher and Wesley received their theology, a short reference to his personality and teaching will not be out of place. The name is a Latinized form of the familiar German Herman. Jacobus Hermans, born in 1560 of Dutch parents, in the town of Oudewater, was early left an orphan. A distinguished course at the University of Leyden was followed by a tour of Europe, during which he studied under Beza at Geneva, and under Zarabella in Italy. On his return to his native country he became a pastor in Amsterdam, where he was distinguished not only for his eloquence and profundity, but for his mild and winning Christian behavior. The extreme form of predestinarianism, which had hitherto prevailed in Holland, was just then suffering from severe attacks made on it by a certain Richard Coornhert, a resident of Amsterdam. Arminius was invited by the community to refute Coornhert, but the investigations he



WESLEY'S INTERVIEW WITH LORD GEORGE GORDON

undertook with this object in view led him to surrender his previous Calvinistic tenets. Henceforth, notwithstanding the extreme candor and excellent spirit he displayed in every discussion in which he was involved, insult and obloquy were showered on him. He was invited in 1603 to occupy a theological chair in Leyden University, where he taught until his death in 1609. He was thus spared from participating in the bitter and bloody scenes that accompanied and followed the Synod of Dort.

Before his death Arminius had asked for a synod at which the various points in dispute might be freely discussed. Nine years elapsed before this body met in the historic town of Dort or Dordrecht, where in 1576 a similar ecclesiastical council had held its sittings. Invitations had been sent far and wide to the Reformed Churches of Europe. The French delegates were forbidden by the king to attend. James I. of England sent three bishops, a Cambridge University professor, and his chaplain; and twenty-three delegates came from Germany, the Palatinate, and Switzerland. The Dutch brethren numbered fifty-six in all.

After six months of session, during which the doctrines in question were elaborately discussed, canons were formulated to which the representatives of all the Reformed Churches appended their signatures. These canons emphatically condemned the positions taken up by the followers of Arminius, and the triumph of the Calvinists was complete. The president in his closing address congratulated the body on the success of its

labors, declaring that they had "made hell tremble."

Thereafter the foreign delegates returned home, and the Dutch members remained behind to hold a session of their own. In Germany and Switzerland the decisions of the Synod were generally upheld. In England, however, the Calvinism dominant at this particular period soon yielded to a milder type of theology, and the views of Arminius were not only tolerated, but became the prevailing type. Even in Holland, where the decisions of the Synod were followed by the ejection of hundreds of ministers who sympathized with Arminius, the triumph was but short-lived. Before eight years were over, full toleration was secured by the minority.

TO THE

READER.

IT is uſual, I am informed, for the compilers of Magazines, to employ the outſide Covers, in acquainting the courteous reader, with the Beauties and Excellencies of what he will find within. I beg him to excuſe me from this trouble: from writing a panegyric upon myſelf Neither can I deſire my Friends to do it for me, in their recommendatory Letters. I am content this Magazine ſhould ſtand or fall, by its own intrinſic value. If it is a compound of Falſhood, Ribaldry, and Nonſenſe, let it ſink into oblivion. If it contains only the words of truth and ſoberneſs, then let it meet with a favourable reception.

It is uſual likewiſe with Magazine Writers, to ſpeak of themſelves in the plural number: "*We* will do thus." And indeed it is the general Cuſtom of Great Men ſo to do. But I am a little one. Let me then be excuſed in this alſo, and permitted to ſpeak as I am accuſtomed to do.

LEWISHAM, Nov. 24, 1777. John Weſley.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF ADDRESS TO THE READER WHICH APPEARED IN THE FIRST NUMBER OF THE "ARMINIAN MAGAZINE."

The followers of Arminius, and those in sympathy with him, always maintained that his theology was in far closer sympathy than was Calvinism with the primitive belief of the Church before Augustine made his fierce attack on Pelagianism. This friendly attitude toward the primitive Church appealed strongly to Anglican theologians with their reverence for antiquity and their historical instincts. The Reformation theology they regarded as an exaggeration of the "absolutism" of Augustine, and as a further drifting away from the soberer and more genial, if less systematic, doctrinal attitude of the first centuries. To them the Calvinism dominant at the beginning of the seventeenth century appeared narrow, pugnacious, and unnecessarily assertive. This weak side of Calvinism has, indeed, been made apparent in its subsequent history. In times of peace and prosperity it is prone to harden into a repulsive legalism; and legalism is always disputatious. It was the arrogantly disputatious element lurking in Calvinism which was especially repugnant to the mind of Wesley.

The Oxford school of thought in the middle of the seventeenth century became intensely Arminian in its sympathies, and Wesley inherited and imbibed these sympathies. His Arminianism was part and parcel of his devotion to the Christianity which he believed was the purest and the sanest—that which existed before the days of Augustine, when apostolic tradition was still recent and unbroken. The fresh departures he took in ecclesiastical organization in the years which immediately followed the publication of the *Arminian Magazine* must be considered as the logical expression of his theological views. They broke with an ecclesiastical system that had found in Augustinianism a congenial body of systematic doctrine.

These were years of bitter anti-popery feeling in Great Britain. The Gordon riots, so fully and picturesquely described

in Dickens' "Barnaby Rudge," were the result of measures undertaken in 1778 for the relief of the Roman Catholics then suffering under severe penal laws. The anti-popery movement, commencing in Scotland, spread into England, and finally came to a head in London, where Lord George Gordon, son of the Scottish Duke of Gordon, placed himself at the head of a rabble, wearing blue cockades and clamorous against the Relief Act. For days the city was in a state of anarchy. The house of Lord Mansfield was looted and burned, and his priceless library perished in the flames. There was considerable bloodshed, but nothing to compare with that accompanying similar outbreaks of fanatic fury in other capitals. The misguided leader, a young man of twenty-eight, was imprisoned with over a hundred others, twenty-one of whom were executed. After many years spent in confinement, he was, in 1787, convicted of sedition, and six years later he died in Newgate. Before his death he had become a convert to Judaism.

CROSS HALL, HOME OF MARY BOSANQUET, WIFE OF FLETCHER OF MADELEY.

It was in December of 1780, the year in which the riots occurred, that Wesley, who had been spending the summer in the north of Ireland, visited Lord George in prison. The visit was not spontaneous, but was in answer to repeated invitations from the prisoner. In his Journal occurs the following entry: "1780, December 19th—I spent an hour with Lord George Gordon at his apartment in the Tower. Our conversation turned upon popery and religion. He seemed to be well acquainted with the Bible; and had enough of other books, enough to furnish a study I was agreeably surprised to find he did not complain of any person or thing; and cannot but hope his confinement will take a right turn, and prove a lasting blessing to him."

This naturally leads us to inquire what were Wesley's own views in respect to the treatment of papists. A paper in the *Arminian Magazine*, on "Persecuting Papists," contains a significant passage: "I set out in early life," it states, "with an utter abhorrence of persecution in every form, and a full conviction that every man has a right to worship God according to his own conscience. I would not hurt a hair of the head of Romanists. Meantime, I would not put it into their power to hurt me, or any other persons whom they believe to be heretics. I would neither kill, nor be killed. I wish them well; but I dare not trust them."

The last clause reveals his unwillingness to trust a Roman Catholic electorate. Nor is this to be wondered at. Very few Oxford men of this or the succeeding generation were willing to grant Roman Catholics more privileges than Protestants received in Catholic countries. Even Dr. Thomas Arnold, liberal as he was, regarded the English commonwealth as essentially Protestant, requiring for its basis a Protestant electorate; and he was not born until four

REV. ROWLAND HILL.

years after Wesley's death. Toleration, indeed, regarded by so many people in the nineteenth century as one of the cardinal virtues, ought rather to be looked upon as the outgrowth of modern political conditions, and a happy political possibility of these later days. Many, like Wesley, who could not conscientiously vote for toleration in times past, because they deemed such a policy unsafe, yet detested at heart any policy of persecution.

It had become evident to Welsey for some considerable time that his death would leave the property of the Society in a precarious condition. The legal training and acquaintance with practical affairs of Doctor Coke—who was a Doctor of Civil Law, and had served as chief magistrate of Brecon—were, no doubt, of service in inducing him to act. It is hardly possible to give a clearer or more succinct account of the proceedings which resulted in the famous Deed of Declaration than is found in Doctor Coke's "Address to the Methodist Society in Great Britain and Ireland on the Settlement of the Preaching-houses:"

"In the Conference held in the year 1782, several complaints were made in respect to the danger in which we were situated, from the want of specifying, in distinct and legal terms, what was meant by the term, 'The Conference of the people called Methodists.' Indeed, the preachers seemed universally alarmed, and many expressed their fears that divisions would take place among us after the death of Mr. Wesley on this account; and the whole body of preachers present seemed to wish that some methods might be taken to remove this danger, which appeared to be pregnant with evils of the first magnitude.

"In consequence of this (the subject lying heavy on my heart) I desired Mr. Clulow, of Chancery-Lane, London, to draw up such a case as I judged sufficient for the purpose, and then to present it to that very eminent counselor, Mr. Maddox, for his opinion. This was accordingly done, and Mr. Maddox informed us in his answer that the Deeds of our preaching-houses were in the situation we dreaded; that the law would not recognize the Conference in the state in which it stood at that time, and consequently, that there was no central point which might preserve the connection from splitting into a thousand pieces after the death of Mr. Wesley. To prevent this, he observed that Mr. Wesley should enroll a Deed in Chancery, which Deed should specify the persons by name who composed the Conference, together with the mode of succession for its perpetuity; and at the same time, such regulations be established by the Deed, as Mr. Wesley would wish the Conference should be governed by after his death.

"This opinion of Mr. Maddox I read in the Conference of 1783. The whole Conference seemed grateful to me for procuring the opinion, and expressed their wishes that such a Deed might be drawn up and executed by Mr. Wesley, as should agree with the advice of that great lawyer, as soon as possible.

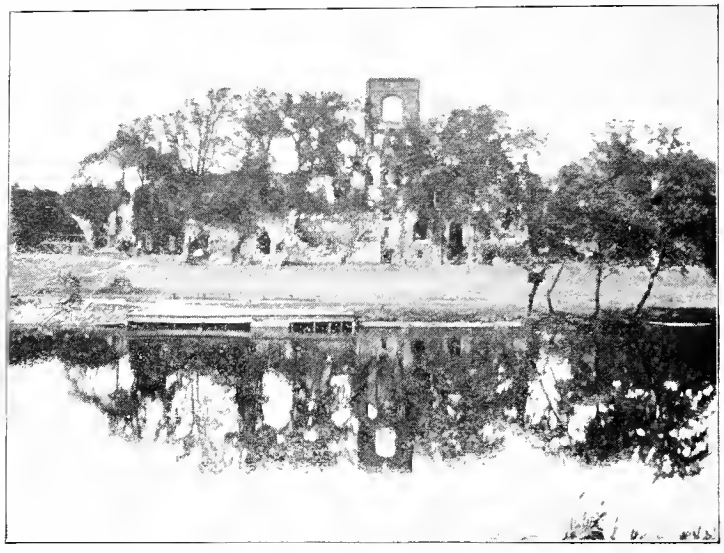
"Soon after the Conference was ended, Mr. Wesley authorized me to draw up, with the assistance of Mr. Clulow, all the leading parts of a Deed, which should answer the above mentioned purposes. This we did with much care—and as to myself, I can truly say, with fear and trembling—receiving Mr. Maddox's advice in respect to every step we took, and laying the whole ultimately at Mr. Wesley's feet for his approbation; there remained now nothing but to insert the names of those who were to constitute the Conference. Mr. Wesley then declared that he would limit the number to one hundred. This was indeed contrary to my very humble opinion, which was that every preacher, in full connexion, should be a member of the Conference; and that admission into full connexion should be looked upon as admission into membership with the Conference; and I still believe it will be most for the glory of God, and the peace of our Zion, that the members of the Conference admit the other preachers who are in full connexion, and are present at the Conference from time to time, to a full vote on all occasions. However, of course, I submitted to the superior judgment and authority of Mr. Wesley But I do publicly avow, that I was not concerned in the limitation of the number, or the selection of the hundred preachers, who were nominated the members of the Conference.

"All things necessary being completed in the Court of Chancery according to law, I thought it my duty to send copies of the Deed to all Assistants of circuits throughout Great Britain; and I afterward carried copies of it to Ireland."

Such is Doctor Coke's very clear and explicit account of this important step, which provided for the quiet continuance of the Society's work after the death of Wesley. It is evident, upon an examination of the whole transaction, that the position of Doctor Coke was merely one of adviser and suggester, and that Wesley in no way subordinated his judgment or initiative to the younger man. The "*Non vult, non potuit*" reply which Wesley made to a criticism implying such effacement of his leadership, exactly meets the case. Doctor Coke had neither the desire, nor had he the ability, to take the leading part in so momentous a transaction.

Before the Deed of Declaration became a part of Methodism, Wesley paid a second visit to Holland, and seems to have derived much pleasure from his tour. His observations show that he was alive to every attractive feature in the Dutch national life. He found in the better class of Amsterdam residents an easy good-breeding which surprised him; and thought the city needed only the power of religion to make it an earthly paradise. He noted with approval the child-like simplicity and

KING EDWARD'S SCHOOL, BIRMINGHAM.



KIRKSTALL ABBEY, LEEDS.

plain attire of the pious. He had just been visiting Ireland, and had expected to find the Dutch, by contrast, cold and unfriendly in demeanor. But in this he was agreeably disappointed. "How entirely were we mistaken in the Hollanders," he remarks in his Journal, "supposing them to be of a cold, phlegmatic, unfriendly temper! I have not met with a more warmly affectionate people in all Europe! no, not in Ireland!"

His eightieth birthday was spent at Zeist, the settlement of the German brethren. He found the place finely situated among woods, and resembling one of the large colleges at Oxford. Here he met Bishop Antone, whom he had not seen for nearly fifty years. The people were very courteous, but asked him neither to eat nor drink, such being their custom. But he was welcome to buy at the stores. Wesley felt no doubt whatever that such a community was destined to become immensely wealthy, and is careful to give expression to this belief in his Journal.

He in nowise regretted the trouble or expense which attended this little journey It opened to him, as he remarks in his Journal, a new world; where the land, the buildings, the people, the customs were all such as he had never seen before. As those with whom he conversed were of the same spirit with his friends in England, he felt as much at home in Utrecht and Amsterdam as in Bristol and London.

By the middle of July, 1783, he was again in England, visiting his beloved Oxford and comparing the proportions of the hall at Christ-Church with those of the Stadt-House in Amsterdam. In the visits he made to his societies he related to them his experiences in Holland, dwelling on the excellent condition of their Christian brethren there; which called forth expressions of thanksgiving to God.

Immediately after the annual Conference held at Bristol at the close of July, he was seized with so severe an attack of sickness as to cause wide-spread alarm among his friends; but happily he recovered, and was again traveling and preaching before the close of September. Nor does he seem ever to have been more active or alert than in the months which followed.

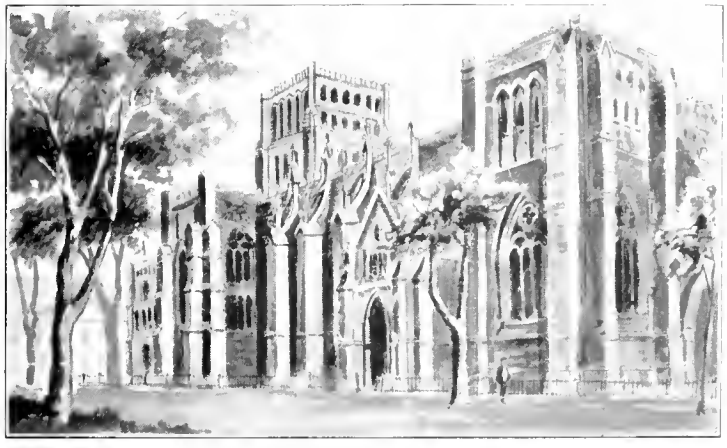
The year 1784 has been termed the grand climacterical year of Methodism. Two significant alterations were then made in its constitution and polity which ultimately changed it from a mere appanage of the Church of England, or inoffensive private society for the promotion of personal religion within the bounds of that Church, into a rival ecclesiastical denomination. The two changes were, first, the executing of the Deed of Declaration, and, secondly, the Ordination of Superintendents for the American field. It was on the twenty-eighth of

February, 1784, that Wesley executed his Deed of Declaration, which was enrolled in Chancery a few days later. The object of this Deed has already been set forth explicitly in the address of Doctor Coke. The previous deeds on which Methodist chapels had been settled reserved to Wesley the important right to appoint preachers. This right was to pass at his death to Charles Wesley; and, if the two brothers should predecease him, to William Grimshaw. After the death of all three it became vested in the Conference. Grimshaw was a Yorkshire clergyman, who held the perpetual curacy of Haworth, the wild moorland parish in the West Riding where the Brontë family were reared—"children of the heather and the wind."

He had now been twenty years in his grave, and so the life of Charles Wesley, which was nearly run out, alone stood between the existing condition of things and the rule of the Conference. Even had the Brontés not lived in Haworth, the name of Grimshaw was sufficient to have made it famous. He was five years the junior of Wesley, and passed away at the comparatively early age of fifty-five. Brought suddenly to a conviction of sin by opening Owen's treatise on Justification, he became an intensely devout Christian and a remarkably self-denying man. Eccentric to the verge of insanity, so that people called him the "mad parson," he was yet, in his parish and the surrounding district, loved and trusted to an extraordinary degree. Like Wesley, he was a born itinerant, and he often preached as many as thirty times a week. He made no scruple of entering other men's parishes and proclaiming the gospel there; and in his own parish he made use of all kinds of odd but forcible expedients to promote Christian living and root out vicious practices. What Wesley, indeed, was to the kingdom at large, Grimshaw was to Yorkshire and the neighboring counties. In his own parish he had a Methodist preaching-house built. It is doubtful whether, had he survived, he would not have come into collision with Wesley. Death carried him off some years before the bitter Calvinistic controversy broke out, and as Grimshaw was a decided, though moderate, Calvinist, he might have been drawn into the dispute. It is characteristic of Wesley's tolerant and magnanimous attitude that he should have been ready to delegate such powers to a brother clergyman who differed from him in his theological bias.

An inquiry into the exact bearing of the Deed of Declaration and its influence on the subsequent history of Methodism may be held over until the Act of Ordination at Bristol has been dealt with. This act was performed some eight months later, but its effects were immediate in changing the whole polity of Methodism on the Western continent. The two measures were substantially co-relative, but the later one was more significant and more drastic.

Asbury's appeal to Wesley to devise



BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

PORTLAND SQUARE, BRISTOL.

some satisfactory plan to relieve the intolerable situation in America had not been neglected. It was evident that the polity required for America must differ substantially from that which suited the mother country. The Anglican Church across the Atlantic, weak enough before the war, was now on the verge of extinction; while, notwithstanding all kinds of obstacles, the Methodist societies were growing rapidly in numbers and influence. And yet, owing to the peculiar condition of affairs, thousands of the children of members were left unbaptized, and many members had not partaken of the Lord's Supper for years.

Wesley revolved the problem in his mind, and finally resolved upon a scheme which should reconstitute American Methodism on the basis of the primitive Church. It would thus become a sister Church to the Presbyterian, which embodied Calvin's idea of a model Church, purged of papal corruptions. Wesley clung to the episcopal form of government; and yet his investigations were leading him to consider the *episcopos*, or bishop, as nothing more than an ordinary presbyter solemnly set apart by the rest of the brethren for the duties of general supervision. That the absence of such an official is at times a weakness in the Presbyterian form of government will be admitted by many staunch Presbyterians. For instance, in cases of discipline, where a presbytery has to sit in judgment on an erring brother, the form of procedure is apt to appear unseemly to outsiders, from the fact that the same body of men acts at once as prosecutor, as judge, and as jury. Much has to be thrown into the arena of noisy discussion which more properly belongs to the silent decision of a wise personality. In a condition of society, also, in which there is a constant fluctuation in the population, there is surely need of a general district superintendency, placed definitely in the hands of a responsible officer of the Church. Other practical aspects of the question were no doubt present to the statesmanlike mind of Wesley, as he revolved the problem. His first and last thought was how to benefit, in the most enduring way, the poor sheep without a shepherd in the southern states of America.

The natural drift of Methodism, almost from the outset, was toward affiliation with Presbyterianism. Whitefield, a son of the people, and a Calvinist in doctrine, had frankly accepted the situation, and virtually died a Presbyterian. The previous century had witnessed several movements for the union of Protestant Episcopalians and moderate Presbyterians. The system established in Scotland during the reigns of the first two Stuarts was a kind of modified Episcopacy. The drift of theology in England, however, had been away from the Calvinism, dominant in the reign of James I., which gave us the Westminster Confession. The narrowness of Laud, and the rash folly of Charles I., precipitated a crisis, which ended disastrously for the monarch and his adviser. The old Calvinist party triumphed for the time

in England, although it finally went under; while in Scotland the dislike of prelacy in any form thenceforward became a part of the national life.

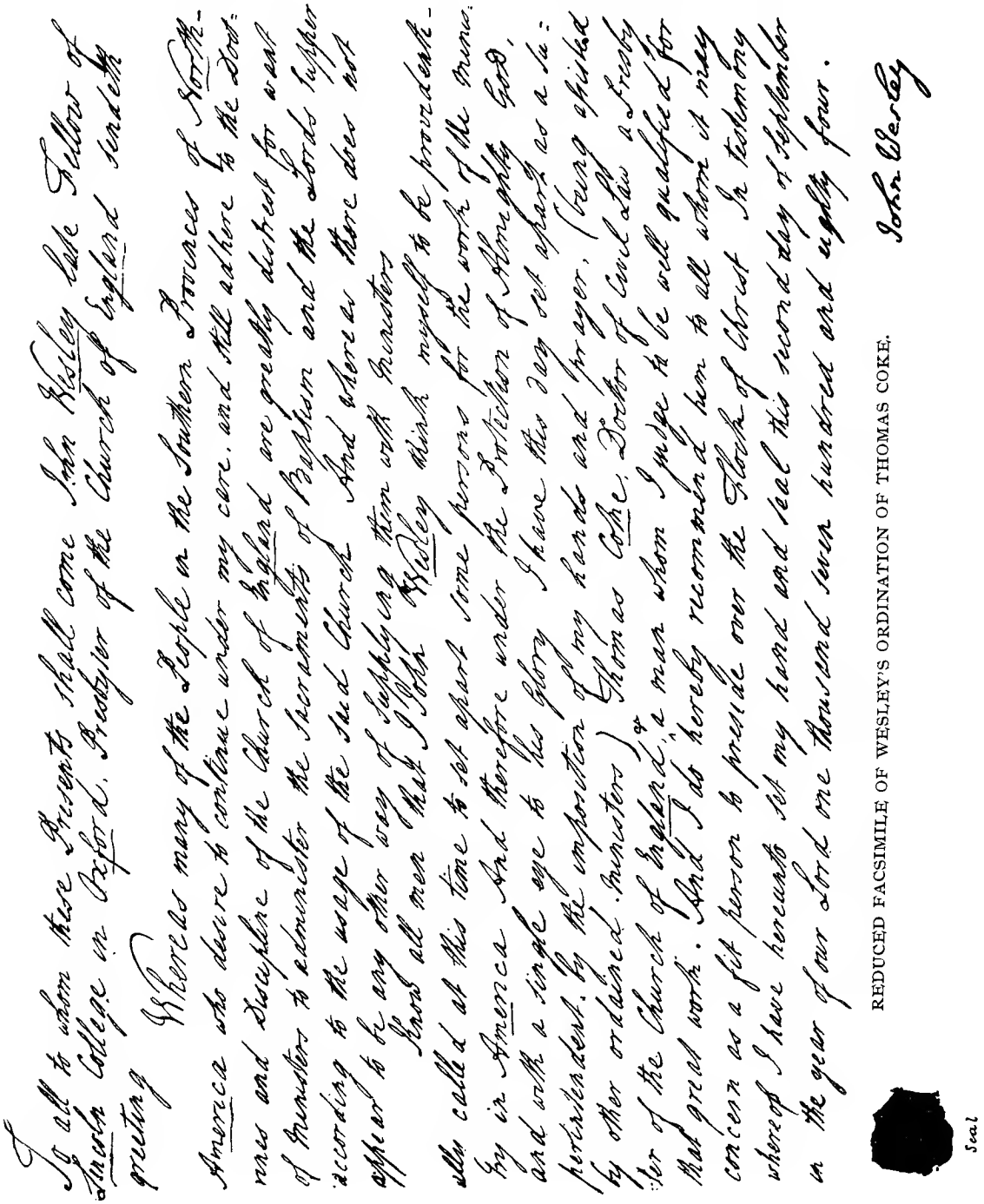
It was a significant fact that Presbyterianism should for a time have asserted itself in England, and have been dominant in the English Church. Those anxious for a reconciliation of Protestants with a unity of method in church government, must have felt that the opportunity lay in a compromise between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy, by which the essential excellences of both systems might be preserved. This was the theme of Edward Stillingfleet's first essay in print, which appeared in the year before the Restoration. Though written by a young man of twenty-four, the "Irenicum" is in no sense a crude production. Rather is it a finished piece of dialectic very hard to overthrow. Regarding the form of church government as immaterial, Stillingfleet proposed a compromise, which, by allowing the validity of Presbyterian orders, would make the bishop the chief presbyter. Its author, known by the sobriquet of "the beauty of holiness," afterward occupied the see of Worcester, and, had his health permitted, would probably have become primate of all England. It is but right to add that he seems to have abandoned later the position taken up in his "Irenicum." To Wesley, however, who read the book a century after its publication, the arguments appeared sound enough.

As early as 1746 Wesley's mind was occupied with this problem of a possible compromise between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. On the road to Bristol he happened to read over Lord King's account of the primitive Church, in which that able lawyer and thinker contends for the original identity of the offices of bishop and presbyter. The point of view of Lord King is essentially that of Stillingfleet; he was anxious to find a reasonable basis for the inclusion of Dissenters in the National Church. Lord King was born plain Peter King, and was the son of an Exeter grocer. By his mother's side he was a cousin of the famous philosopher, John Locke. His early training was Presbyterian. The ability which he displayed in his youth induced his father, on Locke's advice, to send him to the University of Leyden. Returning to England he entered political life, and rose by successive steps to be lord chancellor. He was a warm and loyal supporter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and a man of the highest integrity

His "Enquiry," which greatly impressed Wesley, was published in 1691, when he had barely attained his majority. Some biographers of Wesley have commented on the fact that the two books which appear to have done most to disintegrate his high churchmanship were written by "mere lads." Of King's "Enquiry," however, it is only fair to remark that the treatise was recognized

EBENEZER CHAPEL, KING STREET, BRISTOL.

for nearly two centuries as the best on the subject, and was reprinted so recently as in 1843. Not until the publication of Bishop Hatch's Bampton lectures, de-



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF WESLEY'S ORDINATION OF THOMAS COKE.

livered in 1881, can it be said to have been superseded.

In the same month in which he executed the Deed of Declaration, Wesley summoned Doctor Coke to his private chamber, and discussed the whole American situation with him. He spoke of Asbury's appeal for help to avert a crisis and establish the work of the society on a stable basis; and he intimated that he had devised a scheme which, while thoroughly biblical, was suited to the

particular needs of his followers in America. In his researches into the history of the primitive Church, when Christianity was still unadulterated, he had been greatly attracted by the mode of ordaining bishops practiced in the church of Alexandria. No foreign bishop was suffered to interfere in any of their ordinations; but the presbyters themselves, on the death of a bishop, exercised the right of ordaining another from amongst themselves, by the laying on of hands, a practice which continued for two hundred years, until the time of Dionysius. Wesley intimated that he was prepared to ordain Coke in this manner, that he might proceed to America to superintend the societies there.

The subject was left for Doctor Coke's consideration, who replied in the month of April, from near Dublin, in Ireland. "If some one," says the letter, "in whom you could place the fullest confidence, and whom you think likely to have sufficient influence and prudence and delicacy of conduct for the purpose, were to go over and return, you would then have a source of sufficient information to determine on any points or propositions. I may be destitute of the last mentioned essential qualification (to the former I lay claim without reserve); otherwise my taking such a voyage might be expedient."

The letter is somewhat strangely worded, and hardly fits in with the report we have of the February interview; but it shows that Coke was inclined to accept the position of envoy to the American societies. When the matter was laid before the select committee of consultation at the Leeds Conference, which met in July, and Wesley intimated that he was prepared to ordain his envoy, they to a man opposed the scheme. And yet it was evident to all that Wesley's mind was made up. A fortnight later he received a letter from Coke, in which the latter requested full powers of ordination, to be given 'by the imposition of your hands." The reasons assigned were, first, that it was the most scriptural way and most agreeable to the practice of the primitive Church; and, secondly, that the plainest evidence of delegated authority was necessary for him to succeed in his mission. He had been informed that Asbury might look with jealousy on any intrusion upon his authority; and, as the journey was a long one, it would be well to prepare against all contingencies.

At the Conference Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey had been appointed, along with Doctor Coke, to America; and in his letter he goes on to recommend that they also shall be ordained by the imposition of hands, so that he may have the support of two presbyters in his work. And he suggests the propriety of bringing down with him Mr. Creighton, a regularly ordained clergyman, to assist in the ordination. If he went at all, Doctor Coke was determined that there should be no mistake regarding his powers. He must be essentially an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. He desired to cross the Atlantic with powers of ruling solemnly conferred on him by the founder of Methodism; to be, in fact, a latter-day bishop. This desire has been interpreted as a somewhat paltry ambition; but surely there is another light in which it may be viewed. Was it not rather the exercise of a keen and lively historic imagination which grasped the real situation? The future destiny of the world lay in great measure beyond the western ocean. To have this destiny marred or thwarted by a dull historic literalism which would bind modern Christian institutions to the chariot-wheels of old world corporations, was

intolerable. In Coke's eyes John Wesley was a latter-day apostle, who possessed the inherent right, by virtue of his character and the work he had founded, to send a delegate to the communities in America. Wesley stood to them in the relation of a spiritual father; and his solemnly commissioned delegate was, in all essential respects, the counterpart of a primitive bishop.

As usual, Wesley regarded the matter from the intensely practical side. A superintendent of the caliber of Coke was evidently required by the peculiar situation; and he was very willing to give him all the credentials he desired. He had long considered that he possessed the right to ordain. "I verily believe," he stated in 1780, to his brother Charles, "I have as good a right to ordain, as to administer the Lord's Supper." Charles was shocked at the statement; and high churchmen were shocked at the ordination of Coke, Whatcoat, and Vasey. By this act Wesley definitely cut loose from the fetters of sacerdotalism. This was the beginning of Episcopal Methodism.

The ordination took place at Bristol, on the second of September, 1784. Although Charles Wesley was in the city he was not present; and he bitterly disapproved of the step. The three clergymen present—Wesley, the Rev. James Creighton, who had been associated with the work in London, and Doctor Coke—having constituted themselves a presbytery, ordained Whatcoat and Vasey for the work of the Christian ministry in America; and thereafter Wesley solemnly commissioned Coke for the work of the superintendency.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MOMENTOUS MISSION OF DR. THOMAS COKE.

THE office which Dr. Thomas Coke undertook had nothing in it of the mediæval conceptions which still linger about the word "bishop," and tend to give it a quasi-romantic flavor. The Bristol ordination finally broke with that apostolic succession, which has been described as "a network or web of interwoven strands, now innumerable, which would hold together even if, to venture an impossible supposition, nine-tenths of these lines could be proved defective, and therefore invalid." To the new episcopate it mattered not even if the ten-tenths were all defective. Its validity was inherent, not remotely historical.

A late dignitary of the English Church, Charles Merivale, Dean of Ely, in a singularly judicious passage in his autobiography, where he deals with the attitude of the Church toward Dissent, remarks that to the practical Christian it can make, to his apprehension, no practical difference whatever, whether he accepts, or rejects, or regards as simply "not proven," the theory of Episcopacy, which mainly cleaves asunder the invisible Church of Christ in modern times.

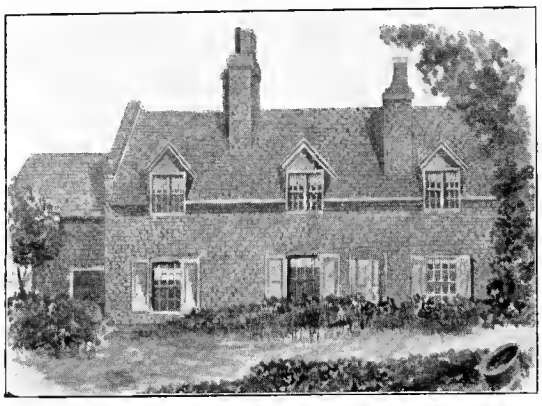
It will be noticed that the word "practical" is used twice in this passage. It is a word which exactly describes the attitude of Wesley When the rigid "theory of Episcopacy" threatened to strangle the life and growth of the infant society in America, he quietly cut loose from it; but as the open assumption of the title of bishop was certain to give umbrage wherever the Union Jack floated, he was altogether opposed to its use by those who looked to him for guidance. He deprecated a spirit of antagonism toward the Church Establishment; of its bishops and curates he said a good word whenever it was possible; and the separation which he saw was inevitable, when the Methodists grew in number and importance, he wished to take place in the least violent and most gradual manner. In America the Methodists were left without any episcopate, and were already separate; and the problem was ripe. This is the spirit that animates the pastoral epistle, dated "Bristol, September 10, 1784," which Wesley addressed to the brethren in America. It is possible that he overestimated the weakness of the Episcopal Church in the new republic, as well as the religious destitution prevailing in the southern states; just as the brethren there exaggerated the worldliness and ungodliness which marked the clergy of the English Establishment. The epistle read as follows:

BRISTOL, Sept. 10, 1784.

To Dr Coke, Mr Asbury, and our Brethren in North America

1. By a very uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces of North America are totally disjoined from the British empire, and erected into independent states. The English government has no authority over them, neither civil nor ecclesiastical, any more than over the states of Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the congress, partly by the state assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation some thousands of the inhabitants of these states desire my advice: and in compliance with their desire I have drawn up a little sketch.

2. Lord King's Account of the Primitive Church convinced me, many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned from time to time to exercise this right, by ordaining part



HOME OF ASBURY'S YOUTH.

of our traveling preachers. But I have still refused, not only for peace' sake, but because I was determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the national Church, to which I belonged.

3. But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, and but few parish ministers: so that for some hundred miles together there is none either to baptize or to administer the Lord's Supper. Here, therefore, my scruples are at an end: and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending laborers into the harvest.

4. I have accordingly appointed Dr. COKE and Mr. FRANCIS ASBURY to be joint superintendents over our brethren in North America. As also RICHARD WHATCOAT and THOMAS VASEY to act as elders among them, by baptizing and ministering the Lord's Supper.

5. If any one will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding those poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present I cannot see any better method than that I have taken.

6. It has indeed been proposed to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object: 1. I desired the Bishop of London to ordain one only; but could not prevail. 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay. 3. If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously would this entangle us! 4. As our American brethren are now totally disentangled both from the state and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again, either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church; and we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free. JOHN WESLEY.

Of Thomas Vasey we know but little. He was a man of superior powers, and of great earnestness in appeal. He became a preacher when he was twenty-five, and continued active in the ministry. He bore on his thin visage the marks of ill-health, and was in reality a great sufferer; but he bravely struggled on for thirty-two years.

Richard Whatcoat was destined to be a pillar of the Church in the new country whither he was sent. A native of the famous county of Gloucester in England, he was early left fatherless, with four other children. At the age of thirteen he was apprenticed to a Birmingham tradesman, and, after serving out his time, settled at Wednesbury, where Asbury, who was his junior by nine years, met in band. As Whatcoat served as class-leader, band-leader, and steward to the local society from 1761 to 1769, the two men became acquainted with each other. The circuit preacher of the Wednesbury district in 1769 was John Pawson, a leading man in the connection, then and thereafter, who was so impressed by Whatcoat's zeal and natural gifts that he recommended him for the regular work of the ministry. During the next fifteen years Whatcoat was active in circuit work in Wales, in Ireland, and in various parts of England. When his name was mentioned for the American mission, he was somewhat taken by surprise; but prayer and meditation soon

reconciled him to the prospect, and he began to see in it the guidance of Providence.

On the eighteenth day of September, 1784, the three missionaries set sail from Bristol. During the voyage they seized what opportunities presented themselves of preaching to the sailors on board and interesting them in sacred things. Coke made a special study of the lives of Francis Xavier, David Brainerd, and others who had set out on a like mission to his own. The voyage was a boisterous one, and lasted nearly seven weeks. Landing in New York on the third of November, they were welcomed by John Dickins, to whom Coke unfolded the plan which Wesley had devised for the constitution and government of the societies in America. The doctor was possibly premature in taking this step, but he felt assured that he would have the support not only of Asbury, but of the preachers in general. Dickins was by birth and education an Englishman, and a man of considerable culture.

From New York Coke proceeded to Philadelphia, where he was courteously received by the Episcopal clergymen of the place. One of them was Doctor McGaw, of St. Paul's Church, formerly of Dover, Delaware; another was Doctor White, afterward Bishop of Pennsylvania in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, and the leading factor in its foundation. Doctor White offered the stranger the use of his pulpit, as also did Doctor McGaw Had they known that Doctor Coke meant to use Wesley's commission as superintendent to organize a Church with himself as one of its bishops, they would not have been so ready to welcome him; and indeed they seem to have been afterward offended by his ready acceptance of their offer. Six years later he took occasion to apologize for his apparent heedlessness in the matter.

After he reached Baltimore, and his intentions to revive the primitive episcopate in connection with the Methodist Societies had become generally known, Doctor West, the rector of St. Paul's in that city, invited him and Asbury to a friendly conference at the parsonage. Here West unfolded the plans, which the Episcopalians were at this time maturing, in which ecclesiastical power should be vested in a convention, consisting of an equal number of laity and clergy, and having for president a bishop, elected by the whole number of clergy; and he tried to persuade Coke that such an episcopacy would be at once adequate and at the same time neither dangerous nor burdensome. No decisive answer being returned by his visitors, West, after a few days, paid Coke a visit at his lodgings. In the discussion they had, Coke admitted that a connecting of the episcopal succession would be more satisfactory than the innovation they contemplated, but he intimated at the same time that things had already gone too far to think of changing. And so the two ecclesiastical movements drifted apart. The real fact was that the temper of the Methodist Societies, even in England, had become by this time strongly antipathetic to the Establishment; while in the United States it was impossible to

MANWOOD COTTAGE, STAFFORDSHIRE, ENGLAND,
Where Asbury began his itinerant ministry.

THE OLD JOHN EVANS HOUSE, CARROLL COUNTY, MARYLAND.
John Evans was one of the first of Strawbridge's converts.

harness the virile new movement to the feeble shadow of the old state episcopacy. Coke, young, ambitious, imaginative, was anxious to lead rather than be led, and preferred to place himself in the van of a new and more vigorous organization, free to model itself upon its own conception of the primitive episcopate.

It must be conceded, moreover, that he was less scrupulous than Wesley or Asbury, and more disposed to "play a part." A few years later we find him, unknown to Asbury or Wesley, corresponding with the bishops of the Constituted Episcopal Church of America, with a view to union. He was anxious to bring the Methodist Societies again within the pale of the historic episcopacy, and to obtain the position of bishop in that communion. Again in 1794, at a meeting of the leaders of English Methodism which he secretly called together at Lichfield, he proposed that they should organize themselves into an episcopacy, with three orders of clergy; but nothing practical resulted from the resolutions adopted. Ten years later he was willing to accept from the government the position of bishop in India; which meant a surrender of his duties in the Methodist connection, and entrance again into an "Erastian" Church. These acts tend to reveal in Coke a lack of that final singleness of soul, and absolute devotion to a spiritual ideal, found in Wesley and in Asbury; he seems to have had "that last infirmity of noble mind," of which the poet speaks.

Already the Episcopalians of the state of Connecticut boasted a bishop, who was consecrated in the very month that Coke and Whatcoat arrived at New York. On Lady-day, 1783, the clergy of that state had met in convocation and had elected Samuel Seabury to be their bishop. Seabury soon afterward set sail for England to obtain consecration, but found that his application met with no ready response. Tired of the delay, and acting on the advice of some of the Anglican bishops who were friendly to his application, he turned his eyes northward to Scotland, where the non-juring episcopate barely survived in a land that was stanchly Presbyterian. Here his application was favorably received, and on the fourteenth of November, in an "upper room" in Aberdeen, he was consecrated by three members of the Scotch episcopate. Thus was the "tactual succession" from the apostles obtained through this small dissenting church in Scotland, which represented an ultra-Tory remnant in the nation. It is evident that this step could gain for episcopacy in America little or no added prestige among the "new light" Methodists of Maryland and Virginia. A direct commission from John Wesley was a far more sacred thing to them. Moreover, this channel of consecration associated the Protestant Episcopal Church with an ecclesiastical body that was notoriously "high." So anti-evangelical, indeed, were the tone and teaching of the Scottish Episcopal Church, that during the nineteenth century English Episcopalians with a fondness for gospel preaching and a dislike of mediævalism, preferred to remain while in Scotland under

the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Carlisle, and built separate chapels that were under his control.

From Philadelphia Coke made an excursion into Delaware, and was highly pleased with the hospitality he received. At Dover he found Mr. Bassett, then busy in the erection of a chapel. Here he was introduced to Freeborn Garrettson, whose demeanor greatly attracted him—"an excellent young man, all meekness, love, and activity." Next day Whatcoat and he were at Barrett's Chapel, where a noble congregation had gathered to hear him. He chose as his text the penultimate verse of the glorious first chapter of First Corinthians: "*But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.*" At the close of the sermon, a plain, robust man came up to him and kissed him. This was Francis Asbury, with whom he was henceforth to be so intimately associated. A love-feast followed, such as for heartiness Coke had never seen equaled, except on one occasion in Ireland.

At the private interview which followed, he explained fully the purpose of his visit. It is pretty certain that he was disappointed in his reception as superintendent-commissioner. The news of Coke's approaching arrival, indeed, so far from filling Asbury with delight, had shocked him. An intensely loyal member of the Church of England, he was wholly unprepared to give up the three orders in the ministry—bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Consequently, the ordination at Bristol, which meant the leveling of bishops to the rank of presbyters, making them superintendent-presbyters, failed to command his unqualified approval. It is significant that when he discussed, seventeen years later, the basis on which his authority in the Church rested, he made no mention of Wesley's choice of him at Bristol. Nor had the title of bishop any attraction for him. It was indissolubly associated with worldly rank and prestige, and he felt that its assumption would be viewed as an act of presumption. Even if it were assumed with all due reservations, the continual protesting that no clutching at worldly distinction was intended must prove irritating and unseemly. To the popular English mind a bishop was a "great man." When Bishop Heber, on a return voyage from India, devoted his leisure time to visiting the sick on board the vessel, it was looked upon as an extraordinary act of condescension. It was not Asbury's conception of a true bishop, who remained the "servant of all." When, therefore, it was proposed to Asbury, who had hitherto refused to administer the sacrament of baptism because he had not been ordained a bishop, should himself assume the functions of a bishop, he drew back with instinctive aversion.

It was Doctor Coke's first proposal that he should himself ordain Asbury for his episcopal duties, and leave Whatcoat and

JOHN EVANS' PULPIT.

Vasey with him as elders to carry on the work. The societies would be formed into a Church, in which the sacraments would be administered, a liturgy be used, and the articles of faith as altered by Wesley from the articles of the Church of England be accepted as the basis of doctrine. But Asbury would not consent to this autocratic policy, nor would he allow Coke to proceed in the matter until all the brethren had been consulted. Coke's expectation that he and Asbury could settle everything, and could dictate the whole policy of American

ARMINIUS.

Methodism without consultation with the preachers, thus failed of realization. It was not that Asbury refused Wesley's commission. But he preferred to act with the full sanction and approval of his brethren, if this could be obtained. It was much to have been selected by Wesley and to enjoy his confidence, but it was more to have the confidence of the men whom he was to rule as bishop.

Asbury's will proved the stronger; and henceforth he remains the leading force in American Methodism. It is difficult, indeed, to overestimate his influence. The biographer of Wesley, highly as he reveres the subject of his memoir, is disposed to place Francis Asbury on a pedestal almost as lofty. "A grander specimen of a Christian apostle than Francis Asbury," says the Rev. Luke Tyerman, in the third volume of his "Life of Wesley," "the world has never had. Much as we revere the memory of Wesley, we regard Asbury with an almost equal veneration. Among the self-denying, laborious Christian ministers of the past eighteen hundred years, we believe that Francis Asbury has no superiors, and but few that can be considered his equals."

The gathering at Barratt's Chapel was a regular quarterly meeting at which Asbury had come to preside. There was accordingly a large attendance of preachers, who, on being consulted, cordially approved of the plan of summoning a great Conference on Christmas Eve, to meet at Baltimore, and settle the momentous question of how they should form themselves into a Church. To Freeborn Garrettson was intrusted the task of notifying the brethren in the South that their presence was urgently desired.

To the brethren nearer at hand Coke was able to carry the summons in person. He had determined to use the intervening time in traveling, that he might acquaint himself at first hand with the religious condition of the country; and he asked Asbury to map out for him an extensive tour. This Asbury did, offering at the same time the valuable services of his black servant Harry. Harry was no ordinary man, being gifted with a native eloquence which went far to make up for educational deficiencies. Indeed Coke was surprised and delighted to find in him one of the most effective preachers he had ever listened to. Together they traveled nearly a thousand miles, visiting as many preaching-sta-

tions on the way as they could possibly include. On this tour Coke began to collect subscriptions for a Christian college which should be a training place for the ministry. The plan, as we know, originated with John Dickins, whom we shall find foremost in the promotion of educational enterprises during the next fifteen years. Asbury had interested himself in it as early as 1780, and when he mentioned the matter to Coke, the latter took it up with enthusiasm, and projected a great institution. Their efforts at this time met with gratifying success. When, in the middle of December, they met under the hospitable roof-tree of Perry Hall, they were able to report subscriptions amounting to over a thousand pounds sterling.

The near approach of the Conference led them to mature their plans for the transaction of its business. They spent several days in revising Wesley's draft plan, and suiting it to the American situation. On Friday, the twenty-fourth of December, the company rode in from Perry Hall to Baltimore, where the Lovely Lane Chapel had been prepared for the sittings of the Conference. It was a rude enough structure, but friends had made it as comfortable as they could, by furnishing it with a stove, and providing comfortable benches. Sixty itinerants presented themselves in response to the summonses that had been issued.

The members of the General Conference met together in the evening of December 24, 1784, Doctor Coke presiding. His first act was to read Wesley's letter, explaining the nature of the crisis which had induced their spiritual father to break entirely with the procedure of the English episcopate, and found a new system, based on the practice of the primitive Church. As they had now no political connection whatever with England, there was no need that they should strive to preserve an ecclesiastical connection which could only lead to entanglements.

In accordance with the policy recommended in the letter, the members of the Conference prepared to form themselves into an Episcopal Church, with superintendents, elders and deacons, and preachers. Their first act was, by a unanimous vote, to elect Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury to be general superintendents. The latter was thus a superintendent-elect before his ordination as deacon or elder; but this defect was soon remedied. As superintendent, Coke forthwith proceeded to set him apart, by the imposition of hands and by prayer—Whatcoat and Vasey assisting—for the office of deacon. Next day, in the same solemn manner, he was set apart for the office of elder; and on the twenty-seventh day he was solemnly set apart for the office of a superintendent. At Asbury's request the Rev. Mr. Otterbein joined the other two elders who assisted Doctor Coke in his consecration.

ANCIENT TREE
Under which Strawbridge regularly preached before and during the erection of the Log Meeting-house.

It will be noted that the term "superintendent" and not "bishop" was employed at this time, and for several years afterward. This does not in any way imply that the office was considered, by

BARRETT'S CHAPEL, DELAWARE.

those who elected and who were elected, an informal one as compared with the office of bishop. Certainly Asbury did not so understand it. He received the appointment as essentially constituting him the representative of the apostles in the Western world. The social and political associations of the word "bishop" might have led to its discontinuance even in the Protestant Episcopal Church. The venerable founder of that body, Washington's chaplain, Doctor White, in his "Sketch of a Frame of Government," published shortly before the Methodist Conference met, pleads for the necessity of a *permanent president* in church councils. If the name of bishop, he states, is offensive, "change it for another; let the superior clergyman be a president, a superintendent, or, in plain English, and according to the literal translation of the original, an *overseer*. However, if names are to be reprobated because the powers annexed to them are abused, there are few appropriated to either civil or ecclesiastical distinctions which would retain their places in our catalogue."

As the republic began to realize more fully its national life, and as the ties, actual and reminiscent, with England grew slighter, the more natural term "bishop" replaced the cumbrous "superintendent." It so appears in the 1787 edition of the "Form of Discipline for the Ministers, Preachers, and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America," published at New York, of which but few copies are known to exist. American habit, moreover, prefers a title which can serve easily as a handle to the name. Superintendent was a term which from the outset ran a poor chance of survival. Asbury refers in his Journal to his colleague Whatcoat as "Bishop Whatcoat"—note the capitalization; or as "brother Whatcoat"—the more familiar term appearing the more frequently; and there is one facetious passage in which he applies the title to himself. Alluding to his having caught the itch in Kentucky:—"I do not see," he writes, "that there is any security against it, but by sleeping in a brimstone shirt!—poor Bishop! But we must bear it for the elects' sake." The two terms are used conjointly to describe the office in an interesting entry, dated January 26, 1804: "At forty-nine I was ordained superintendent-bishop in America."

On the other hand, there is no word so suitable as superintendency to signify the duties performed by a bishop; and this word continues to be used by Asbury in his Journal. It occurs in a later entry of this same year: "I refused to travel as

long as I could, and I lived long before I took upon me the superintendency of the Methodist Church in America, and now I bear it as a heavy load; I hardly bear it, and yet dare not cast it down, for fear God and my brethren should cast me down for such an abandonment of duty."

There are several interesting entries in the Journal which reveal his conception of the office. One is dated "Sabbath-day, April 5, 1801," and refers to an extract he had made several years before from Osterwald's "Christian Theology," chapter II., page 317: "'Yet it cannot be denied that in the primitive church there was always a president who presided over others, who were in a state of equality with himself: this is clearly proved from the catalogues of bishops to be found in Eusebius and others; in them we may see the names of the bishops belonging to the principal churches, many of whom were ordained whilst the apostles (but especially John) were still living.' So far, Mr. Osterwald, who, I presume, was a Presbyterian." The Jean Frédéric Osterwald here referred to was a Swiss pastor of the Reformed Church, who was born at Neuchatel in 1663, and was educated by a Huguenot refugee, M. D'Aubigny. His translation of the Bible into French, published in 1766, three years before his death, was widely used by French Protestants. Many of his writings betray his strong desire to effect a union among Protestants; notably a translation he made, entitled "Considerations Générales sur la Réunion des Protestants." His best known work, after his translation of the Scriptures, is his "Arguments and Reflections on the Bible." Osterwald himself, as *doyen de la classe des pasteurs*, or "dean of the presbytery," held a position not dissimilar to a superintendency.

The closing portion of the paragraph contains another allusion to Pastor Osterwald. "In 'Cave's Lives of the Fathers,'" continues Asbury, "and in the writings of the ancients, it will appear that the churches of Alexandria, and elsewhere, had large congregations—many elders—that the apostles might appoint and ordain bishops. Mr. Osterwald, who, it appears, is a candid and well-informed man, has gone as far as might be expected for a Presbyterian. For myself, I see but a hair's breadth difference between the sentiments of the respectable and learned author of 'Christian Theology,' and the practice of the Methodist Episcopal Church. There is not, nor indeed, in my mind, can there be a perfect equality between a constant president, and those over whom he always presides."

Another entry in his Journal, made about a year later, when he was preaching John Lee's funeral sermon at Petersburg, discloses his preference for the episcopal form of government. The text he chose was from the second chapter of Philippians, v. 22: "*But ye know the proof of him, that as a son with the father, hath he served with me in the gospel.*" In dwelling upon the filial relationship

THE OLD THOMAS WORTHINGTON HOUSE.
Erected about 1781. The oak floor still shows the wear where Asbury and the other early preachers stood. It is located near Annapolis Junction, between Baltimore and Washington, in Anne Arundel County, Maryland.

which existed between Paul and Timothy, he "showed the excellency of a patriarchal or fatherly government of the Church."

But the most explicit exposition we have in writing of his opinions bears the date May 22, 1805. The entry was made when he was preaching in New York, a state in which the subject of the episcopal succession was then much agitated. He had evidently been present during lively discussions, where he found it

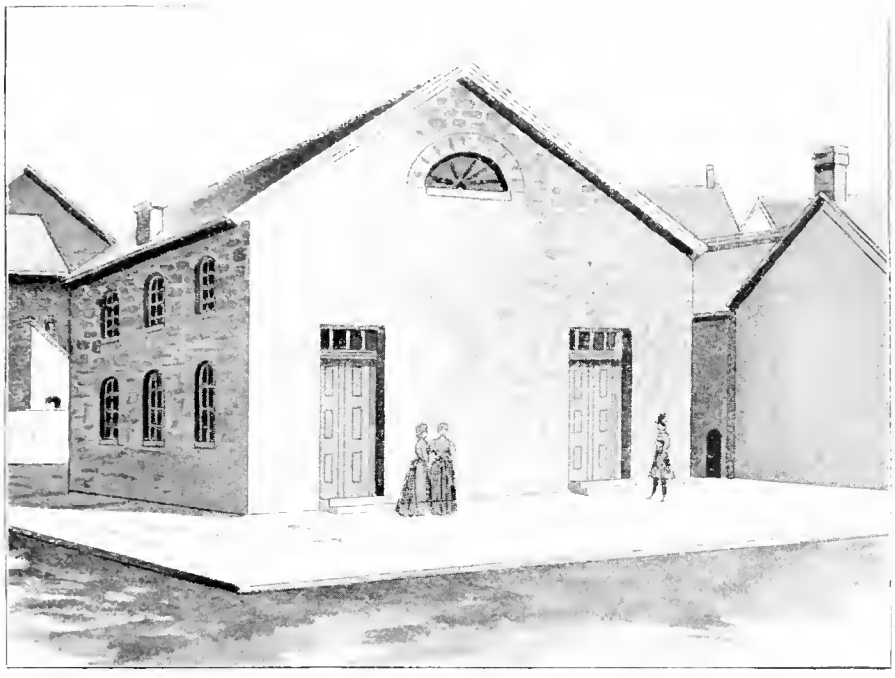
MOTHER OF HARRY DORSEY GOUGH.
From an oil painting made in 1769.

necessary to assert the validity of his "orders." The entry is as follows:

"I will tell the world what I rest my authority upon. 1. Divine authority. 2. Seniority in America. 3. The election of the General Conference. 4. My ordination by Thomas Coke, William Philip Otterbine, German Presbyterian minister, Richard Whatcoat, and Thomas Vasey. 5. Because the signs of an apostle have been seen in me."

Of the foregoing reasons, the two that are formal and definite are evidently the third and fourth. In pleading these, he rests his authority on the same basis as the bishops of the early Alexandrian church. The first and last might be lumped together, while the second is rather a reason for his selection by the Conference than an immediate basis for his authority. The final qualification he shared in a conspicuous manner with Wesley, and in emphasizing it he must have felt that in this respect Wesley was the truest bishop of his age, the man who most fully realized the apostolic character, and was the best fitted to carry on the work begun at Jerusalem. This idea of the true restoration of the apostolic episcopate seems to have fastened itself more deeply in his mind as he grew older. He would begin the newly revived order with Wesley, and carry the regular succession through Coke, himself, Whatcoat, and McKendree. It is certain that Asbury was never a Presbyterian either in sympathy or in theory. He believed in the office of bishop as an office distinct from that of presbyter or elder; and as he grew older emphasized rather than minimized the distinction. Once elected bishop, he felt that he had different duties, heavier responsibility, and a specific outlook peculiar to the office. This assertion of episcopal privileges was felt and resented by O'Kelley and his supporters, and they brought the question to an issue. The result proved altogether favorable to Asbury Practically, then, Asbury impressed his idea of the episcopate upon the Methodist Episcopal Church; and in so far as it differed from Wesley's ideal —of which he has left us no very clear conception—or from a Presbyterian superintendency, such as O'Kelley conceived, in so far was it the essential conception of the episcopate held by the American Methodist Episcopal Church.

And yet it is evident from the invitation extended to Otterbein that he cherished no narrow ecclesiastical views of

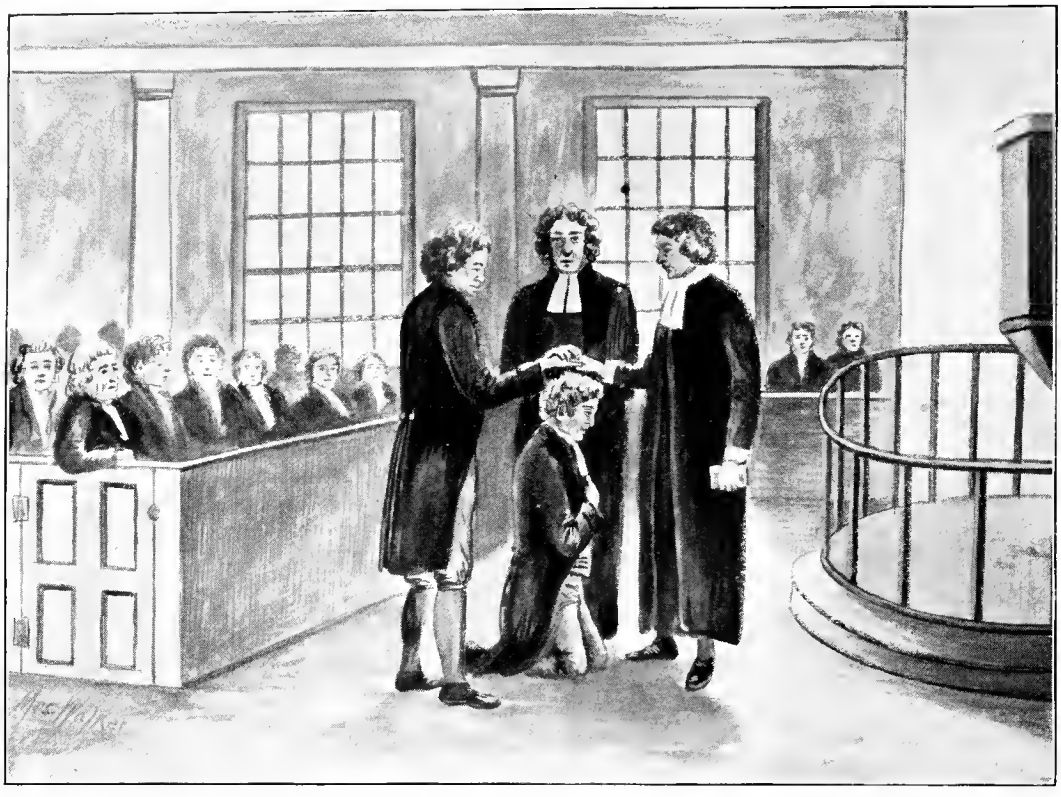


LOVELY LANE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, BALTIMORE.

episcopal authority For himself he preferred the episcopal form of church organization as better adapted to carry on the work of evangelization in America. With Presbyterians and Congregationalists he was willing to work as a brother evangelist; but they were rigid Calvinists while he was an Arminian, and their polity seemed wanting in that mobility and centralization necessary to meet the situation. This mobility and centralization were secured by the creation of the episcopate; no longer a state office, with territorial jurisdiction, and definitely outlined sees, but the free superintendency of an organism prepared to expand and contract, to advance or retreat, as occasion demanded and opportunities offered. The bishops were to be traveling inspectors, possessing powers as great as could be reasonably intrusted to officers of the Church. When they ceased to travel, they ceased thereby to be bishops. After appointing its superintendents, the Conference proceeded to raise a number of its most trusted preachers to the office of the eldership. Those chosen were Freeborn Garrettson, who had been so active in gathering the members to the Conference, Nelson Reed, Richard Ivy, Henry Willis, William Gill, Le Roy Cole, John Hagarty, James O. Cromwell, John Tunnel, Jeremiah Lambert, Reuben Ellis, and James O'Kelly. Mr. Willis was not present, and was ordained several weeks later, while Beverly Allen was not ordained until the Conference of 1785. Nelson Reed had a ministry of sixty-five years before him, and when he died, in 1840, was the oldest Methodist preacher in Europe or

TABLET

Inserted in the wall of the Merchants' Club building, on German street, near South street, Baltimore, and marking the spot where Lovely Lane Chapel stood.



THE ORDINATION OF FRANCIS ASBURY; COKE, WHATCOAT AND VASEY OFFICIATING.

America. He was a man of remarkable fearlessness and energy, and on one occasion sharply rebuked Doctor Coke for a disdainful expression he used while presiding at an Annual Conference.

Richard Ivy was from Virginia, a man of short stature, but of great zeal, ability, and personal courage. After traveling in his native state and in North Carolina, he went south to Georgia, where he was made presiding elder. Four years of service there broke down his health, and he returned to Virginia to die.

The career of Beverly Allen, who for some time was associated in the Georgia work with Ivy as assistant presiding elder, is less pleasing to contemplate. He had, before the Conference met, been traveling with Asbury, and had shown much power as a preacher, but Asbury placed but little confidence in him. He was a man of fine personal appearance and of attractive manners. His brother having removed to Georgia, he followed him thither, and began evangelistic work in the upper region of that state. During a second term of office as presiding elder in South Carolina, he committed a flagrant crime, and was, in 1792, expelled from the connection. Business ventures into which he plunged proved unsuccessful, and, being threatened with arrest, he killed the officer sent to take him. He was captured, but a mob released him from jail; and taking refuge in the wilds of Kentucky, he practiced medicine there. It was in his house that the celebrated Peter Cartwright boarded while attending school. Coke must have regarded him with critical eyes, for Asbury had hinted his dislike of the man. He was the first apostate Methodist preacher in America.

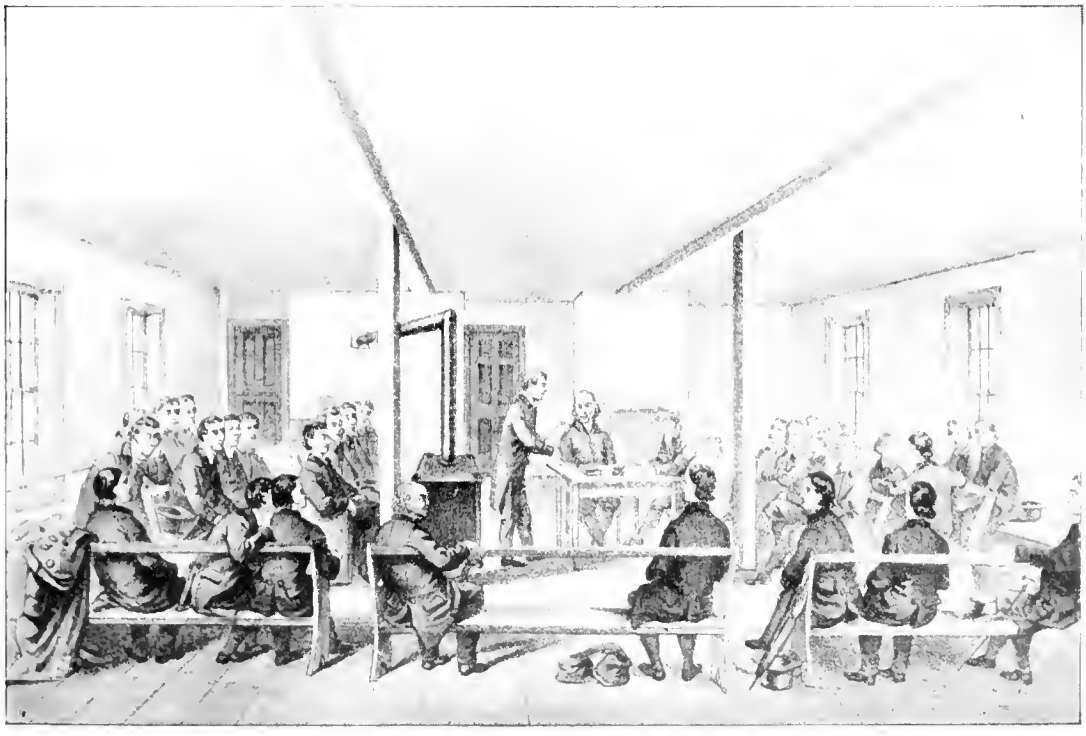
Hagarty, like Reed, was a Marylander. A consistent Christian from his youth, he

became an earnest believer in the year 1771, when twenty-four years of age, after a visit made by John King to the town where he resided. After serving as leader in the local society which King formed there, he became associated with Rankin, Strawbridge, and others in the work of preaching, and finally, in 1779, gave himself wholly up to the work. In personal appearance he is said to have resembled John Fletcher—the same profile with the fine retreating forehead. Hagarty had the reputation of being singularly helpful and kindly to the suffering and unfortunate. He survived until 1823.

PARSONAGE OF THE OLD LIGHT STREET METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.
The conferences met in the upper room.

Such were some of the men who received from the Conference the distinction of being chosen elders. Cromwell, with Garrettson, was set apart especially for Nova Scotia, whither they soon afterward went; Lambert was to proceed to the island of Antigua, where there was a flourishing society It will be remembered that Asbury at one time had half a mind to go thither.

James O'Kelly was destined to be a thorn in the side of Asbury, and to head a separation from the Church. At this time he was already a middle-aged man, who had been seven years in the traveling connection. A Virginian, he had



THE INTERIOR OF THE OLD CONFERENCE ROOM IN THE PARSONAGE IN LIGHT STREET, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

THE OLD OTTERBEIN CHURCH, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.
The founder of this historic church was Benedict Swope who, it is said, ordained Strawbridge.

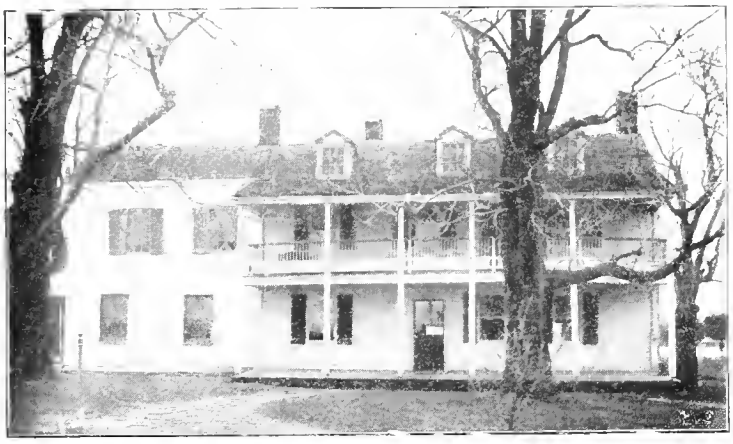
ultra-democratic sympathies, and disliked episcopal authority. For several years he was presiding elder of the South Virginia district; but in 1791 he took umbrage at some decision of Asbury's, and in 1792 left the connection. The story of his secession will be taken up in due course.

Three deacons were elected—John Dickins, Caleb Boyer, and Ignatius Pigman. The first of these names has already appeared in the narrative as that of the preacher who received Doctor Coke when he arrived at New York. His education had been thorough and elaborate, and he was destined to be of no little use as manager of the publishing interests of the Church; first in New York, and then in Philadelphia. In the latter city he was stationed for nine years until his death in 1798, and displayed much skill in the various tasks imposed on him as editor, proof-corrector, and business manager.

"The Form of Discipline," which has already been referred to, contains in thirty-one sections all the important resolutions adopted at this momentous Conference; and a brief general *résumé* of its contents will show the temper and aims of its framers. The dislike of a state-paid clergy and of a political Church is manifested in the third section, where, in stating their reasons for forming themselves into an independent Church, they indulge in a somewhat sweeping condemnation of the Church of England as having almost entirely "lost the life and power of religion." The strong statement is also made that "they cordially abhor a National Establishment as the great bane of truth and holiness, the greatest impediment in the world to the progress of vital Christianity." There appears in these exaggerated statements a somewhat narrow antagonism to a system dear to many of the sincerest Christians of that day and of later times; and the section would have suffered little and gained much by the adoption of a less hostile tone. It is not to be wondered at that Coke, on his return to England, should have met with a freezing reception, when we consider that he presided at a meeting which adopted such resolutions. The statements serve as a preamble to the following important paragraph:

"For these reasons, we have thought it our duty to form ourselves into an independent Church. And as the most excellent mode of church government, according to our maturest judgment, is that of a moderate episcopacy; and as we are persuaded that the uninterrupted succession of bishops from the apostles can be proved neither from Scripture

nor antiquity, we therefore have constituted ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of bishops, elders, deacons, and preachers, according to the forms of ordination annexed to our prayerbook, and the regulations laid down in this form of discipline."



HOUSE OF DARIUS STANSBURY.

Built in 1764, but remodeled since. All the early preachers from Strawbridge to the present day found a home here.

The fourth section deals with the constituting of bishops and their duties. A bishop must be chosen by a majority of the Conference, and be consecrated by the laying on of the hands of a bishop and the elders present. His duties consist in presiding as moderator at the Conferences; in fixing the appointments of the preachers for the several circuits; in changing, receiving or suspending preachers in the interval between Conferences; in traveling through as many circuits as he can; and in settling the spiritual business of the societies. He is amenable for his conduct to the Conference, which has power to expel him for improper conduct. When he ceases to travel at large among the people without the consent of the Conference, he will thereafter exercise no ministerial function in the Church. Should death or other cause remove all the bishops, the Conference will proceed to elect a bishop, who will be consecrated to his office by three or more of the elders.

THE WALLS OF ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH.

One mile west of Charlestown, Jefferson county, West Virginia, built 1747. Here Freeborn Garrettson, while pastor on Frederick circuit, 1776, crossed the Potomac and organized a class. George Washington and his brother frequently attended this church, and President Madison was married within its walls.

The duties of an elder consist in traveling through his appointed district; in administering baptism and the Lord's Supper; in performing all parts of divine service; and in taking charge of deacons, of traveling and local preachers, and of exhorters in the absence of a bishop. He will aid in the public collections and keep the bishop accurately informed of the state of his district. When he ceases to travel without consent of the Conference, "he shall on no account exercise the peculiar functions of his office.

While only three deacons were appointed by the Conference, the duties of that office, as they appear in the Form of Discipline, are remarkable for number and variety. A deacon's duties consist in baptizing and performing the marriage service in the absence of an elder; in assisting the elder to administer the Lord's Supper; in supervising the conduct and needs of the preachers in the circuit; in renewing the tickets quarterly and regulating the bands; in appointing all the stewards and leaders, and changing them

when he sees fit; and in holding watch-nights, love-feasts, and quarterly meetings. He must use these quarterly meetings to inquire into the spiritual and temporal state of each society, and must see that every society is properly supplied with literature.

Three indispensable works are mentioned: Baxter's "Saints' Rest," Wesley's "Instructions for Children," and his "Primitive Physic." The second of these treatises was written in 1743 by John Wesley. The first edition came out in the year 1745, and six other editions followed in the next fifteen years. It is mostly a translation from the French of Abbé Fleury and M. Poiret, whose work Wesley esteemed very highly. "I despair," he said, "of seeing any tracts in the English tongue superior to those extracts from Abbé Fleury and M. Poiret." The "Primitive Physic" came out two years later, and had reached its twentieth edition at the date of the Conference. It particularly insists on the virtues of cold water, externally applied; and the preface is as witty and sagacious a piece of English as Wesley ever wrote. So fond was Wesley of the apothegm, "Cleanliness is next to godliness"—which can be traced as far back as a Jewish rabbi of the twelfth century—that some have supposed that he was its author.

THE OLD COKESBURY COLLEGE BELL.
Now used in the Woman's College, Baltimore, Maryland.

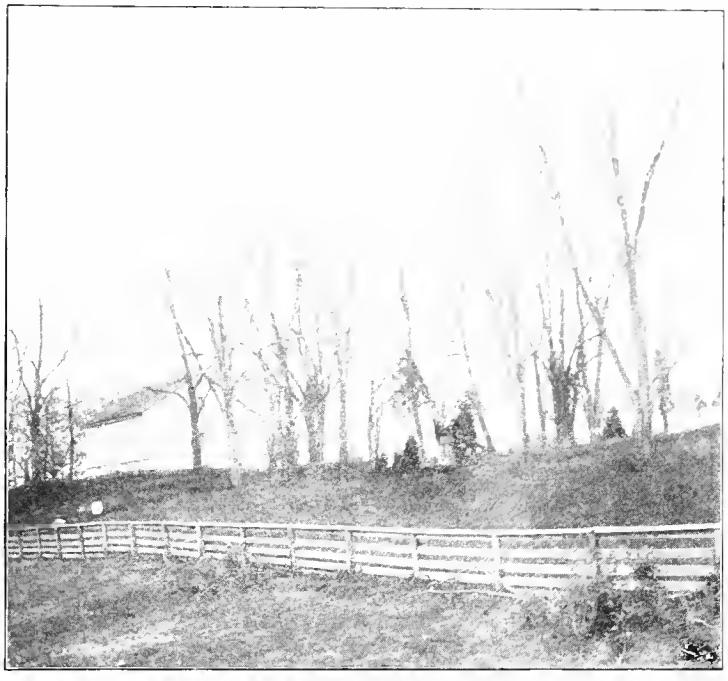
But to return to the duties of the deacon. He must take an exact account of the number in society and bring it to the Conference; must send an account of his circuit every quarter to his elder; must meet the men and women apart in the large societies once a quarter; must overlook the accounts of all the stewards; must appoint a person to receive the quarterly collection in the classes, and be present at the time of receiving it; must see that public collections are made quarterly; must start yearly, where possible, a subscription for building churches; and must choose a committee of lay members for the proper and judicious expenditure of the money.

Ten other subordinate recommendations are added to the above, for the guidance of the deacon. He is to inculcate decency and cleanliness, and to prevent unseemly litigation by inducing the would-be litigants to submit to friendly arbitration. The deacon is, in fact, an elder on trial; and the duties required of him are those he will have to discharge when he passes through the probationary stage and becomes a full elder. The deacons are recruited from the ranks of the local preachers, and must have served in this capacity for four years before becoming eligible for office.

Such was the episcopacy created at Baltimore for the needs of the United States of America. The rest of the Form of Discipline deals almost entirely with matters that are common to American

and to English Methodism; and very seldom do its provisions fail to imitate closely the discipline found in the minutes of the British Conferences.

The college scheme for which Coke and Asbury had succeeded in raising over one thousand pounds, was laid before the Conference and met with their approval. Asbury had already chosen a commanding site at Abingdon, eighteen miles north of Baltimore. To Doctor Coke it seemed one of the most attractive spots in the whole country. The site had been bought from a Mr. Dallam for sixty pounds. "The situation," he writes on one of his visits, "delights me more than ever. There is not, I believe, a point of it from whence the eye has not a view of at least twenty miles, and in some parts the prospect extends even to fifty miles in length. The water part forms one of the most beautiful views in the United States; the Chesapeake bay in all its grandeur, with a fine navigable river, the Susquehanna, which empties itself into it, lying exposed to view through a great extent of country."



THE COKESBURY COLLEGE CHAPEL.
To the right is the spot where Cokesbury College stood. The Chapel was built in 1780, and had walls thirty inches thick.

The promoters had three objects in view: to provide an education for the sons of ministers; to support and educate poor orphans; and, lastly, to offer a place of education for the children of pious people in which deep learning and genuine religion might go hand in hand. The institution was named Cokesbury College, in honor of the two superintendents. By the spring of 1785 building operations were begun, and on June fifth Bishop Asbury laid the foundation stone. It was to be a brick building, one hundred and eight feet long by forty feet wide, and three stories high. Before its completion a teacher had been provided and several students had been admitted. The institution was formally opened in September, 1787, but it was not in full working order until considerably later.

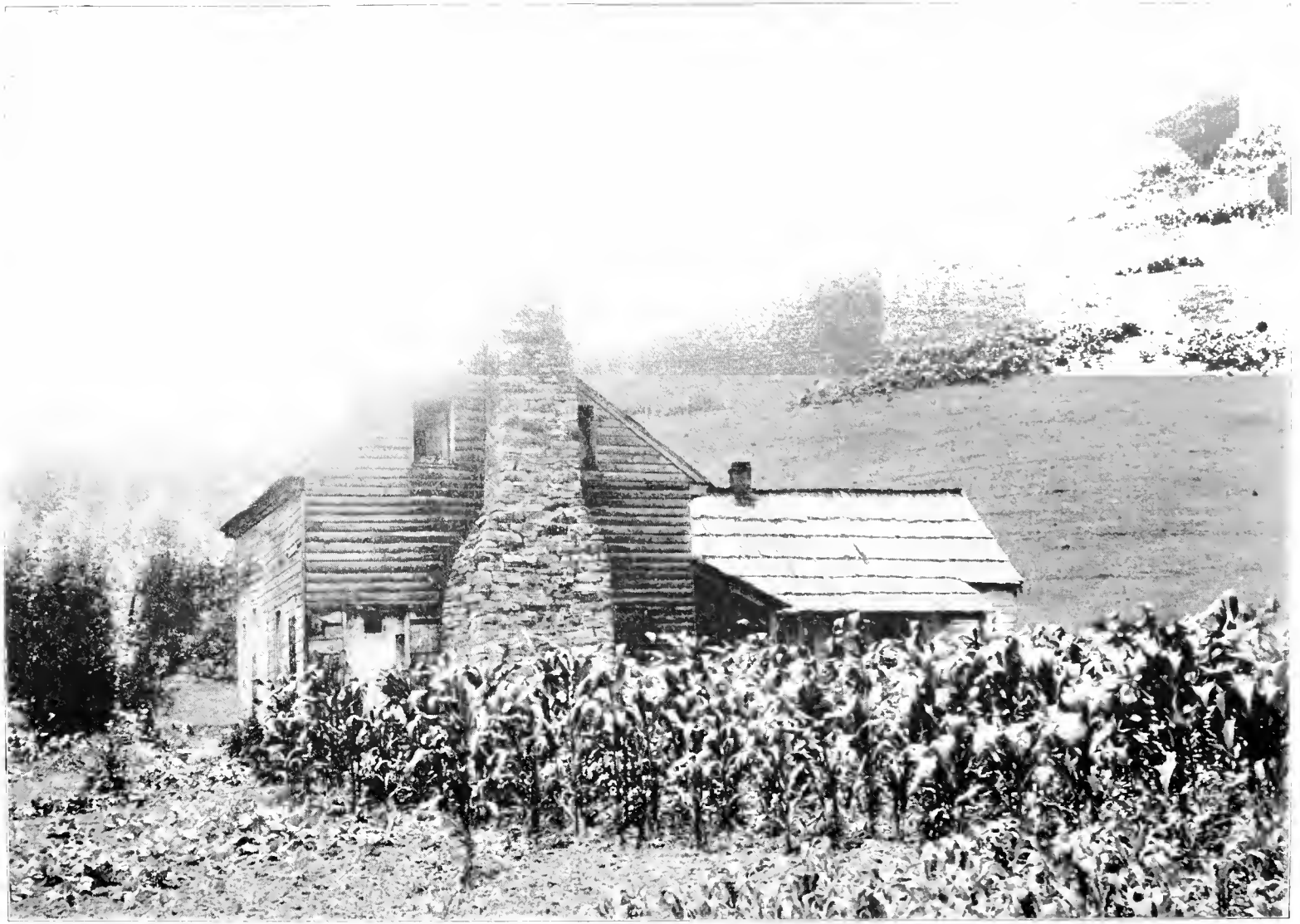
The first principal was a Rev. Mr. Heath, sent out from England by Wesley. The college depended for its support on yearly collections made through the circuits, and on legacies and other endowments. The rules, drawn up by Doctor Coke, were excessively strict, and it is not surprising that an institution which enforced them had an unfortunate career. To begin with, all play and amusements were discarded as frivolous. The recreation consisted in gardening, carpentering, reading, and walking. Bathing in the river was not allowed, but pupils might bathe in the bath provided for them, one at a time, and always under the supervision of a master or other proper person; nor was any one to stay in the water longer than a minute!

From eight to twelve and from three to six they were to be kept close to their studies. The rising bell was at five o'clock, summer and winter, the breakfast hour at seven, the dinner hour at one, and supper at six. All had to be in bed at nine o'clock, without fail.

It is amusing to read the strong injunction issued against *play*. "Masters should prohibit *play* in the strongest terms; and in this we have the two greatest writers on the subject which perhaps any age has produced (Mr. Locke and Mr. Rousseau) in favor of our sentiments; for though the latter was essentially mistaken in his religious system, yet his wisdom in other respects, and extensive genius, are indisputably acknowledged." A devotion to agricultural and architectural pursuits was recommended in place of play, as affording the best recreation.

When Doctor Coke visited the college in May, 1789, he was pleased with the results of his inspection. A young son of Mr. Dallam's recited with such grace and spirit a speech of Livy's that the doctor presented him with a little piece of gold. Three other boys showed such proficiency in gardening that they received from Asbury a dollar apiece. At this time four students, all preachers' sons or orphans, were fully supported, and two were supported in part. By 1792 the attendance had risen to seventy, and young gentlemen were repairing thither from the southern states to finish their education. Two years later it was incorporated, and obtained the right to confer degrees and other scholastic privileges. But already there were signs of decay. In 1793 its finances were in an embarrassed condition, and its employés' salaries were badly in arrear. A reduction of the staff resulted, and it was resolved to have nothing but an English free day-school. At the close of 1795 the place was totally destroyed by fire, believed to be the work of incendiaries; for several years before an attempt to set it on fire had been discovered in time and frustrated.

No attempt was made to rebuild the college on its old site; but, as there happened to be for sale at that time in Baltimore a large hall erected for balls and assemblies, this building, with the ground on which it stood, was bought for the sum of £5,300. On a portion of the ground a church was built; and it seemed as if everything was arranged better than before. But the demon of fire again appeared on the scene, and reduced the whole pile to ashes. This second disaster served to convince Doctor Coke that these expensive educational ventures were unwise, and nothing further of the kind was attempted.



THE HOME OF GENERAL AND MRS. WILLIAM RUSSELL, SALTVILLE, VIRGINIA, WHERE THE FIRST H[illegible]LSTON CONFERENCE WAS HELD.

CHAPTER XV

THE EPISCOPATE ON ITS TRIAL.

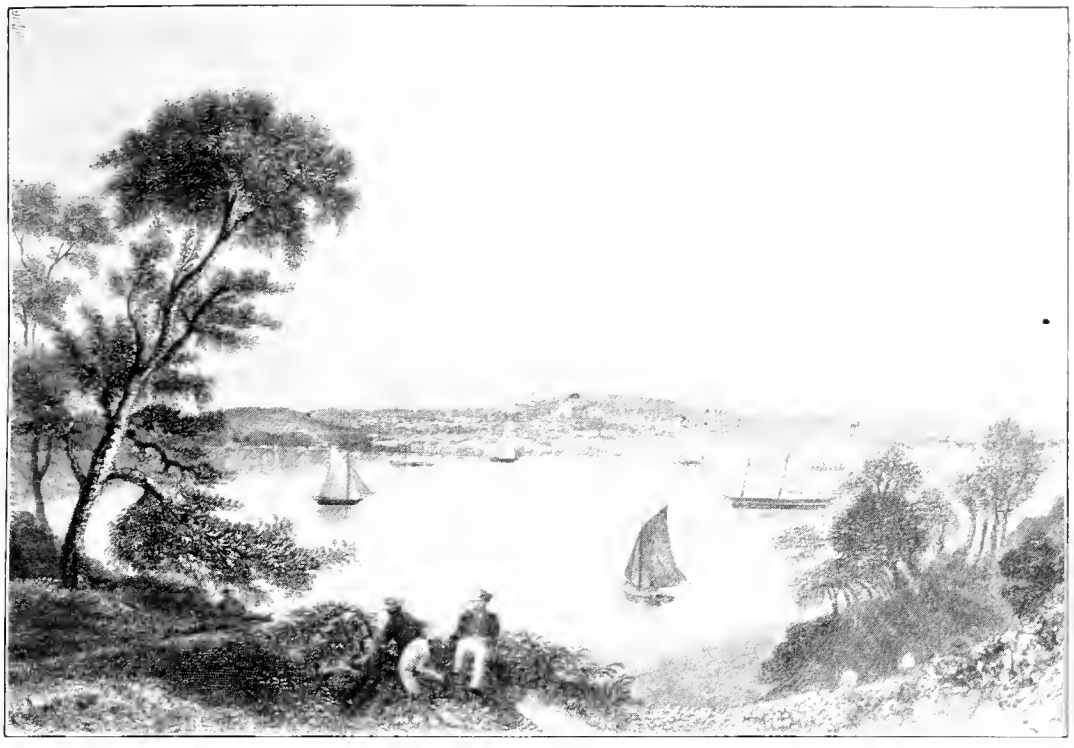
THE business of the 1784 Conference at Baltimore, popularly known as the "Christmas Conference," was so important that we must recur to it before passing on to later events. To Wesley the Conference was immediately indebted for the drafting of its Articles of Religion, which he had carefully prepared and entrusted to the care of Doctor Coke. These Articles, twenty-five in number, are an abridgment and modification of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. Though adopted by the Conference, they were not incorporated in the Discipline until six years later.

It is interesting to compare the two sets of Articles and note the nature of the omissions and emendations. Most of the latter are seen to be of a grammatical nature, made with the view of modernizing the language. The new Articles omit the old Third, which states that Christ "went down into Hell;" the old Eighth, which demands the acceptance of the three creeds, the Nicene, the Athanasian, and the Apostles'; the old Thirteenth, which speaks disparagingly of "works done before justification;" the old Fifteenth, which asserts that Christ alone is without sin; the old Calvinistic Seventeenth, which deals with Predestination and Election, and the old Eighteenth, which asserts that "eternal salvation is obtained only by the name of Christ." These omissions are significant. We know that Wesley was not prepared to assert that Marcus Aurelius and other noble characters, who perforce lived outside the pale of the Church, were thereby damned. An unnecessary and emphatic tone of exclusiveness, such as is characteristic of the Athanasian creed, was intensely repulsive to his magnanimous spirit.

The new Articles also omit the old Twentieth and Twenty-first, which deal with the authority of the Church and of General Councils; the old Twenty-third, which denies the right to laymen to preach in public or administer the sacraments; the old Twenty-sixth, which treats of the unworthiness of ministers in its bearing on the efficacy of the sacraments administered by them; the old Twenty-ninth, which deals with the taking of the Lord's Supper as it affects unbelievers; and the old Thirty-third, which prescribes the avoidance of persons who are excommunicated. In all these omissions there is noticeable a lenient and charitable spirit which would avoid unnecessary harshness in condemnation, and discourage an arrogant spirit of religious exclusiveness.

The old Thirty-fifth, dealing with the "Book of Homilies which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth;" the old Thirty-sixth, which treats of the consecration of bishops and ministers, and the old Thirty-seventh, which concerns the duties of civil magistrates, are also omitted in the new set of Articles.

We should err in supposing that this two-thirds abridgment of the Thirty-nine Articles represents Wesley's ideal and complete statement of doctrine. For such cut-and-dried codifications of Christian belief he had but little liking. It was, however, prudent to guard against ignorant and unsound preaching and teaching in the society, as well as to define clearly the doctrinal position of the new organization with reference to the Church from which it had separated itself. Two



THE CITY OF BALTIMORE AS IT APPEARED FIFTY YEARS AGO.

dogmas held with insistence by Wesley and by Asbury, the Witness of the Spirit, and the doctrine of Christian Perfection, find no place in the revised Articles. Probably Wesley felt that the time had come when the doctrinal fences which Churches had built round them should be broken down rather than strengthened or enlarged.

In Wesley's Deed of Declaration he had constituted his four volumes of Sermons, numbering fifty-three in all, and his "Notes on the New Testament," the standards of doctrine for the English society. These had always been regarded as authoritative by the preachers in America, and the Conference ratified this position.

In section XVII. of the Form of Discipline it is provided that, in the absence of a preacher or exhorter, any person of ability may be appointed to "sing, pray, and read one of Mr. Wesley's sermons;" and in the following section, which treats of the profitable employment of time, members are advised to read his "Notes on the New Testament" morning and evening.

Section XXII. of the Discipline is devoted to the doctrine of Christian Perfection, which is defined as the "Salvation from all Sin, by the love of God and Man filling our Heart." Unless this hope of perfection is clung to with insistence, "salvation stands still or rather decreases daily" Possibly as an offset to the doctrine of Perfection, which is beset with manifest dangers when held by weaker brethren, there is a strong section devoted to the evils of Antinomianism, a heresy, which makes religion a cloak for laziness, and the neglect of ordinary morality. Preachers are recommended to read over the tracts by Mr. Wesley and Mr. Fletcher, which deal with the subject, and to preach frequently and explicitly the Truth, but not in a controversial way.

The directions for the administration of the Lord's Supper show a disposition

to approximate to the simple Puritan fashion, common in Presbyterian and Congregational churches. Persons might receive it kneeling, standing or sitting, as they choose; a "token" given by an elder or deacon being required for admission to the rite, in case of persons who were not members of the society. A similar latitude was allowed in administering the rite of baptism, either immersion, sprinkling or pouring being permitted. There is evident in this a distinct drift away from sacerdotalism, with its strict and uniform ritual.

The Conference did not fail to deal with the question of slavery, although no printed record of its resolutions was suffered to appear in the Discipline. At this time there was already a considerable divergence of opinion on the question. The history of the previous fifty years had been, on the whole, favorable to emancipation. The state of Georgia, it is true, whose original charter forbade the importation of slaves, had not only become a slave-holding community, but, with South Carolina, showed itself intensely opposed to emancipation. Seven years before the Declaration of Independence, the Virginia legislature had passed an act forbidding the importation of negro slaves, but the act was vetoed by the royal government. This stretch of authority was so deeply resented by Jefferson, that in the first draft of the Declaration, he inserted a clause denouncing such support of slavery, and inveighing against the system; but the prejudices of South Carolina and Georgia secured its suppression. It was not until 1808 that the sentiment in Virginia began to change, as the demands of the cotton market made slave-raising a profitable employment. From the Revolution until this date the general sentiment, both in Virginia and Maryland, seems to have been in favor of gradual emancipation. Certainly gradual emancipation was favored by the leading southerners like Washington, Jefferson, Randolph, and Madison. In North Carolina the pro-slavery sentiment was not so strong as further south.

REV. RICHARD WHATCOAT.

While South Carolina and Georgia made emancipation impossible, in North Carolina an act was passed in the year 1786, by which, with the view of discouraging the importation of slaves, a duty of £5 per head was placed on all negroes who should be imported. By 1783 Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia had removed all restrictions on emancipation, and had prohibited the further introduction of slaves, and New Jersey followed their example. Three years before this date Pennsylvania had dealt more liberally with the question by enacting that all children of slaves born thenceforth should be free. In 1785 New York, besides declaring the children of slaves free, offered them the privileges enjoyed by other citizens. State legislation, until 1788, was thus distinctly in the direction of limiting or abolishing slavery.

It was only among a certain section of British statesmen and churchmen that the anti-slavery sentiment at this time was strong. So late as 1799 the Lord Chancellor Thurlow, a man of a religious turn of mind and a hymn-writer, re-

sisted with all his might, and with considerable acerbity, a proposal to abolish the slave-trade; and his sovereign heartily supported him. Wilberforce and his associates, who were, fifty years later, to bring about the abolition of slavery in the empire, had at this time a long uphill struggle before them.

HOUSE IN WHICH FIRST CONFERENCE AT PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, WAS HELD BY BISHOP ASBURY, JUNE 17, 1778.

Doctor Coke had come out with violent anti-slavery sentiments, and was prepared to force the issue. Asbury, on the other hand, who realized the bitter feelings such a campaign would arouse, was rather disposed to leave the question alone. The Conference, however, proceeded to pass the following regulations: Members of the society were enjoined to take full advantage of all legal provisions for emancipating slaves, and the extreme limit of time for doing this was fixed at twelve months, except in Virginia, where it was extended to two years. Neglect to comply with this injunction within the specified time would entail exclusion from the society, another twelve months being granted before such exclusion. The buying or selling of slaves, or giving them away, would be viewed as an offense, to be punished by expulsion. Nor were slave-holders to be henceforth admitted to the Lord's Supper, or into the society.

These rules caused intense dissatisfaction among a large number of the brethren, and were never put in force. As we shall see, the first Annual Conference which met after the founding of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held its meetings under the roof-tree of a slave-holder who lived in patriarchal fashion like Abraham. It is not to be wondered at that this Conference should have shelved the resolutions. At the same time a note was added by the meeting, expressive of their deep abhorrence at the practice of slavery, and their resolve "to seek its destruction by all wise and prudent means." This was undoubtedly in consonance with the attitude of Asbury.

OLD HOME OF THOMAS MURRAY AND HIS SON, JOHN MURRAY. The house was built about 1777.

The meeting of Conferences was left in the hands of the bishops, who could sum-

OLD LIGHT STREET METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

mon a Conference when and where they might consider it desirable. A by-rule appearing on the first page of the Discipline fixed nine days as the period during which a Conference should last; that is, from a Tuesday until the Wednesday of the following week. With modern Conferences the usual session is six days.

This famous Christmas Conference closed its sittings on the third of January, 1785. Asbury preached in the evening from Ephesians iii. 8, on salvation through grace by faith; but the responsibilities of his new office were weighing upon him and he felt dispirited. Next day he was in the saddle, and rode fifty miles through frost and snow to Fairfax in Virginia. In passing through the state he ordained Henry Willis at Carter's church, and took him as a companion on his journey southward Crossing into North Carolina they came to Salisbury, where they found Jesse Lee, who had not been able to attend the Baltimore Conference.

This was not the first time that Lee and Asbury had met. Nearly three years before, on the occasion of the Annual Conference held at Ellis' Chapel, in Sussex county, Virginia, Jesse Lee had been present, and had witnessed with great interest and delight the brotherly fervor of the itinerant preachers. At the close of the Conference Asbury came up to him, and asked him if he would take a circuit. But Lee, with a shrinking modesty characteristic of him, was unwilling to undertake so heavy a responsibility. At this time he was a young man of twenty-four, who had not tested his powers. The close of the year, however, saw him successfully launched in the work.

As he undoubtedly ranks next in that generation to Asbury in the force of his personality and the magnificent extent of his evangelical labors, we may pause

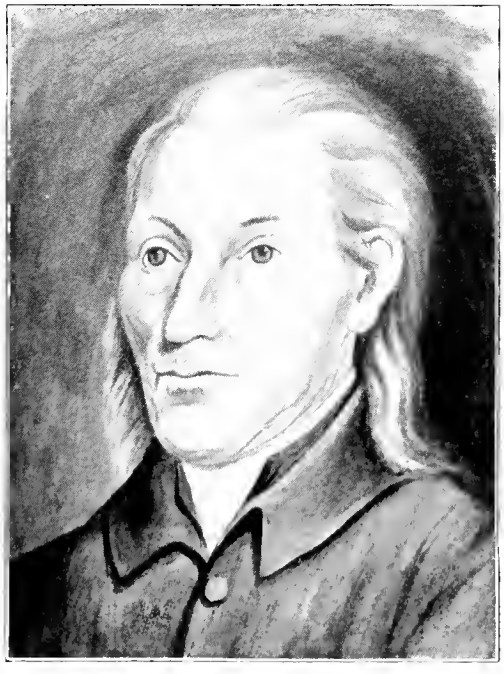
THE GREEN HILL HOUSE, NEAR LOUISBURG, NORTH CAROLINA.
The first Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was held in this house, April 20, 1785.

for a moment to trace his personal history. Born in Prince George county, Virginia, of respectable parents, who were members of the Episcopal Church, he enjoyed all the benefits of a sound home and school training. The elder Lee was an intelligent and consistent Christian man, who, with his wife, was led to a fuller consecration when their son Jesse was fourteen years old. Two years later, Jesse himself received fuller light and assurance, and in 1774, with his parents and an elder brother, joined a Methodist society then being formed in the neighborhood. The house of the Lees for the next forty or fifty years opened wide its doors to the itinerants who visited the neighborhood. A year or two later he had the privilege of making Freeborn Garrettson's acquaintance, at whose request he exhorted the brethren in a watch-night meeting he attended; and as many of these were familiar acquaintances, the experience was a trying one to so timid a man. Removing soon afterward to North Carolina, he became active as a local preacher and began to gain more confidence in his powers.

Having been drafted for the militia, he obstinately refused to handle a musket, and was allowed to serve in the commissariat, in which the chief cook happened to be a Methodist. In this humble capacity he spent four months, enduring all the hardships and dangers of camp life. It was soon after his discharge that he met Asbury for the second time.

Jesse Lee was a pronounced republican in his sympathies, being opposed to everything that savored of pomp or prelacy; and the appearance of the new bishop in gown and bands displeased him not a little. He took occasion to offer a vigorous remonstrance, which seems to have been effectual. Henceforth there are no indications of Asbury having worn the clerical dress.

Lee's temperament differed from Asbury's. The latter was of a grave and reserved demeanor, tending to melancholy; while his Virginian brother had not a little *bonhomie*, and was lively in repartee. Lee was distinctly a man to win new friends, and to cheer up despondent brethren; and his influence on Asbury was salutary. They proceeded together into South Carolina, where at Georgetown they met a son of "Mad Anthony" Wayne, who showed himself



NELSON REED.
From an oil painting. He withstood Doctor Coke on a celebrated occasion.

very friendly and hospitable. William Wayne was a man of serious and devout mind, and the people of the place were also grave and well-disposed. A friend of Mr. Wayne's, named Wells, lived in Charleston, and to him he gave them letters of introduction. Armed with these Henry Willis rode on ahead as an advanced guard in this attack on the chief city of South Carolina. It was in a mood of heavy despondency that Asbury approached the place, where he feared he should receive a chilling reception; for the

inhabitants were "vain and wicked to a proverb." The Calvinists seemed to be the only people who had any sense of religion; but, during their stay of a week, opposition began to die away, and the ministers, who had begun by preaching against them, at length came to listen. Their host, Mr. Wells, and his wife, were among the gains of this visit; and Asbury left in better spirits than he had entered. Willis was left in charge of the work, and he succeeded, in the face of many discouragements, in forming a small but enthusiastic society. By the year 1787 a spacious new church, situated in Cumberland street, was ready for dedication; and when the two bishops came in the month of March to Charleston to attend the first Annual Conference held in the state, Doctor Coke solemnly dedicated the edifice. For long it was known as the "Blue Meeting-house."

THE OLD COLONIAL RESIDENCE OF THE TODD FAMILY, WHO BECAME METHODISTS IN 1773.

The bishops had summoned a Conference to meet in April at the residence of Mr. Green Hill, in North Carolina, situated one mile south of the spot where the town of Louisburg now stands. It is memorable as the first Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Green Hill was a wealthy planter, and his brother-in-law, John King—also a local preacher—was a successful physician in the neighborhood. Nineteen other preachers attended. The upper room of the Green Hill residence, in which the Conference met, is still in existence—a spacious chamber measuring eighteen feet by twenty-two. Some years ago when Bishop Wilson, of Baltimore, was holding a District Conference at Louisburg, it went in a body to the Green Hill house, and continued its deliberations in the upper room. As it happened, the number present was just twenty-three, the same as at the first Conference.

The house has remained in possession of the Hill and King families almost continuously since this early date. The Rev. Green Hill removed to Tennessee in 1796, where he spent the remainder of a consecrated life. His house, situated fourteen miles south of Nashville, was a Methodist center, and there M'Kendree held his first Conference in 1808. The venerable old man, who survived until 1825, lies buried in the family graveyard on the farm. The property has since passed into other hands.

At the date of the Conference, Green Hill was a vigorous man of forty-four. Just as the meeting had begun, John King walked into the room with his riding-coat on one arm and saddle-bags on the other; and before he had time to sit down, Asbury's clear voice bade him engage in prayer.

The minutes of the three Conferences

held respectively in North Carolina, in Virginia, and in Maryland, in the months of April, May and June, were regarded as one Conference; nor were the measures of any separate Conference considered as binding on the Church unless approved by the others—the locating of preachers alone excepted. The transactions are accordingly embodied in a single set of minutes. One of the Conferences met at Mr. Mason's in Brunswick county, Virginia, in the first week of May; and it was no doubt this Conference which drew up a petition, to be presented to the general assembly of Virginia, praying that definite steps might be taken in the matter of negro emancipation. A copy of the petition was placed in the hands of every preacher present, with the view of obtaining signatures; and Coke and Asbury were intrusted with the duty of waiting upon the greatest of Virginians, in his home at Mount Vernon, and securing his signature.

It is in these Conferences that the term "presiding elder" first comes into use. The name was given to those elders who were placed in charge of contiguous circuits, forming a convenient district. The office seems to have owed its origin to the marked scarcity of deacons. In the Discipline of 1789 the office receives definite recognition.

A hot dispute took place at the Virginia Conference between Coke, O'Kelly and a certain colonel, on the subject of slavery, the preaching against which had already placed the doctor's life and limbs more than once in jeopardy. Coke's national and ecclesiastical position at this time was equivocal, and subjected him to much misunderstanding on both sides of the Atlantic. His twofold character of American Methodist superintendent and English Church clergyman was a somewhat difficult one

PATRICK LYNCH, OF BALTIMORE COUNTY, MARYLAND.

to maintain, and exposed him later to very severe criticism from devoted Anglicans. As a clergyman of the Church of England, he was expected by the Episcopalians in America and elsewhere to enter into friendly relations with them. And yet, in a sermon preached before the Christmas Conference, he had referred in wholly unsympathetic terms to the Episcopal clergy in the United States. "The churches," he stated, "were in general filled with the parasites and bottle companions of the rich and great;

THE PRESENT BUSH CHAPEL, BUILT 1878.

MOUNT VERNON, FROM THE SOUTH.

and the drunkard, the fornicator, and the extortioner triumphed over bleeding Zion, because they were faithful abettors of the ruling powers." The foot-note he added in explanation, when the sermon came to be printed, hardly bettered matters. He made it clear that the English clergy were not included, and in his Vindication utterly denied that the American clergy were his brethren! This position of clear antagonism to Anglicanism in America was certain to be resented by the elder Methodists in England, who regarded Methodism as a loyal Anglican society; and was excessively distasteful to Charles Wesley, who, indeed, is the supposed author of the anonymous attack upon Coke, which drew forth his Vindication.

The two superintendents duly made their call at Mount Vernon upon General Washington, who was then living in retirement as a simple Virginia planter. To quote the wording of Asbury's brief entry in his Journal, dated Thursday, May 26, 1785: "General Washington received us very politely, and gave us his opinion against slavery." Coke's Journal is much more explicit. "He received us very politely," it states, "and was very open to access. He is quite the plain country gentleman. After dinner we desired a private interview, and opened to him the grand business on which we came, presenting to him our petition for the emancipation of the negroes, and entreating his signature, if the eminence of his station did not render it inexpedient for him to sign any petition. He informed us that he was of our sentiments, and had signified his thoughts on the subject to most of the great men of the state; that he did not think it proper to sign the petition, but if the assembly took it into consideration, would signify his sentiments to the assembly by a letter. He asked us to spend the evening at his house, but our engagements at Annapolis the following day would not allow of it."

Some historians and biographers have confused this visit, made to General Washington, the plain citizen, at his plantation, by Coke and Asbury when they were superintendents, with a later and more formal visit paid by them in New York, as *bishops*, to the recently inaugurated *president*. This later visit, made by appointment, did not take place until June, 1789, when the Federal congress and the Methodist Conference were simultaneously sitting in New York. By this time Coke and Asbury had definitely assumed the title of bishop.

The last of the three Conferences of 1785 was held at Baltimore, on the first of June. Coke was present at the opening, but left for England immediately afterward, on board a vessel named "The Olive Branch." He arrived in England in time to be present at the Conference in London, which began on the twenty-sixth of July; and his name appears on its minutes immediately after those of John and Charles Wesley.

It is usually stated in works dealing with Coke's career, that he was received by Wesley, on his return, with a certain degree of coolness, and that this attitude marked Wesley's disapproval of the proceedings of the Christmas Conference. No adequate proof exists for such a supposition; nor does his personal influence with Wesley seem to have suffered any diminution whatever. Coke's biographer, Drew, shows an imperfect grasp of detail in dealing with this period; and his statements have been repeated by Southey and later writers.

THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH IN KENTUCKY. It was built in 1787, at Masterson's Station about five miles from Lexington. In it Bishop Francis Asbury held the first Conference west of the Alleghenies, May 10, 1790.

Immediately after the Christmas Conference, when Coke was in Philadelphia, he had the minutes of the Conference printed at his own expense. It is probable that he sent a copy forthwith to Wesley. At any rate, we must suppose that he carried with him to England several copies of the pamphlet, and that a copy was in Wesley's hands not later than the close of July, when they met in London.

Wesley gave it a place in his works, in the series known as the "Large Minutes," which covers a period of forty-five years—from 1744 until 1789—and is couched in the Question and Answer form familiar to students of the literature of Methodism. The second

THE HOUSE AND GRAVE OF REV. HENRY WILLIS, PIPE CREEK, MARYLAND.
The Baltimore Conference was held in this house in 1801.

MARTHA WASHINGTON.

Question and Answer are omitted in the later edition printed in America under the superintendence of Asbury and Dickins, and the omission was a matter of considerable pain to Wesley, who was then old and feeble, and perhaps somewhat oversensitive. Their wording was as follows:

"*Quest.* 2. What can be done in order to the future union of the Methodists?"

"*Ans.* During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the gospel, ready in matters belonging to Church government to obey his commands. And we do engage, after his death, to do everything that we judge consistent with the cause of religion in America and the political interests of those states, to preserve and promote our union with the Methodists in Europe."

Asbury's act, in refusing to accept Wesley's ordination as satisfactory until ratified by the free choice of the members of Conference, was in itself a departure from the strict attitude of obedience as defined in the above Answer, but there is no evidence that Wesley resented it. In a letter dated a few weeks after the London Conference rose, he wrote in the most friendly terms to Asbury, no shadow of reproof, such as appears later, entering into the wording of the epistle:

BRISTOL,
September 30, 1785.

My dear Brother:—It gives me pleasure to hear that God prospers your labors even in the barren soil of South Carolina. Nearly fifty years ago I preached in the church at Charleston, and in a few other places; and deep attention sat on every face. But I am afraid few received any lasting impressions.

At the next Conference it will be worth your while to consider deeply whether any preacher should stay in one place three years together. I startle at this. It is a vehement alteration in the Methodist discipline. We have no such custom in England, Scotland, or Ireland.

I myself may perhaps have as much variety of matter as many of our preachers. Yet I am well assured, were I to preach three years together in one place, both the people and myself would grow as dead as stones. Indeed this is quite contrary to the whole economy of Methodism; God has always wrought among us by a constant change of preachers.

Newly awakened people should, if it were possible, be plentifully supplied with books. Hereby the awakening is both continued and increased.

In two or three days I expect to be in London. I will then talk with Mr. Atlay[1] on the head. Be all in earnest for God.

I am your affectionate friend and brother, JOHN WESLEY.

So fully, indeed, did Wesley at this time support both Asbury and Coke, that he actually made a further decided move in the direction of ordination. There is every reason for supposing that Coke was one of the "select friends" mentioned in the following quotation. Coke was so active at this London Conference that his name is to be found *first* among the signatures attached to an instrument dated July 30, 1785.

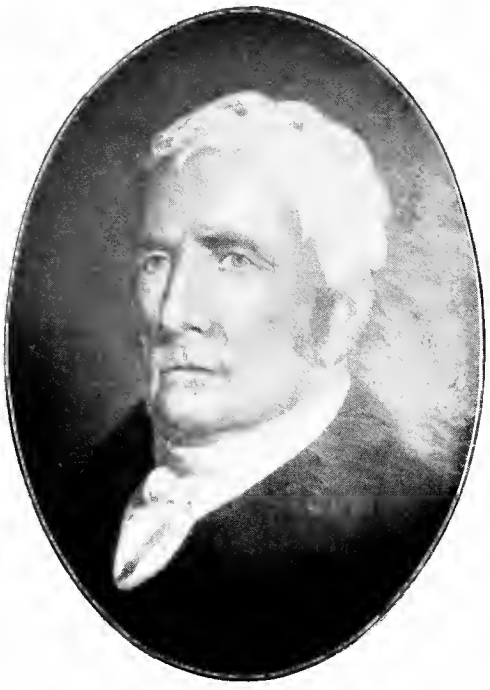
An entry in Wesley's Journal dated two days later (August 1, 1785) informs us that, after consulting with a few select friends, and in deference to their judgment, he had set apart three well-tried preachers—John Pawson, Thomas Hanby, Joseph Taylor—to minister in Scotland. The first of these was a Yorkshire man, then in his forty-eighth year, who was destined to become the third president of the Conference after Wesley's death. He was an earnest, hard-working, somewhat diffident man, who stood high in Wesley's esteem. Hanby and Taylor were also picked men. The possession of so-called "valid orders" by the Scottish Episcopal Church, which meant so much to Seabury, was a qualification wholly ignored by Wesley. The reason he gave for the ordinations was the unfriendly attitude assumed by certain ministers of the Presbyterian churches, who would question the orthodoxy of members, refuse them admission to the Lord's Supper, and even decline to baptize their children. Members of the society were thus deprived of the ordinances, a deprivation which exercised an unfavorable influence on their Christian profession. Wesley felt himself fully justified in taking practical steps to remove this hindrance. In sending these ordained ministers into Scotland, he recommended them to use his abridged form of the Book of Common Prayer; but so deep was the national dislike to written prayers, that the recommendation had but little effect.

Five other preachers were ordained in 1786; and two years later, when Wesley was in Scotland, John Barber and Joseph

HENRY WILLIS.
From an oil painting.

Cownley received ordination. Seven others were ordained at the ensuing Conference; one of them, Alexander Mather, whose connection with the early work in London has already been noticed. On Ash Wednesday of 1789, Henry Moore and our old friend Thomas Rankin were added to the list, completing it, so far as is known. The ordinations took place early in the morning, and in the privacy of Wesley's chamber. Ordination as deacon immediately preceded

[1] Rev. John Atlay, at this time book steward.



JOSHUA WELLS.
Born 1757; entered the ministry in 1789.

the full ordination as elder, either on the same day or on successive days.

The Scottish field was a favorite one with the preachers, who there enjoyed more consideration than at home. When Pawson was in Scotland, Wesley had him addressed as "Reverend," a title which Pawson continued to use after his return. But he was not suffered to do this, or to wear the gown he had worn in Scotland. Wesley would not listen to his remonstrances, had his letters inscribed plain "Mr.," and compelled him to doff the sacerdotal robes. Nor were the ordained preachers permitted to administer the sacrament in England. And when Wesley heard that the brethren in Glasgow had instituted a kirk-session, he wrote in the following indignant terms from the south of Ireland:

CORK, May 10, 1789.

My dear Brother:—"Sessions!" "Elders!" We Methodists have no such custom, neither any of the churches of God that are under our care. I require you, Jonathan Crowther, immediately to dissolve that session (so-called) at Glasgow. Discharge them from meeting any more. And if they will leave the *society*, let them leave it. We acknowledge only preachers, stewards, and leaders among us, over which the assistant in each circuit presides. You ought to have kept to the Methodist plan from the beginning. Who had any authority to vary from it? If the people of Glasgow, or any other place, are weary of us, we will leave them to themselves. But we are willing to be still their servants, for Christ's sake, according to our own discipline, but no other. JOHN WESLEY.

That Wesley was offended some years later by the action of the American Conference is undoubted. So deeply did he feel the apparent slight, that in the sermon preached in Baltimore after the news of his death reached America, Coke felt himself justified in declaring that the worry had hastened his end. We have spoken of the omission of Question 2 and its Answer from the American Form of Discipline. The specific reason for this omission arose from a test case, involving the adequacy of Wesley's jurisdiction. Wesley sent a letter to Coke, dated September 6, 1786, asking that a General Conference of all the preachers in the United States should be held at Baltimore on May 1, 1787; and that Whatcoat should be appointed superintendent along with Asbury. A Conference was accordingly held at the place and on the day mentioned, but the preachers were in a somewhat restive mood. They had, not altogether willingly, altered the date and place in deference to the express wishes of Wesley and Coke, but they were in no mood for further dictation. They believed that the whole question of popular election was at stake, and many of Coke's acts had led them to resent a too free assertion of his authority. A quarrel between them and the doctor was indeed only averted by mutual concessions and for-

bearance; and an entry was expressly made in the minutes by which Coke was a superintendent in the United States *when present in the States.*

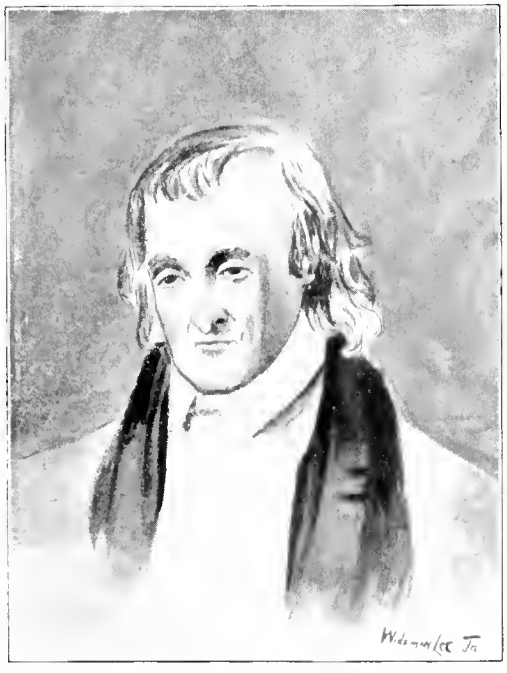
Nor did they accede to Wesley's request that Whatcoat be forthwith appointed a joint superintendent, assigning two reasons: first, that he was not qualified to take charge of the connection; and, secondly, that if he were appointed, Asbury might possibly, by the same autocratic authority, be recalled. When it was urged that the second Answer in the Discipline, as adopted by the Christmas Conference, bound them to comply with such a request, they refused to consider the Answer as more than an agreement come to among themselves, which they were at liberty to revoke; a step they proceeded to take.

The spirit in which these decisions were made was not one of hostility or disaffection to Wesley, who, as they believed, if present, would have supported them in their action. They felt that the Church in America must be administered by resident Americans, fully in touch with its every need. They objected, in fact, to "long-range" jurisdiction. Accordingly, to dissipate any such impression of unfriendliness, they wrote a letter to Wesley, asking him to pay them a visit, and acknowledging themselves to be his spiritual children.

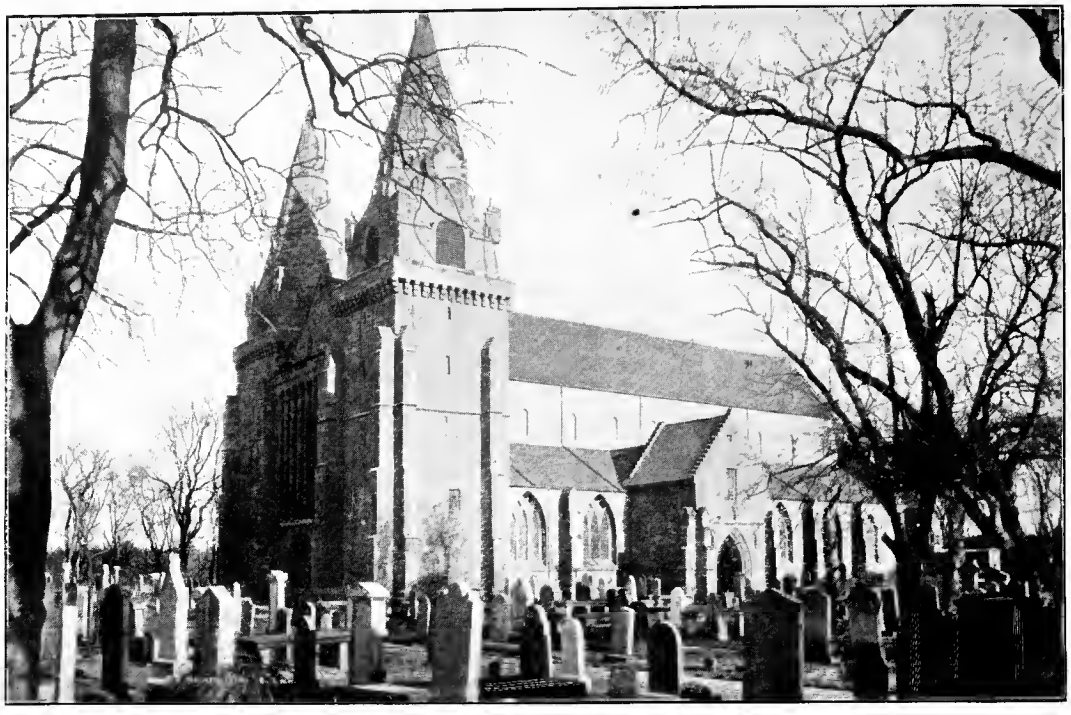
But Wesley was too old to visit them, and he was tenacious of his spiritual jurisdiction. It is doubtful whether the letter, as such letters are prone to do, did not intensify his dissatisfaction. To him their act meant a distinct refusal of his jurisdiction and an almost definite schism. When, shortly afterward, the title of bishop was openly assumed by Asbury and appeared in the printed Discipline, he was wroth indeed. His anger found vent in a very sharp letter, dated September 20, 1788, which caused Asbury no little pain. And yet he was loyal enough in defending the American brethren against the harsh criticism of his more exclusive friends at home.

One passage in Wesley's letter to Asbury reads as follows: "But, in one point, my dear brother, I am a little afraid, both the doctor and you differ from me. I study to be little; you study to be great. I creep; you strut along. I found a school; you a college! Nay, and call it after your own names! O beware! Do not seek to be something! Let me be nothing, and Christ be all in all! One instance of this, your greatness, has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called a bishop? I shudder, I start at the very thought! Men may call me a knave or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never, by my consent, call me *bishop!* For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this!"

It is evident from the terms of the letter that he believed that Asbury had set



RT. REV. WILLIAM WHITE, D. D.,
Second Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church.



OLD MACHAR CATHEDRAL, ABERDEEN.

up a rival organization in America, distinct from the English society, and making higher worldly pretensions. He ascribed the assumption of the titles "bishop" and "college" to an ambitious and presumptuous spirit, such as he was so swift to discourage in Pawson and others. In countries drifting away from each other, as England and the United States then were, such misunderstandings were pretty certain to arise.

The policy followed at this time alienated the worthy but somewhat timid and formal Thomas Vasey. He left the Methodists and joined the Protestant Episcopal Church, obtaining reördination from Bishop White. Returning to England, he became a curate in the Established Church. Then he resumed his connection with Wesley and his old colleagues, and was employed at City Road and in the Leeds band-meetings. Notwithstanding his frail health he survived to a good old age.

The General Conference held in New York in the year 1789 began its sessions on the twenty-eighth of May. Four weeks previously, in the same city, George Washington had been solemnly installed President of the United States of America, and congress had not yet adjourned. It occurred to Asbury, who was now a naturalized citizen, that the Church might very well present a patriotic and congratulatory address to the lately inaugurated president, and the Conference eagerly followed up the suggestion. The two bishops were instructed to prepare a suitable address, and composed the following, which gave general satisfaction:

ADDRESS OF THE BISHOPS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

To the President of the United States.

Sir:—We, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, humbly beg leave, in the name of our society, collectively, in these United States, to express to you the warm feelings of our hearts, and our sincere congratulations on your appointment to the presidentship of these states. We are conscious, from the signal proofs you have already given, that you are a

friend of mankind; and under this established idea, place as full confidence in your wisdom and integrity for the preservation of those civil and religious liberties which have been transmitted to us by the providence of God and the glorious Revolution, as we believe ought to be reposed in man.

We have received the most grateful satisfaction from the humble and entire dependence on the great Governor of the universe which you have repeatedly expressed, acknowledging Him the source of every blessing, and particularly of the most excellent constitution of these states, which is at present the admiration of the world, and may in future become its great exemplar for imitation; and hence we enjoy a holy expectation, that you will always prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion, the grand end of our creation and present probationary existence. And we promise you our fervent prayers to the throne of grace, that God Almighty may endue you with all the graces and gifts of His Holy Spirit, that He may enable you to fill up your important station to His glory, the good of His Church, the happiness and prosperity of the United States, and the welfare of mankind.

Signed in behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church,

THOMAS COKE,
FRANCIS ASBURY.

Two of the elders, John Dickins and Thomas Morrell, were commissioned to wait upon the president, and discover whether it would be agreeable to him to receive a deputation bearing the address. He signified his willingness, and mentioned the fourth day following as suitable. The two bishops were then deputed to visit the president; but as Coke, though senior bishop, was not an American citizen, it was arranged that Asbury should read the address. The two elders mentioned above accompanied the bishops, and it is to Morrell that we are indebted for exact details of this historic interview. The president read the following reply "with fluency and animation:"

KING STREET, ABERDEEN, SCOTLAND.

RT. REV. SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D.
Consecrated bishop at Aberdeen, 1784.

To the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

Gentlemen:—I return to you individually, and through you to your society, collectively, in the United States, my thanks for the demonstrations of affection, and the expressions of joy offered in their behalf, on my late appointment. It shall be my endeavor to manifest the purity of my inclinations for promoting the happiness of mankind, as well as the sincerity of my desires to contribute whatever may be in my power toward the civil and religious liberties of the American people. In pursuing this line of conduct, I hope, by the assistance of divine Providence, not altogether to disappoint the confidence which you have been pleased to repose in me.

It always affords me satisfaction when I find a concurrence of sentiment and practice between all conscientious men, in acknowledgments of homage to the great Governor of the universe, and in professions of support to a just civil government. After mentioning that I trust the people of every denomination, who demean themselves as good citizens, will have occasion to be convinced that I shall always strive to prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion, I must assure you in particular, that I take in the kindest part the promise you make of presenting your prayers at the throne of grace for me, and that I likewise implore the divine benediction on yourselves and your religious community. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The publication on the following Saturday of the two addresses in the *Gazette of the United States* at once brought down a storm on the devoted head of Doctor Coke. His right to the designation of bishop was loudly called in question; and he was bitterly censured for appending his name, being a British subject, to so warm an encomium upon the constitution of the United States. By the time the letter appeared the doctor was already on the ocean. He had sailed on the fifth of June on board the good ship "Union," bound for Liverpool.

Thomas Morrell undertook the congenial taste of his defense. He had been a soldier of the Revolution, and was ordained deacon in 1788, and elder in 1790. The Conference intrusted him with the work of building a new edifice for the Church in New York, which he succeeded in doing before another year had passed. It was a stone edifice, and known as the Second Street Church. For five years Morrell served as presiding elder in New York. He was an intimate friend of Asbury's and much beloved both by Asbury and Coke. One of John Wesley's last letters to America was addressed to him. At this Conference, also, John Dickins was placed in charge of the Book Room, a new venture of the Church, destined to have a great future. At first it was stationed in Philadelphia, but was moved in a few years to New York.

We have seen that Coke's ideas of his functions as bishop were interpreted by him in a way that did not suit the temper of the less docile American brethren; and that only his tact saved him on one occasion from an awkward situation.

That the situation was due in part to the overjealousy of his subordinates is pretty evident from the fact that the gentler Asbury had also to run the gauntlet of a similar opposition. The autocratic power of a bishop and the claims of a popular ecclesiastical assembly adjusted themselves only after considerable friction. It is certain that Asbury cordially disliked the trouble and worry of the Conferences as tending to interrupt the steady current of his usefulness.

In order to provide a kind of buffer between the bishops and the Conferences, and facilitate business, Asbury proposed in 1789 the formation of a Council of Advisers, which should be invested with almost plenary powers. After a strenuous debate and keen opposition, the proposal was carried by a large majority. The advisers were to consist of the presiding elders, and nine were required for a quorum. A resolution of the Council required a unanimous vote, and was not binding in any district until a majority of the Conference in that district should have voted favorably upon it. The first Council was to meet at Cokesbury on December 1 of that year, and subsequently as the bishops should see fit to summon it.

It was destined to have but one session. "Our Council," says Asbury, in an entry dated Thursday, December 4, 1789, "was seated, consisting of the following persons, viz.: Richard Ivy, from Georgia; R. Ellis, South Carolina; E. Morris, North Carolina; Phil. Bruce, north district of Virginia; James O'Kelly, south district of Virginia; L. Green, Ohio; Nelson Reed, western shore of Maryland; J. Everett, eastern shore; John Dickins, Pennsylvania; J. O. Cromwell, Jersey; and Freeborn Garrettson, New York: all our business was done in love and amity." The session lasted until the following Wednesday, and was held in the town of Baltimore.

Asbury's hopes of its usefulness were frustrated largely by the opposition of the delegate from the south of Virginia. An Irishman, he had a deep-rooted distrust of authority, and began to imagine that Asbury was becoming wofully autocratic. A month after the Council closed its sittings he wrote a letter to the bishop. To quote from Asbury's Journal: "He makes heavy complaints of my power, and bids me stop for one year, or he must use his influence against me." To Asbury it appeared that the bishop, who could spend but three weeks in any district, had little chance of acquiring influence as compared with the presiding elders who are there throughout the year. Rather should the bishops see that their authority is not infringed upon by undue influence. He evidently resented this "embargo" which O'Kelly proposed to lay upon him.

The O'Kelly revolt had a certain connection with advances made in 1791 by

REV. EZEKIEL COOPER.
Born in Caroline county, Maryland, in 1763. Died 1847. This picture was taken in 1818. He received the last letter written to America by John Wesley.

Doctor Coke to Bishop White, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with a view to union. It seems that Coke overestimated the gravity of the movement against episcopal control, and sought to strengthen the Church by a union with the Protestant Episcopal Church, where the authority of bishops was unquestioned. Such a union, he believed, would "enlarge their field of action," and conciliate many who remained critical or unfriendly. Not only did he write to Bishop White, but he had also an interview with him and Doctor M'Gaw at Philadelphia. The concession that he was willing to make in submitting to reördination, so as to satisfy sticklers for ceremony, was profoundly misunderstood in many quarters, as if it signified not a mere concession to prejudice in a matter non-essential, but a confession that his own appointment was invalid. The negotiations fell through, less, perhaps, because of the question of orders, than because of the educational acquirements demanded in the Protestant Episcopal Church, which insisted upon a knowledge of the classical and Hebrew languages in its candidates for deacon's orders.

The Conference of 1792, held in Baltimore on November 1st, the first of the kind since the Christmas Conference of eight years before, is memorable because of the O'Kelly secession. There exists no official record of its proceedings; but Jesse Lee, who was present, has furnished us with a sufficiently detailed account. It was on the second day that O'Kelly brought forward his important amendment, which, had it been carried, would have wrecked the whole organization of the Church by robbing it of its essential excellences of centralization and mobility. The mover was a misguided, rather than an ill-disposed, man; for surely the extraordinary influence he wielded over young M'Kendree and others can be explained only by the possession of sterling qualities of head and heart. When he joined the connection fourteen years before, he had manifested an intense admiration for Asbury; but becoming offended with the bishop, and filled with a dread lest his episcopal powers should lead to "prelacy" and "popery," overthrowing personal liberty and initiative in the Church councils, he entered upon a career of faction. Some doubt was afterward cast on the soundness of his theology, and he was credited with a leaning to Unitarianism. This is hard to believe, seeing that many of the best men in the Church respected and trusted him, and abandoned him only when they became convinced that Asbury was a thoroughly able, judicious, and single-minded administrator, whose policy was essential to the growth and welfare of the Church. It was also made evident that O'Kelly had not the temperament needed for a wise administrator.

The following was the resolution he offered to the General Conference: "After the bishop appoints the preachers at the Conference to their several circuits, if any one thinks himself injured by the appointment, he shall have liberty to appeal to the Conference and state his objections; and if the Conference approve his objections, the bishop shall appoint him to another circuit."

Asbury, whose administration was directly called in question, retired from the chair and left Coke to preside. The debate which followed called forth the best debating power in the Church—and the ability of many of the preachers in debate moved the admiration of Coke and others from across the Atlantic. At first it seemed as if O'Kelly would carry his motion. A Sunday intervening allowed the disputants a short breathing-space. On Monday the debate was resumed, and

continued until nightfall, when, a vote being taken, the motion was lost by a large majority.

It is probable that the extremists on O'Kelly's side lost the day by the intolerant spirit they showed. Thomas Ware has left it on record that he was at the outset favorably disposed to the motion. But the fanatical tone of the movers, their censoriousness, their lack of the "sweet reasonableness" so characteristic of Asbury, and so needful in a successful administrator, convinced him that they were not the men to whom the future of the organization could be trusted. The result was equal to a complete vote of confidence in Francis Asbury, a result which must have been very soothing to his sensitive spirit.

The extremists refused to submit. Next morning the Conference received a letter informing it that O'Kelly and a few of his adherents had withdrawn from the connection. Asbury cherished no unkind feelings toward the "old man," and endeavored to patch up a conciliation. But O'Kelly was irreconcilable. As Jesse Lee remarked to his neighbor, when he saw the elder and his partisans ride off to Virginia: "He won't be quiet long, for he'll try to be at the head of some party." He had still a long career before him, of which more anon.

The O'Kelly secession, though the chief, was not the only trial of the kind which the Church had to undergo at this period. When Doctor Coke landed in America in 1791, having been shipwrecked off Edisto, South Carolina, he brought with him Mr. Hammett, whom he had left in the West Indies some years before, but whose original destination was Nova Scotia. The people of Charleston were highly pleased with Mr. Hammett's preaching, and insisted on having him as their pastor, in spite of the fact that Bishop Asbury had given the appointment to James Parks. This claim on the part of a congregation to choose its own preacher was a new and very irritating experience to the bishop, who considered that the claim was quite incompatible with their institutions and Church government. The congregation did not accept his refusal as final, but sent Hammett after the bishop to Philadelphia with a petition signed by a majority of the members. The matter ended in a secession which cost the Church in Charleston nearly a third of its membership. Mr. Hammett set up for himself, giving his church the name of Trinity, and calling himself and his adherents Primitive Methodists.

A second church was built in the city, and others were organized in Georgetown, in Savannah, and in Wilmington, North Carolina. The last named had for its pastor William Meredith, who gathered to it quite a number of negroes; but in a few years he split with Hammett, and at his death in 1799 left the society and its property to the care of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also finally fell heir to Trinity Church. On Hammett's death in 1803 he was succeeded by a Mr. Brazier, who had served as a missionary in the West Indies. This gentleman saw fit to sell the property to the Protestant Episcopal Church, but the trustees, after a lawsuit, again came into possession of it, and finally united with the Methodist Episcopal Church.

A MANX FISHER GIRL AND HER HOME.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD HIS PARISH.

A SURVEYING of Methodist effort during the ten or fifteen years which preceded Wesley's death discloses the fact of its extraordinary expansiveness. It was to no meaningless or rhetorical phrase that Wesley gave utterance when he said: "The world is my parish." Before the close of his life the movement of which he was the source and the organizer had made itself coterminous with the English-speaking world. The survey of its progress during the ten or fifteen closing years of his life, which we propose to make in the present chapter, reveals it pushing its way into the islands of the British and Irish channels, into the mountainous wilds of Scotland, into the seaboard and lake districts of British America, and into the tropical sugar-producing islands of the Gulf of Mexico. As the population of the Atlantic states, forming the original Union, began to press southward and westward, Methodist preachers followed in the tracks of the settlers, and brought to them the inestimable privileges of Christian ministrations. Methodism was a leaven, leavening the whole lump of Anglo-Saxondom.

It was not until the last quarter of the eighteenth century that Methodism obtained a footing in the Isle of Man; and yet there were few places that Wesley took greater pleasure in visiting. The inhabitants of this snug little island, with its peculiarities of government and of customs, were unsophisticated and unspoiled—the fresh, intensely human material with which he loved to work.

A discharged soldier named John Crook, who had been converted in Limerick, and had settled down in his native Lancashire, crossed over in 1775 from Liverpool on his own account, to preach the gospel there. His meetings were attended by high and low, even the lieutenant-governor and his wife coming to hear him. The Episcopal authorities began to take fright, and in midsummer of the following year the Bishop of Sodor and Man thought good to issue a pompous circular, "for the prevention of schism, and the establishment of uniformity of religious worship," in which he instructed the resident clergy to dissuade their flocks from following or being led and misguided by such incompetent teachers, who were "pretenders to true religion." The clergy were to notify him of any teacher or parish clerk or other person holding an employment in connection with the Church who should take part in the movement, that he might be admonished or dismissed; and were also requested to refuse the sacraments to all Methodist itinerants. This Episcopal bull was issued from picturesque old Peeltown, dear to all lovers of poetry from its associations with one of Wordsworth's most beautiful lyrics. The poet spent four weeks in Peeltown, under shadow of the great castle:

> And this huge Castle, standing here sublime,
> I love to see the look with which it braves,
> Cased in the unfeeling armor of old time—
> The lightning, the fierce wind, and tramp
> ling waves.

The storm that was raised nearly swept Crook away; but when he appealed to Wesley for advice, he was urged to stay, avoiding all needless offense. The result was a flourishing society within the space of three years.

Wesley arrived in the summer of 1777, and was delighted with the simple-

PEEL CASTLE, ISLE OF MAN.

heartedness of the people. "No wonder," he adds, "for they have but six Papists and no Dissenters in the island!" Four years later, when he repeated the visit, he found that Episcopal and other opposition had died out, and that there existed "too little, rather than too much reproach." The circuit pleased him more than any in the three kingdoms; the local preachers were "men of faith and love, knit together in one mind and one judgment." About two thousand out of the thirty thousand in the island were Methodists. At the close of his life their number rose to twenty-six hundred, nearly as many as are to be found there to-day.

The Channel Islands, those most ancient appanages of the English crown, which nestle in under the coast of Normandy, were still later than the Isle of Man in becoming a mission field for Methodist effort. In 1783 some Methodist soldiers stationed at St. Heliers, in Jersey, wrote to England, asking for a preacher; and in response there came a Mr. Brackenbury, a gentleman of independent means, and Alexander Kilham, prominent later in the history of Wesleyan Methodism. In the face of violent opposition they were successful in gaining converts, and when Adam Clarke was sent in 1786 by the Conference, there were three hundred members in the three islands of Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney.

Wesley resolved in 1787 to visit these garden-like islands, in company with Doctor Coke and faithful Joseph Bradford. They set sail from Southampton; but, the weather proving stormy, they had to put into Yarmouth harbor in the Isle of Wight. Here they improved the occasion by preaching four times in the market-place of the town.

It was not Wesley's first acquaintance with the island. As early as July, 1753, he had visited it in a hoy from Ports-

mouth, and had been charmed with its pleasantness and fruitfulness. At Newport, the chief town of the island, he "found a little society in tolerable order." One of the members had been enlightened by means of a chance visitor who had been there on his way to Pennsylvania. The audiences who gathered to hear him were numerous, but not very orderly. Returning later in the year, he again preached in the market-place at Newport to a large and deeply attentive audience. The country round about Newport struck him as unusually attractive; the people as humane and loving.

The island was the scene of one of the most touching idyls in the history of Methodism. Here lived Elizabeth Wallbridge, known to the religious reading public on both sides of the Atlantic as the "Dairyman's Daughter." Lives like hers, in their quiet beauty, sanctify a whole movement, and lend a romance to an entire neighborhood. At this time she was a girl of fifteen, and probably still with her parents. Some time afterward she became a domestic servant in the town of Southampton, in a family where, besides herself, there were three other maids, and a man-servant named Robert Taylor, who was a Methodist. At this time Elizabeth was particularly fond of dress and gaiety, and was prejudiced against the Methodists. An earnest letter received from her brother, who had joined the society near their home, had no effect upon her. One of the preachers on the Portsmouth circuit, a Mr. Crabbe, who had been preaching in the Isle of Wight, came to Southampton and was announced to preach in the chapel. Partly out of curiosity to see the people with whom her brother had associated himself, she went there to hear him, on Taylor's invitation. The preacher chose as his text the words, "*Be ye clothed with humility.*" and his appeal awoke her to serious thoughts, and she returned a second time. These visits changed the whole current of her life. Some time afterward she received news of the serious illness of her younger sister, who was also a domestic servant in a large mansion not far from her home. In order to attend upon her sister she gave up her own situation; and she had the satisfaction of ministering not only to the bodily but also to the spiritual wants of the sufferer. It was the occasion of her sister's burial which first introduced her to the notice of the Rev. Legh Richmond, who was the curate of a neighboring parish. Their own minister being absent, Elizabeth wrote to him asking him to conduct the funeral services. No book has been more popular with the religious public during the nineteenth century than his "Annals of the Poor," the first and chief narrative in which is entitled

NETLEY CASTLE, SOUTHAMPTON.

"The Dairyman's Daughter." Her venerable father, the *Dairyman*, who died at the advanced age of eighty-four, was the bearer of Elizabeth's note to the parsonage. After her sister's death Elizabeth made her home with her parents, who through her influence also became devout Christians. Mr. Richmond was greatly impressed by the picture of piety which the Wallbridge household presented, and, besides visiting the cottage frequently, he kept up a correspondence with Elizabeth, who had improved her opportunities and wrote with remarkable intelligence.

Her life was not destined to be a lengthy one. Consumption had marked her for a victim, and, like her sister, she sickened and died. Her death was consistent with her life. "I have seen thy light and good works," exclaimed Mr. Richmond, much affected, as he came away from his last interview, "and will therefore glorify our Father which is in heaven."

She was buried in the quiet churchyard of Arreton, and many visitors, interested in the story, have since visited her last resting-place. These events did not occur until the opening years of the century. It was in 1799 that Legh Richmond, then a young man of twenty-seven, fresh from Cambridge, where he had come under powerful evangelical influences—it was Wilberforce's university, and he had been much impressed by reading Wilberforce's "Practical View of Christianity"—became curate at Brading in the Isle of Wight. During the eight or nine years that he remained in this, his first charge, these events occurred; but the story was not written until 1809. So popular did it become that it was translated into half-a-dozen languages, and two million copies of it have been sold during the past century. The old dairyman died in the year 1816, the last of the household.

Such are the later associations of this beautiful island. Wesley had visited it

THE OLD VILLAGE OF SHANKLIN, ISLE OF WIGHT.

THE DAIRYMAN'S COTTAGE, ISLE OF WIGHT.

again, some three or four years before this chance visit, and had opened a preaching-house at Newport. It was during his absence at this time that his wife died and was buried in London; and only on his return did he learn what had happened.

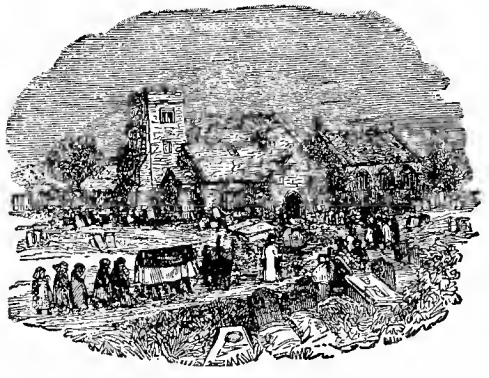
The bad weather kept them over a Sunday, on which both he and Doctor Coke "delivered their souls." Continuing their voyage on the Tuesday, they had again, owing to stress of weather, to put in at the Isle of Alderney, where Wesley preached on the beach to a tolerable congregation. The aspect of Guernsey greatly delighted him, "spreading like a crescent to the right and left." On landing they received a warm welcome, and the congregation to which he preached in the evening was as deeply serious as he had ever seen.

At St. Heliers, in Jersey, they were received by Mr. Blackenbury "The lovely range of fruitful hills" surrounding the town attracted his eye; and he found the same deep seriousness in the audiences which gathered to hear him as he had noted in Jersey. He exhorted them to go on to perfection, which many of them, under Mr. Clarke's ministrations, were already endeavoring to do.

Adam Clarke, who was then a young man of twenty-five, commencing a distinguished career as a Methodist preacher, was an Irishman from the county of Londonderry. His father, a graduate of the University of Glasgow, was a classical teacher, who eked out a scanty but honorable livelihood by cultivating a small farm. At the age of twelve Adam, who had a remarkably robust physique, was actually able to guide the plough. His father was an Episcopalian, his mother a devout Presbyterian. She it was who, having heard a Methodist preach in a neighboring barn, declared that "this was true and unadulterated Christianity" Her son, then in his sixteenth or seventeenth year, after an agonizing struggle, experienced a change of heart, and was soon drafted into preaching. His gifts were so evident that Wesley was written to, and sent in reply an invitation to Kingswood School. Here, while digging in the garden, he is said to have found a half-sovereign, and to have invested it in a Hebrew Bible.

His reception by Wesley was very cordial. At their first meeting he appointed Clarke to Bradford, in Wilts,

and ordained him by laying his hands on his head, and praying God to bless and preserve him. Thence he was transferred to Norwich, one of the hardest circuits in the kingdom, the one in which the people, both inside and outside of the society, gave Wesley the greatest trouble. Here the young Irishman had to endure many privations and much persecution. Next year he was transferred to Cornwall, where, at St. Austell, a young shoemaker, Samuel Drew, afterward a thinker and writer of note, was one of the fruits of his preaching. Clarke's later career was a singularly distinguished one. His wonderful linguistic powers and various attainments made him the associate of



ARRETON CHURCH, ISLE OF WIGHT.

statesmen, nobles, and princes. Queen Victoria's uncle, the Duke of Sussex, a man of literary tastes, took great pleasure in his company. To the religious world he has left in his "Commentary on the Holy Scriptures" a noble monument of piety and learning.

Wesley remarks in his Journal that the aspect of the Isle of Wight "as far exceeds the Isle of Anglesey, both in pleasantness and fruitfulness, as that exceeds the rocks of Scilly." These ancient Cassiterides, known to the Romans as the "Tin Islands," though forty in number, are but five of them inhabited. Their population of two thousand or more did not have any Methodist preacher visit them until three years after the Channel Islands became a field for missionary work. It was a preacher on the St. Ives circuit, named Joseph Sutcliffe, who, casting his eyes westward as he crossed the point of Land's End, felt his soul go out to the benighted people on the islands. An appeal to his brother Methodists did not fall on deaf ears. Friends among the fishermen gave up a night's fishing to convey him thither; and he was able, after a second visit, to establish a class consisting of three miners who had been Methodists on the mainland. His ministrations were so popular that it was with difficulty he could return; nor would the good people who entertained him charge anything for his board. The converts, who finally numbered thirty-seven, secured land to build a chapel, and ever since Methodism has retained its hold upon these islanders.

In the expansion of Methodism at this time, the interest centers most in Doctor Coke, who was blessed with an abundant share of the missionary spirit. In the year 1784 he had formed "A plan of the Society for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathen," and had called a meeting in London for the last Tuesday in January. Its object was to obtain subscriptions for the support of missionaries in the Highlands and adjacent islands of Scotland, the isles of Jersey, Guernsey, and Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec. This was the beginning of direct missionary enterprise in the Methodist organization.

The evangelization of the Highlands and islands of Scotland was to fall to the lot of the Presbyterian Church. One of the marvels of the nineteenth century is the change that has come over the Gaelic-speaking portion of the ancient kingdom of Scotland. The description of the Highlanders found in Scott's "Waverley"

—and it is no fancy picture—represents them as wholly outside the pale of evangelical Christianity—a race fierce, warlike, and semi-barbarous, whose raids were a constant source of terror to the peaceful inhabitants of the Lowlands. And yet, eighty years later, this same race was intensely religious and devout, and gave its unanimous support to Doctor Chalmers when, to secure greater religious liberty, he founded the Free Church of Scotland. Part of the credit of this noble missionary work must be given directly to faithful Methodist itinerants, like Keighley and Crowther; part must be ascribed to the ardent spirit of proselytism fostered by the visits of Whitefield and Wesley to the northern kingdom. Perhaps nowhere in the whole field of Methodism was the work so uninviting as in the north of Scotland. "No man," wrote Crowther in 1787, "is fit for Inverness circuit, unless his flesh be brass, his bones iron, and his heart harder than a stoic's."

It was the work in Nova Scotia and the West Indies that chiefly engaged Coke's attention, and for which he made at this time the most pressing appeals. The year following his return to England after the Christmas Conference of 1784, was spent in traveling throughout the British isles, where he strove to awaken special interest in Nova Scotia. Having secured the services of three missionaries, Hammet, Warrener, and Clark, and collected funds for their support, he sailed at the close of September, 1786, in a vessel bound for Halifax. So stormy was the passage that the captain, a godless and superstitious man, thought Coke's prayers had brought a curse on the vessel, and in a fury he threw the doctor's papers overboard. It was almost the close of the year when they put in, not at their destined port, but at Antigua, where it was necessary to refit.

The island of Antigua is one of that necklace-like group of islands that lie at the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico. With its area of one hundred and eight square miles, it is the most important of the Leeward group, and was first settled in 1632. The chief resident of the island, a Mr. Nathaniel Gilbert, having broken down in health, was home in England in the year 1759, and came under the influence of Wesley. Finding his health tolerably re-established, he returned to Antigua, resolved to do what he could to evangelize the island. Beginning with household gatherings he extended his labors not only among the white settlers, but also among the slave population, and soon a society of two hundred members was formed. Persisting in his labors in spite of much obloquy, he was able to report to Wesley in 1773 that almost the whole island was stirred up to seek the Lord. It was in 1775 that his daughter wrote to Asbury, inviting him to take charge of the work, and it is just possible that Asbury might have gone, had he only been ordained. In 1778, after Mr. Gilbert's

REV. LEGH RICHMOND.

CRUX HARBOR, GUERNSEY.

death, a shipwright from Chatham dockyard, named John Baxter, sailed thither, and found that the work had not lapsed.

At the Christmas Conference Coke was able to interest the brethren in the American part of the scheme, Jeremiah Lambert being ordained for the island of Antigua. It was the wish of Wesley and Coke, as intimated to the Baltimore Conference of 1788, that Freeborn Garrettson should be elected and ordained "superintendent over the societies in Nova Scotia and the West Indies," but the scheme in some way or other fell through. Lambert's career was destined to be a short one. His name was on the death list in 1786, where he is mentioned as "a man of sound judgment, good gifts, of genuine piety. and very useful as a preacher." His whole term of service had been six years.

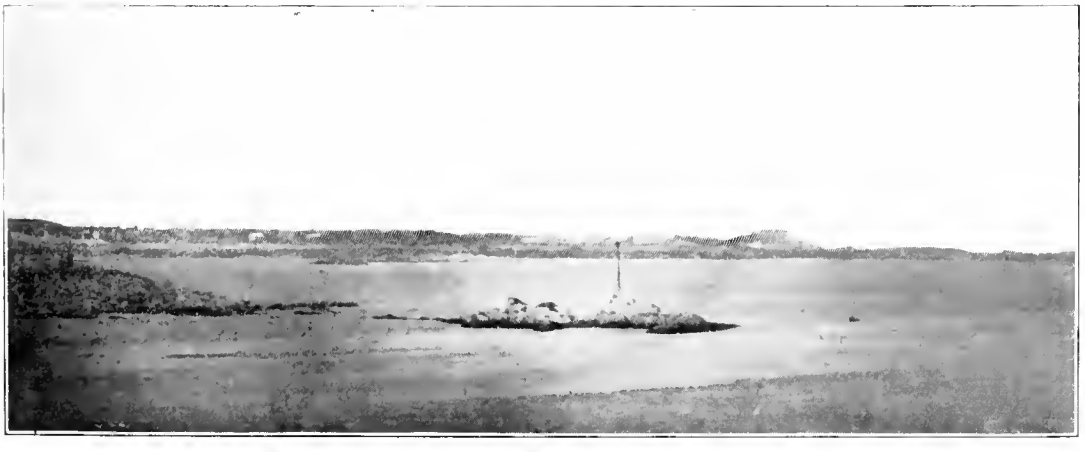
At the time of Coke's arrival Baxter was laboring there, and he gave his visitors a warm welcome; and the importance of the work so impressed them that one of the three helpers remained there. From Antigua Coke went to Dominica, and afterward to Kingston in St. Vincent, where he established a mission and left Mr. Clark in charge. He also visited St. Christopher's, Nevis, and St. Eustatius; quitting the last mentioned island in a Dutch vessel bound for Charleston. For the next few years the claims of these West India islands, especially of the negro population there, denied, especially in Dutch islands like St. Eustatius, all gospel privileges whatever, were pressed by him on American

and English audiences. At the English Conference of 1788 he secured the services of three missionaries, who sailed with him to Barbadoes. On this trip he visited Jamaica, where he was received with marked respect.

Meanwhile Garrettson and Cromwell, whom Coke fully expected to see at Halifax, had the storms of 1786 not driven him southward, were laboring faithfully in Nova Scotia. Arriving in Halifax in March, 1785, Garrettson remained in the province there for two years, "traversing," as he tells us, "the mountains and valleys, frequently on foot, with my knapsack on my back, guided by Indian paths in the wilderness." He was recompensed for his toils by the awakening and conversion of many souls. Wesley selected him for the position of superintendent of the societies in British America, and it was confidently expected that he would be duly elected by the Conference of 1787, as a missionary bishop. It would have been a new move in Methodism of some significance. But the drift of the current was not in this direction; but rather toward concentration and nationalism. "My mind," wrote Garrettson, "was divided. Man is a fallible creature. In the end I concluded not to leave the States, for thousands in this country are dear to me."

The work in Nova Scotia deserves a short notice. This province, with its harsh and foggy climate, was one of the chief homes of the United Empire Loyalists. With the neighboring province of New Brunswick and the island of Newfoundland, it had been originally settled by men of sturdy English stock. Methodism in Newfoundland was planted in 1765 by Lawrence Coghlan, who was one of Wesley's preachers. In that inhospitable climate, and among a scattered population, he displayed great energy and devotion, and his labors were blessed in the planting of a strong society.

Nova Scotia had its apostle in William Black, a Yorkshireman by birth, who arrived in the colony in the year 1775 when a lad of fifteen. His parents were earnest Christians, and belonged to a set of good Yorkshire Methodists, who, in default of regular preachers, and in a sparsely settled district, kept alive religion by frequent prayer-meetings and friendly religious gatherings. Black's usefulness began in his nineteenth year, when light broke in upon him. He started a revival, which led to the organization of large classes, numbering four or five score. At this time he was encouraged by letters from Wesley, and expected to proceed to England to attend Kingswood School. Disappointed in



EAST BAY, ST. PETER'S PORT, GUERNSEY.

this expectation, he, nevertheless, by diligent study, became a capable scholar and theologian, and was greatly blessed as a preacher. His sermons were at once powerful and appealing.

He was present at the Christmas Conference of 1784, and on his journey

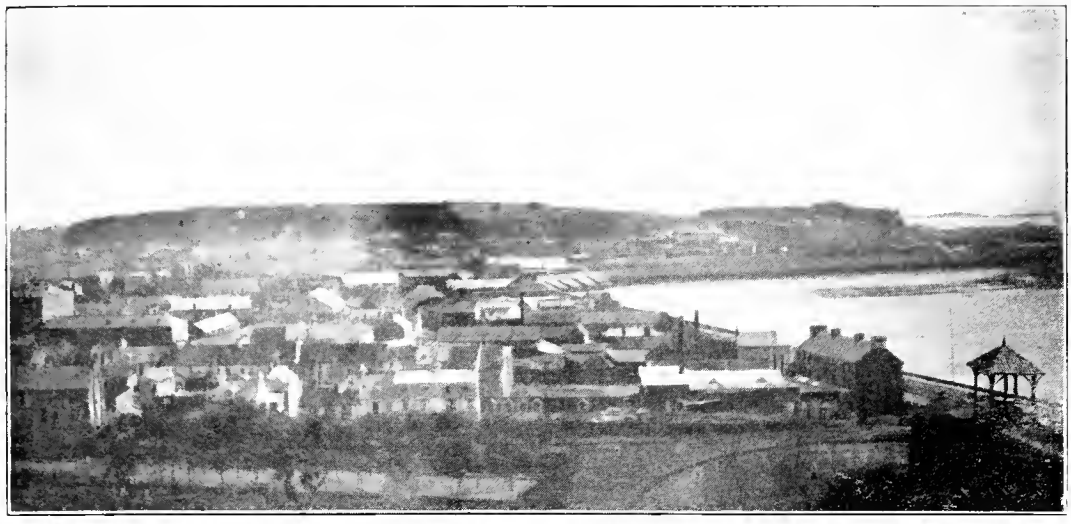
JOSEPH BRADFORD.

thither visited the city of Boston, where he preached with considerable success. The preachers whom he brought back with him helped him not a little in extending the work. In 1789 he was appointed by Doctor Coke superintendent of Nova Scotia and the northeast provinces, a position which he held as long as strength remained for the discharge of the duties. Visiting the United States in 1791, he was present at the Philadelphia and New York Conferences, and received ordination from Doctor Coke. In the following year he attended the General Conference at Baltimore, and accompanied Doctor Coke on a visit to the West Indies. During his lifetime, which extended to the year 1834, he did much to keep the Methodism of Eastern Canada in touch with that of the United States.

Garrettson, although he had been appointed to a home circuit by the Conference of 1787, did not relinquish his immediate interest in the provinces to the north. Having been appointed in 1789 presiding elder of the New York district, with twelve young preachers under his charge, he sent them up the Hudson, as far as Lake Champlain. This brought them right to the borders of British North America. Two of the itinerants, William Losee and David Kendall, had this frontier district in 1789, and, probably by Garrettson's permission, crossed into Upper Canada, where Losee had relatives. Losee was active in preaching the gospel on the St. Lawrence. Crossing that noble stream at St. Regis, among the Thousand Islands, he passed up the left bank, visiting Kingston on his way, until he reached Adolphustown on the bay of Quinte, where his friends had settled.

Losee was in many respects a remarkable figure. The loss of an arm did not prevent him from excelling as a bold rider. His straight hair, long visage, and the melancholy tones of his voice had a solemnizing effect on an audience; and his exhortations were very effective in bringing the careless to a conviction of sin. Young and old flocked to hear him. It was not virgin soil that he had to work upon. Barbara Heck, as we have seen, had spent the closing years of her life in the province, and Embury's wife and children had moved to the bay of Quinte; nor had they, one or other, given up their Christian activity.

As in Long Island, with Webb, and in the Channel Islands, pious redcoats had to do with the beginnings of Methodism in Quebec. A local preacher, named Tuppey, was in 1780 commissary of a regiment stationed at Quebec. For three years he was diligent as an exhorter, and many of those who had



ST. HELIERS, JERSEY.

been converted by his labors carried the seed throughout the province. A cavalry major, named George Neal, who had served as a local preacher in Ireland, was also a faithful minister of the gospel. "He was," says Nathan Bangs, "a holy man of God, and an able minister of the New Testament. His word was blessed to the awakening and conversion of many souls, and he was always spoken of by the people with great affection and veneration as the pioneer of Methodism in that country."

Persecution was not absent, to test the reality of the faith proclaimed by these pioneers. One of Whitefield's converts, an Irishman named James McCarty, having crossed the St. Lawrence, arrived at Kingston. Thence he passed on to Ernestown, where, finding a company of Methodists, he began to hold religious meetings in their log cabins. His success provoked the hostility of the churchmen in the district, who had him arrested by a sheriff and a company of militia, thrust into a boat, and conveyed down the river. He was landed on a desolate island near Cornwall, and left to starve or die in attempting to escape. The mystery of his fate has never been disclosed; but he is remembered as the proto-martyr of Methodism in Canada.

Losee has the credit of establishing the itinerant system in Canada. Young, vigorous, and without family cares to distract his attention, he was successful in planting vigorous societies. Two chapels were erected in 1792, one at Adolphustown, another at Ernestown, and these became the centers of two circuits to which he returned with a colleague, after reporting progress to the Conference of 1792. For a number of years the work in British America remained under the direction of the Conference in the United States.

During these years, when Methodism was extending its branches all over the British possessions, the work in the United States was also prospering wonderfully. "The year 1787," says Bishop McKendree, who himself was brought into the Church at that time, "is gratefully remembered in the Methodist history of Virginia, for the most extensive and glorious revival of religion that ever occurred in the state." While the whole state benefited, the most notable manifestations were displayed in the southern counties, particularly in the district over which the Rev. James O'Kelly presided. The counties most affected

were Brunswick, Sussex, and Amelia, where the work of evangelizing had results that were almost miraculous.

John Easter was the earnest and devoted servant of God, whose labors proved so fruitful in the Brunswick circuit that twelve hundred members were added to the Church, among them the saintly McKendree. He encountered no slight opposition in his work. The clergy of the Established Church were only too ready to talk of "wild-fire," "delusion," and "hypocrisy." His "orders" and his methods were alike treated with contempt. But the character of Mr. Easter soon overcame hostile criticism. Of pure and upright life, and sound understanding, he spoke with great plainness and incisiveness of the need of repentance; and his keen black eye, attesting deep convictions and unshaken faith, helped to carry conviction to the hearts of those whom he addressed. Some cried aloud in the intensity of their emotion; others fled from the place in confusion; still others fell to the earth as if stunned by a thunderbolt.

McKendree's account of his conversion is worth quoting. One Sunday in 1787 he was visiting a friend, who, instead of accompanying his wife to church, sat with McKendree reading a comedy and playing cards. When the lady, who had been escorted by a servant, returned, she gave a thrilling account of the service, dwelling on the extraordinary manifestations of anguish and of joy displayed by the audience. The account so interested McKendree that he resolved to go on the following Tuesday to hear the Rev. John Easter, who was announced to preach on that day.

"Tuesday," he continues, "I went to Church, fasting and praying. Mr. Easter preached from John iii. 19–22: '*And this is the condemnation, that light has come into the world,*' etc. *The word reached my heart.* From this time I had no peace of mind; I was completely miserable. My heart was broken up, and I

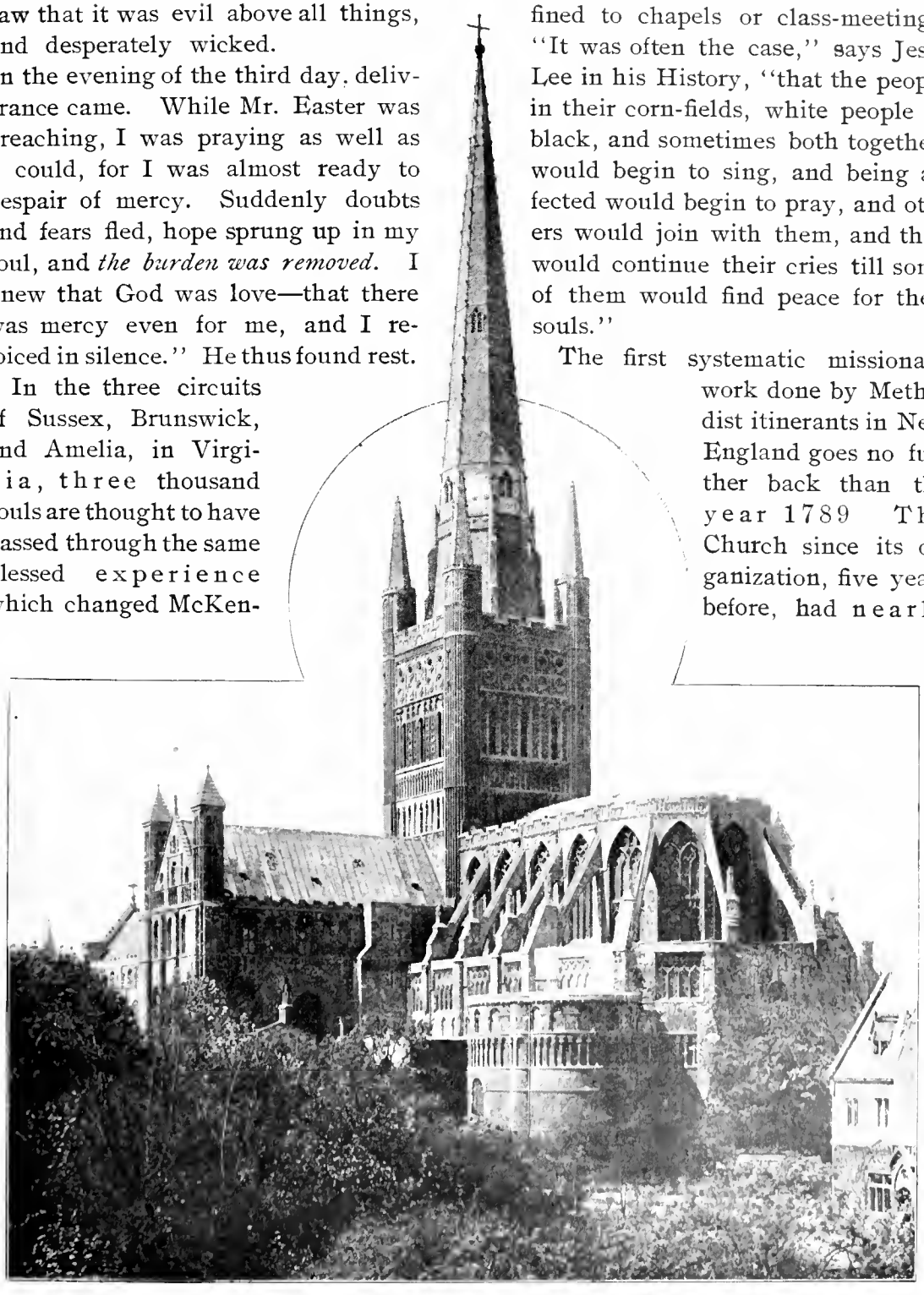
VINCHELEZ LANE, ISLE OF JERSEY.

saw that it was evil above all things, and desperately wicked.

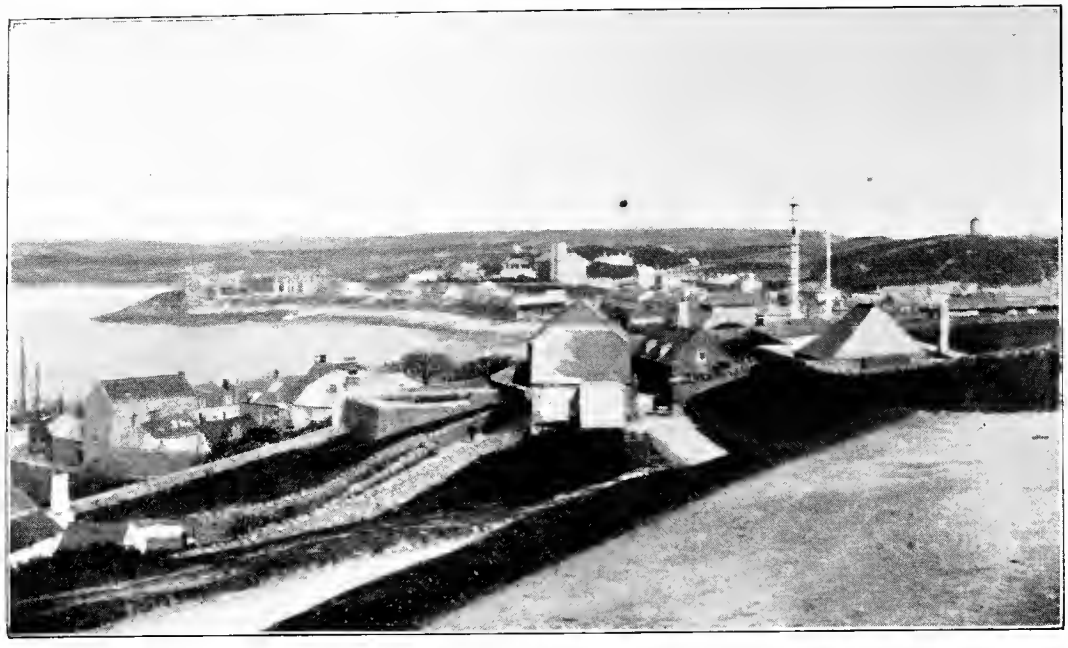
In the evening of the third day, deliverance came. While Mr. Easter was preaching, I was praying as well as I could, for I was almost ready to despair of mercy. Suddenly doubts and fears fled, hope sprung up in my soul, and *the burden was removed.* I knew that God was love—that there was mercy even for me, and I rejoiced in silence." He thus found rest.

In the three circuits of Sussex, Brunswick, and Amelia, in Virginia, three thousand souls are thought to have passed through the same blessed experience which changed McKendree from a worldling into a man of God. The revival of religion in this region far surpassed anything that had hitherto been known. The influence was not confined to chapels or class-meetings. "It was often the case," says Jesse Lee in his History, "that the people in their corn-fields, white people or black, and sometimes both together, would begin to sing, and being affected would begin to pray, and others would join with them, and they would continue their cries till some of them would find peace for their souls."

The first systematic missionary work done by Methodist itinerants in New England goes no further back than the year 1789 The Church since its organization, five years before, had nearly trebled in numbers; and its preachers were ardent and aggressive, and eager to enter on unbroken ground. The man chosen at the New York Conference of 1789 to



NORWICH CATHEDRAL.



HUGH TOWN, ST. MARY'S, SCILLY ISLES.

be its pioneer was the able and devoted Jesse Lee, whose name henceforth becomes identified with work in the northern states. For over fourteen years, since meeting with a Massachusetts merchant in Charleston, who described to him the condition of religion in New England, he had longed to carry thither the banner of a warmer-blooded, heartier Christian creed and life. Gradually he passed northward, during these intervening years, from one circuit to another, until finally, at the Conference held in New York in May, 1789, he was named for the Stamford circuit in Connecticut.

On the seventeenth of June he was in the state of Connecticut, preaching his first sermon there, at Norwalk. His reception was somewhat cool, not to say chilling. Recommended to a certain Mr. Rogers, he found on calling at the house that only Mrs. Rogers was at home, and she was unwilling to have him preach in the house. "I told her we would hold meetings in the road, rather than give her any uneasiness. We proposed speaking in an old house, which stood just by, but she was not willing. I then spoke to an old lady about preaching in her orchard, but she would not consent, and said we would tread the grass down." Finally he began to preach on the side of the road, with about twenty hearers, choosing the text from John iii. 7: "*Ye must be born again.*"

As he proceeded further he found traces of the work of the Nova Scotian, William Black, who had been there two years before and made a favorable impression. Some of Black's converts gave him a hearty welcome, and prospects began to brighten. Four days later he arrived in the academic precincts of New Haven, where he preached in the court-house, at five in the evening, to a considerable congregation, among whom were the president of Yale, many of the students, and a Congregational minister of the place.

It was south of New Haven, at Stratfield, a parish of the town of Stratford, near Bridgeport, that he organized the first Methodist society in New England. His first visit was early in July, when his reception was remarkably hearty and encouraging. Six weeks later he re-

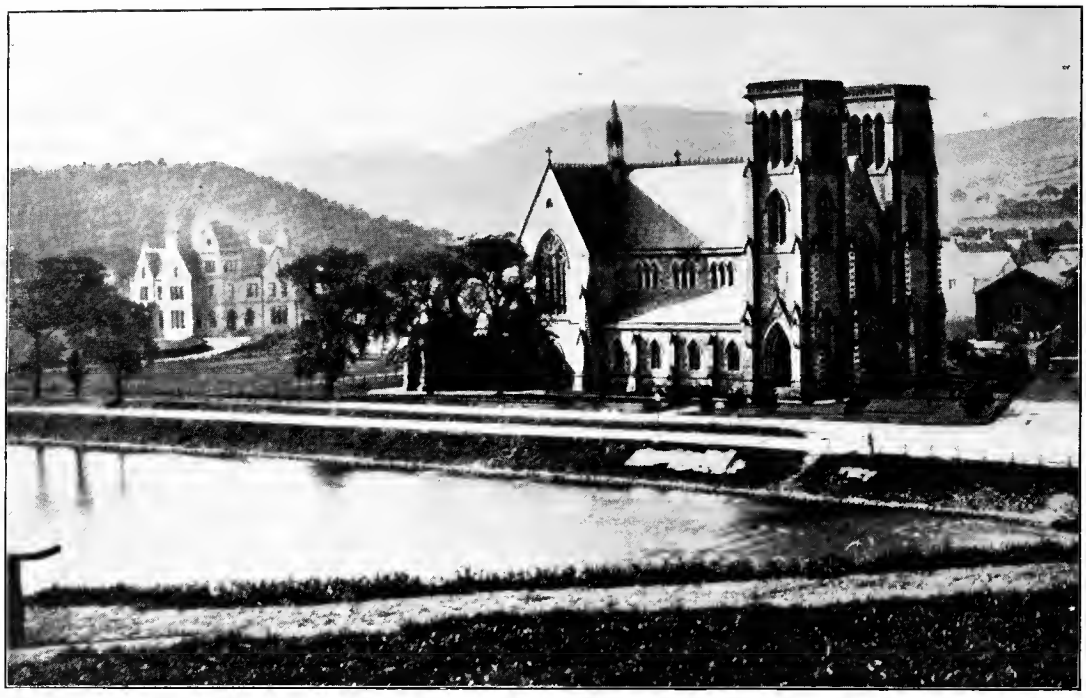
turned, hoping to find that the avowed intentions of certain of the people to become Methodists had not been abandoned. Charges of heresy had been put in circulation by the ultra-orthodox, in order to discourage these inquirers; but three women remained firm, and became the nucleus of the work in that whole region. They were two sisters of the name of Hall, and a third named Ruth Wells. Mary Hall became later Mrs. Wells, and Ruth Wells became Mrs. Risley. All three sustained a reputation for consistent piety during the remainder of their lives.

As the society grew, it met with considerable opposition and molestation from rowdies. When Bishop Asbury paid the town a visit two years later, they were for closing the court-house against him, and the audience which he addressed was by no means mannerly. The society numbered about twenty at this time.

At Redding in the same state, before the close of 1789, a second society was formed, consisting of but two members, Aaron Sanford, and his mother-in-law, Mrs. Hawley. For fifty years Sanford's house welcomed Methodist preachers within its hospitable walls. Of ten children, nine of whom entered the married state, all without exception became devout members of the Church; and two of his sons, with himself, served as local preachers. The tradition of Christian service passed into the third generation. Aaron Sanford was the patriarch of New England Methodism. He became a nonagenarian, and, but for his deafness, kept his faculties intact until the close of his long pilgrimage.

By the year 1790 four itinerants were devoting themselves to the New England field. Lee had as co-laborers Jacob Brush, a native of Long Island, who, entering the itineracy in 1783, had labored in New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland. Brush was the only one of the four who had been ordained as an elder, for Jesse Lee, in his diffidence, had hitherto refused ordination, and the other two, Smith and Roberts, were still young men. He later shared with Lee,

RUINS OF TRESCO ABBEY SCILLY ISLES.



INVERNESS CATHEDRAL.

for one year, the supervision of the New England circuits, and was then transferred to New York, where he died in 1795. The Conference minutes describe him as an active man of God, and a great friend to union and order.

Daniel Smith was a Philadelphian, who had entered the ministry in 1788 when nineteen years of age. His restrained and persuasive yet powerful pulpit oratory suited the tastes of the eastern people, whose particular respect he earned. In the Boston and Lynn districts he was warmly esteemed. He shared with George Roberts, the fourth of this 1790 band, the reputation of being unequaled in *ex tempore* preaching. Roberts was a Marylander of English parentage—indeed it is doubtful whether he himself was not English born—who, after some experience as a local preacher, joined the itineracy in this very year. For the next six years he labored partly or entirely in New England, enduring privations, and showing remarkable zeal and capacity in the work of organizing and disciplining societies. During Asbury's first visit to New England, he acted as his escort. The bishop, himself inured to hardships, was puzzled by the hollow appearance of his escort's saddle-bags. "Brother Roberts," he exclaimed, as he punched them with his cane, "where are your clothes?" "On my back, sir," was the reply. The thread and needle-case he carried with him for purposes of repairing were preserved by his son as a valuable heirloom. Large and muscular in build, with a dignified presence, and a cheerful demeanor, he added logic and system to the other elements which entered into his personality as a preacher. He has been well described as a "mighty man of God." Some ten years after quitting the New England field, he located in Baltimore, where he practiced as a physician. The meeting of these four men at Dantown in the spring of 1790 was the beginning of a vigorous campaign.

Another able fellow-laborer appeared on the scene. As Jesse Lee, who had

entered Rhode Island at the end of June, after visiting Vermont and New Hampshire, was ten miles out of Providence on his way to Boston, he saw before him on the highway two men on horseback, bearing about them unmistakable evidences of being Methodist itinerants—the cut of the clothes and the saddle-bags bewrayed them. When Lee came up to these dusty and weary travelers, he was delighted to discover in them none other than his old friend Freeborn Garrettson, accompanied by "Black Harry." The chance meeting was singularly welcome to all three; and so interested a spectator that he offered them a night's hospitality.

Garrettson had crossed over from the banks of the Hudson, in his own district, by way of Sharon; was civilly received by Presbyterians and Episcopalians as he advanced eastward on his preaching tour; and at the close of June arrived at Hartford. Here he found the people cold and listless, and uncivil in their treatment of "Black Harry," who attempted to exhort them. Three or four days later he was in Boston, hunting up those who had formerly been Methodists but had become lukewarm. Three years before, while returning from Nova Scotia, he had discovered in the city three former members of the society which Richard Boardman had organized in colonial days. Before leaving, he secured a meeting-house and a place for a preacher to board.

Two years later another familiar figure appears on the scene, the youthful and ardent Hope Hull, who, hunted out of Savannah, had been brought north by Asbury when he came to preside at the first New England Conference. This was held at Lynn, where the society had now one hundred and eighteen members, and possessed an unfinished chapel. Within its bare walls the Conference met, and appointed eighteen preachers for the New England district. Hull was associated with Roberts on the Hartford circuit, in an intelligent community which required the ministrations of men endowed with a full measure of intellectual capacity.

Georgia was a state in which, at the close of the Revolutionary War, the Anglican Church was extinct. Savannah, which had been selected fifty years before as a center of Methodist religious life, was now noted for its godlessness.

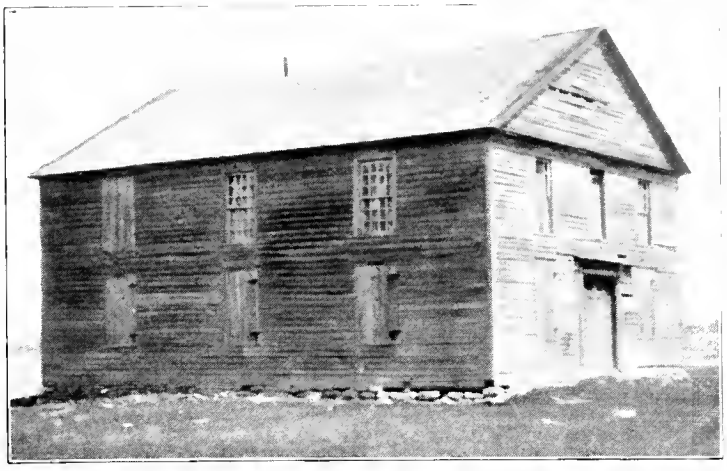
MOUTH OF GASPEREAUX RIVER, WHERE THE ACADIANS EMBARKED.

Indeed, so strong was the prejudice against Methodism in this busy seaport that it was not until 1811 that a church was planted there. The new Methodism traveled across the South Carolina frontier with the settlers who took up lands in the interior. Its pioneer preachers were Thomas Humphries, a fine-looking man, who preached with great earnestness and power, and John Major, who, a constant sufferer from ill-health, was more pathetic in his address, and earned the name of "the weeping prophet." At the first Conference held in the state, in April, 1788, ten members were present, and Asbury came south to preside. Among the members were two notable men — Richard Ivy, who was appointed an elder at the Christmas Conference of 1784, and the Maryland carpenter, Hope Hull, a man of fine physique and great courage, who, notwithstanding the disadvantages of his early training, valued education next to religion, and succeeded in making good his deficiencies. He married the daughter of a prominent Georgian, became one of the board of trustees of the university at Athens, an institution to which he devoted much of his time and energies, and gained a high reputation as a powerful and persuasive pulpit orator, at home in addressing educated audiences. He left descendants who became prominent in education and politics in the state.

REV. WILLIAM BLACK,
Pioneer of Methodism in Eastern Canada.

The first completed Methodist church in Georgia was in Wilkes county, near Washington, and was known as Grant's meeting-house. Here, in 1789, the second Conference met, Asbury again presiding. Thomas Grant was a Virginian of Scotch descent, whose people had belonged to the Presbyterian Church. The family migrated to North Carolina, and thence, in 1784, removed to Wilkes county, in Georgia. During a long and useful life, this liberal-minded and pious man was a pillar of the Church in Georgia, and the warm friend and benefactor of every traveling preacher.

At this Conference Hope Hull was appointed to Savannah town, where, nearly sixty years before, the Wesleys had labored, none too successfully. The tradition of the "meddling Methodists" unfortunately lingered about the place, and he met with a hostile reception. The Calvinists, represented by able men in the Presbyterian and Baptist Churches, were strongly intrenched in the town, and Hull found that he could not obtain a footing. It was not, indeed, until the year 1811 that the town of Savannah could boast of a Methodist society or meeting-house. The new Methodism entered Georgia from the interior, and depended for its support on families like that of the Grants, who had moved southward from Virginia or the Carolinas. The work in Georgia pretty much resembled that in Kentucky and elsewhere along the Indian frontier. There were no bridges, and no turnpikes; in many counties not a pane of glass was to be found in any of the houses; nor were there many saw-mills to



THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH IN CANADA.

provide the material for frame houses. The men were hard-working pioneers, who, dressed in hunting-shirts, went barefoot or wore Indian moccasins; the women dressed in the homeliest of homespun garments. Ignorant they were, but honest and simple-hearted, and ready to share their simple meals of lye hominy and venison with the traveling preachers. He received no salary, for money was a commodity that was hardly existent in these remote parts. Some of the preachers, indeed, had not as much as five dollars in cash to spend during a whole year. It was among the poorest of the Georgians that Methodism first planted itself; and the results were very modest for many years. In 1793 the separate Conference was given up, and the Georgia Conference united to that of South Carolina. When the united Conference met at Broad river, in the Abbeville district of South Carolina, on New Year s Day of 1794, its accommodation was of the humblest. One chamber, twelve feet square, was all the room they had to sleep in, to hold their discussions, to accommodate the sick. Philip Bruce, who was entrusted with the entire supervision of the work in South Carolina and in Georgia, was suffering from ill-health, and so was Bishop Asbury Bruce, a North Carolinian by birth, and a French Huguenot by descent, had entered the traveling connection in 1781, and proved himself an able, zealous, and devoted worker, much loved by those who knew him best. He survived until the year 1826, and, at the close of his life, enjoyed the distinction of being, after Freeborn Garrettson, the oldest traveling preacher in the Methodist connection.

Some pioneer work was done in Kentucky during this period, but for long the Baptists were the chief religious force in this new field. As early as 1776 a Baptist preacher began work, and some years later there came a number of Baptists from Virginia, cases of pastor and congregations moving bodily into the new forest territory being not unknown. To Francis Clark, a settler from Virginia, and a local preacher, belongs the credit of being the pioneer Methodist in Kentucky Settling in Mercer county, near Danville, in the year 1783, he busied himself in organizing Christian work, and was successful in planting several vigorous societies during the sixteen remaining years of his life. Next year two itinerants, Haw and Ogden, were sent thither, and made a notable convert in Peter Massie, who became a singularly effective preacher. In 1787 there were two circuits with ninety adherents. Haw, who was superseded in the following year, became a strong adherent of O'Kelly's and did much to promote schism in the Cumberland circuit, whither he moved. His successor in Kentucky was Francis Poythress, who, in the 1790 to 1800 decade, presided over all the Annual Conferences which were held in Kentucky, and had a general supervision of the work. Bishop Asbury, who vis-

ited the territory in May, 1790, accompanied by Whatcoat and Hull, found Brother Poythress "much alive to God," and formed a high conception of his worth. The field, he noticed, was as yet in other hands. At a Conference held in Lexington he ordained as elders, Wilson Lee, Thomas Wilson, and Barnabas McHenry; and raised a subscription in land and money for a school to be named Bethel.

It was about this time that a Virginian family, named Cartwright, in which the mother was a pious Methodist, migrated across the frontier into the "new and beautiful country of canes and turkeys." Forming a band for mutual protection, about a hundred families moved westward together, and rarely a day passed but they saw evidences of killing and scalping by the savages who roamed through the great forests. Of their own party, seven families, who had imprudently separated from the main body, were murdered, with the exception of one man, who escaped. The life was one of hard toil and incessant danger, and for long the communities had to be concentrated in forts for mutual protection.

THE OLD STONE HOUSE, GUILFORD, CONNECTICUT.
The oldest house in the United States, built 1639.

Until the year 1793 the Cartwright family were settled in Lincoln county, on the Hanging Ford of Dick's river, where they were visited by John Page and Benjamin Northcut, two traveling preachers, who, after devoted labors and the most harassing experiences, survived to an honored old age. Peter Cartwright, then a boy of seven or eight, whose name was to become so famous in Methodist annals, conceived a high respect for these men. His father, while not a professing Christian, was friendly to Christian work, and gave them a warm welcome. The story of Peter's boyhood, and his conversion in the revival of 1801, belongs to a subsequent chapter.

From Kentucky the Methodist movement passed southward into Middle Tennessee, Benjamin Ogden being its pioneer. Already East Tennessee had been visited from Virginia. Jeremiah Lambert, who died in the West Indian field, was appointed at the Baltimore Conference held in the spring of 1783 to the Holston circuit, which was situated in Southwestern Virginia and East Tennessee. It was a newly settled country, where most of the people were Presbyterians of Scotch-Irish stock, and bitterly prejudiced against Methodists. At the close of his year of work Mr. Lambert reported sixty members. His successor, Henry Willis, was a man who was much trusted by Asbury, and who accompanied the bishop on his first journey to Charleston. Ill-health interfered with his labors, but two other preachers came to assist him, and the work prospered favorably.

The story of Massie's life and death is one of the most interesting in the annals of Methodism on the Indian frontier. His period of active preaching was short but eventful. In 1788, when

under religious convictions, he crossed the Ohio river into the Indian country with two companions. The party was overtaken by Indians, and Massie alone escaped by springing into a sink and concealing himself among the weeds. Thenceforth he devoted himself to preaching the gospel, with great pathos and power, so that the whole audience would often melt into tears. While traveling on the Danville circuit in the winter of 1791–2, he expired suddenly in the house of a friend named Hodges who lived near Nashville. Mr. Hodges was himself sick, and a negro servant dug the grave, cut down an ash tree to provide wood for the coffin, and buried with his own hands the remains of the good preacher. Fifty years later, being then a white-haired man of eighty, old Simson told the story to the members of the Tennessee Conference, who listened to his words with hushed awe and interest. He thought he could conduct them to the grave; but so great had been the changes of the half-century that all indications that might mark it had been removed; and they gave up the search.

CHAPTER XVII.

SUNSET DAYS.

THE seven years which followed the signing of the Deed of Declaration and the sending of Coke and his two associates to America saw the three great lights of the Methodist movement sink below the horizon. The saint of the movement, the embodiment of that perfection which Wesley so strenuously preached and inculcated as the goal of Christian endeavor, was the first to pass away. John Fletcher, of Madeley, was a younger man by twenty-six years than John Wesley, but his constitution was a feeble one, and the blade wore out its frail sheath. All who knew him reverenced him. "He was a *luminary*," said the godly Venn, to one who asked about him. "A luminary, did I say? he was a sun! I have known all the great men for these fifty years, but none like him." Wesley's opinion was to the same effect. Referring to George Whitefield, he eulogized the noble qualities of that devoted preacher; but yet he confessed that he had seen these qualities matched in others. John Fletcher, however, stood out unrivaled. "I was intimately acquainted with him," he stated in the peroration of his funeral sermon, preached November 6, 1785, "for above thirty years; I conversed with him morning, noon, and night, without the least reserve, during a journey of many hundred miles; and in all that time I never heard him speak one improper word, nor saw him do an improper action. To conclude, many exemplary men have I known, holy in heart and life, within fourscore years, but one equal to him I have not known, one so inwardly and outwardly devoted to God. So unblamable a character in every respect I have not found either in Europe or America, and I scarce expect to find another such on this side eternity.".

It was a singular good fortune that gave to Wesley so marvelously endowed an exponent of his theology. As a controversialist Fletcher wielded a skillful and incisive pen, and was a dangerous opponent; but what signifies a mere controversial victory if there be no living reality behind the argument? Fletcher's noble tract on "Christian Perfection" appeared in 1776; but, persuasive as are its phrases, and excellent as is its argument, a far better argument lay behind it all in the good vicar himself, of whom it could with consistency be said as he lay in his coffin: *Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.*

The last four years of his life were blessed by the companionship of a congenial spirit. Mary Bosanquet, a lady of good family and considerable wealth, which she used consistently for the benefit of the needy and the spread of religion, became his wife at the close of the year 1781. They had known and respected one another for over thirty years; but for long Fletcher deemed that he could serve the Lord better if he remained single. One day, however, as he turned over the pages of Holy Writ, he lighted upon the passage: *Enoch begat sons and daughters. And Enoch walked with God, and was not: for God took him.* It seemed to him that if Enoch, at the head of a family, had sufficient holiness to enter directly into the companionship of God, the marriage state in these later times should offer no obstacle toward union with the divine, and indeed might promote such a union. And so his objections melted away. Be-

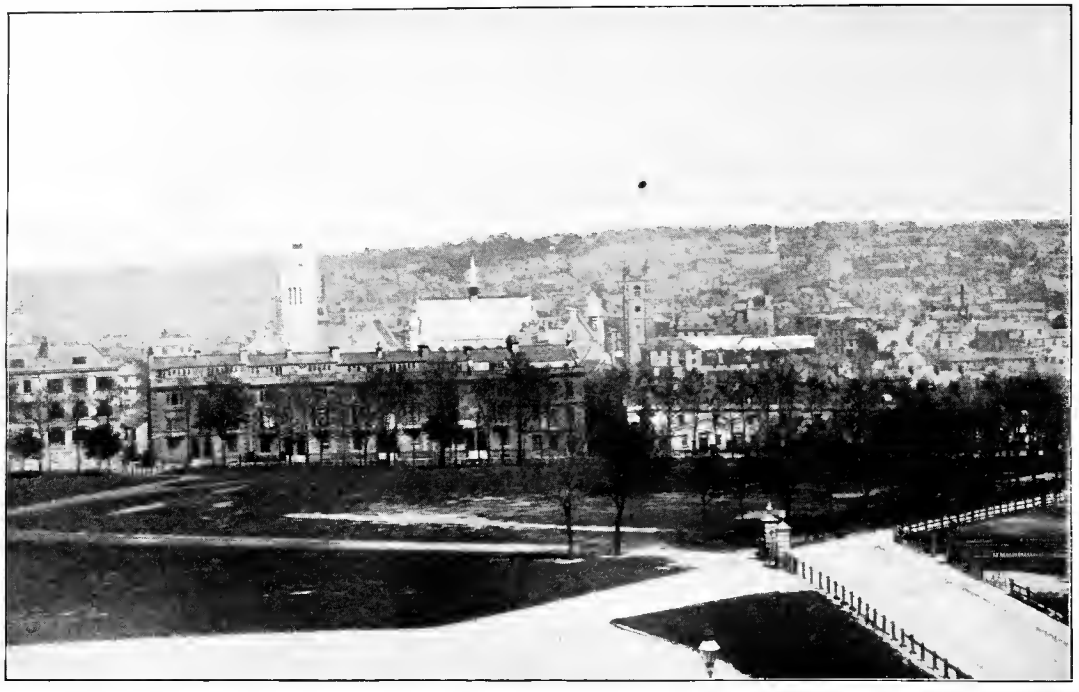
fore consenting, Miss Bosanquet consulted Wesley and received his sanction and hearty approval. It was a happy and all too short union of congenial spirits.

Madeley, where Fletcher labored for a quarter of a century, is a market town and parish on the banks of the historic Severn, about thirteen miles from Shrewsbury. The presence of coal in the neighborhood is made evident on the map by the name of the nearest hamlet, Coalbrookdale. With the colliers Fletcher had much influence, and he worked zealously for their good. The existence of eighteen public houses in his parish militated against his efforts, and he had an uphill struggle with vice. Always deeply interested in the welfare of the young, he welcomed the Sunday-school movement which was then spreading, and planned six schools in his parish, three for boys and three for girls, one at Madeley, another at Madeley Wood, and a third at Coalbrookdale; and he was much gratified to see the fruits of his efforts in the general reformation that took place in the parish. His last act in public was to lay the foundation stone of the Madeley Sunday-school.

REV. CHARLES WESLEY.

In the year 1783 he yielded to the earnest requests of the Methodist society in Dublin to visit the Irish capital and give them the benefit of his exhortations. Accompanied by his wife, he went thither in the month of August, and was warmly welcomed. The incident of his visit which most impressed itself on the memory of a Dublin resident was his generous use of the purse they made up for him to pay his expenses, knowing what a scant pittance he received from his parish. At first he firmly refused the gift. Then, seeing their importunity, he took the purse in hand. "Well," said he, "do you really force it upon me? Is it entirely mine? And may I do with it as I please?" "Yes, yes," they all replied. "God be praised then, God be praised," said he, casting his eyes to heaven, "behold what a mercy is here! Your poor's fund was just out; I heard some of you complaining that it was never so low before. Take this purse. God has sent it to you, raised it among yourselves, and bestowed it upon your poor. You cannot deny me. It is sacred to them. God be praised! I thank you, I heartily thank you, my dear brethren."

This visit was a source of pleasure and



PLYMOUTH.

profit to all concerned. It was just two years later, in the month of August, 1785, that the saintly man entered peacefully into his rest. On the seventeenth day of that month he was buried in Madeley churchyard, in presence of a great multitude, who mourned the loss of a spiritual father and benefactor. On his tombstone was engraved the following epitaph:

HERE LIES THE BODY OF
THE REV. JOHN WILLIAM DE LA FLECHERE,
VICAR OF MADELEY,
WHO WAS BORN AT NYON, IN SWITZERLAND,
SEPTEMBER THE 12TH, 1729,
AND FINISHED HIS COURSE, AUGUST THE 11TH,
1785,
IN THIS VILLAGE;
WHERE HIS UNEXAMPLED LABOURS
WILL LONG BE REMEMBERED.
HE EXERCISED HIS MINISTRY FOR THE SPACE
OF TWENTY-FIVE YEARS
IN THIS PARISH
WITH UNCOMMON ZEAL AND ABILITY.
MANY BELIEVED HIS REPORT, AND BECAME
HIS JOY AND CROWN OF REJOICING;
WHILE OTHERS CONSTRAINED HIM TO TAKE UP
THE LAMENTATION OF THE PROPHET,
"ALL THE DAY LONG HAVE I STRETCHED OUT
MY HAND
UNTO A DISOBEDIENT AND GAINSAYING PEOPLE:
YET SURELY MY JUDGMENT IS WITH THE LORD
AND MY WORK WITH GOD."
"HE BEING DEAD YET SPEAKETH."

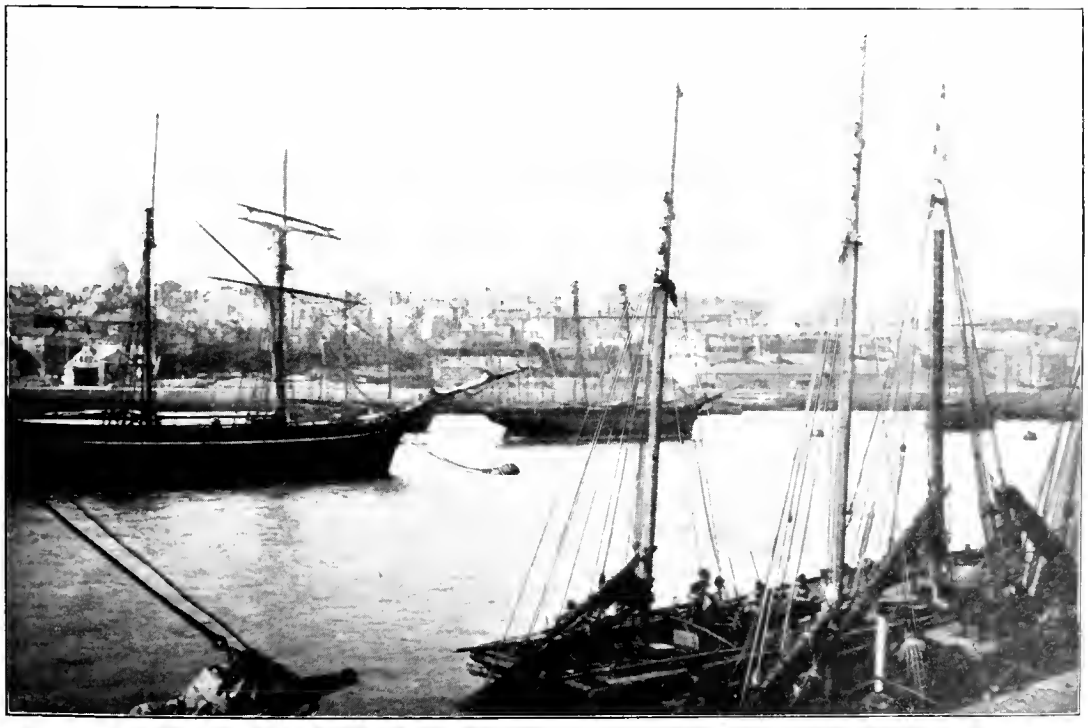
It is a spot sacred to the Christian world. Fletcher is the saint *par excellence* of the eighteenth century. As he bore in his day the reproach of Methodism, his resting-place should not be forgotten by those who are proud of the name of Methodist, and have been blessed by the fruits of his labors and by his example.

Fletcher's theology was essentially the theology of Methodism. It was a conciliatory and not a pugnacious theology. Very far was Fletcher from condemning those of his brethren in the Church who held to a Calvinistic creed; indeed, it was his life's endeavor so to have Calvinism modified that it would not deny or seem to deny the justice of God. The extreme Calvinists, who reveled in assertions of God's *arbitrariness* in the choice of the elect, occupied a position with which he had no sympathy; the moderate Calvinists, however, who merely asserted that God chose as He willed, and were content to leave the rest a mystery, were in every respect his brethren. The name

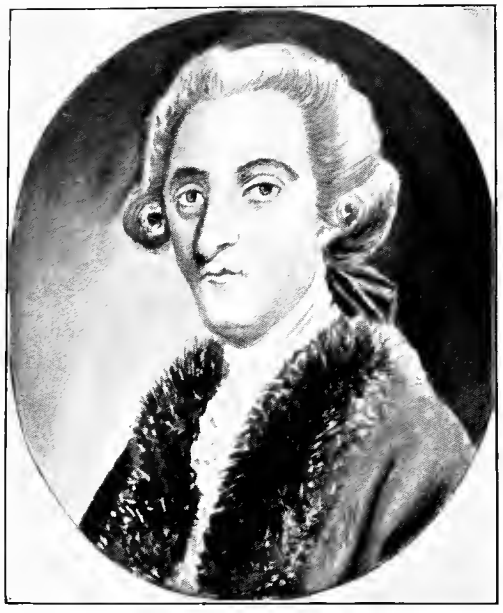
he gave to one of his controversial pieces shows this conciliatory disposition. It is entitled "The Reconciliation, or an Easy Method to Unite the Professing People of God, by Placing the Doctrines of *Grace* and *Justice* in such a Light as to Make the candid ARMINIANS *Bible Calvinists*, and the candid CALVINISTS *Bible Arminians.*" It had also been termed, in an advertisement previously published, "A Plea of Reconciliation between the Defenders of the Doctrines of *Partial Grace*, commonly called *Calvinists*, and the Defenders of the Doctrine of *Impartial Justice*, commonly called Arminians." He considered that much of the bitterness between the two parties arose from the fact that they looked on different sides of the shield. Fletcher had already published a small tract in which he deplored the dissensions of Christians, and stated that these were caused by parting the two equally essential doctrines of *Grace* and *Justice*.

This was exactly the position of Wesley. He knew well that the word of God could be preached with power in the language of Calvinism. The three essentials on which he insisted excluded no sincere evangelical. They were: Original sin; justification by faith; holiness of heart and life; where a man's life is answerable to his doctrine. Both Fletcher and Wesley deplored the action of the extreme Calvinists, which forced a division, and made union impossible. They entered unwillingly the arena of controversy; it was the other side that threw down the glove. Antinomianism was a pressing danger in both camps; and Fletcher, in his excellent "Checks to Antinomianism," rendered a service to common Christianity. While his name is one of the glories of Methodism, his greatness was limited to no section or party.

The extremely important steps taken by Wesley in the course of the year 1784 made the years which followed full of disputes that were often acrimonious. Even



PENZANCE, FROM THE HARBOR.



DOCTOR ARNE.
A famous musician and composer; Charles Wesley's friend.

in the Leeds Conference it took all the authority of the saintly Fletcher to preserve harmony among the members. The Deed of Declaration, which had been executed on the twenty-eighth of February, 1784, came up then for discussion. Some of its provisions were considered invidious by many of the brethren; others regarded the whole basis as unsound. The Deed itself bore the title, "A Declaration and Establishment of the Conference of the People Called Methodists." It began by giving the names and addresses of one hundred preachers, who were now declared to be the members of this said Conference. But, it was urged by unfriendly critics, the Conference really derived no authority from the people called Methodists, but was an assembly of itinerant preachers only. When assembled it exercised powers which were neither derived from the people nor subject to any control from them. Moreover, the arbitrary transference of legal powers from the old Conference to the body of one hundred members, mentioned by name in the Deed, seemed open to grave objection, until the consent of the several parties concerned had first been obtained.

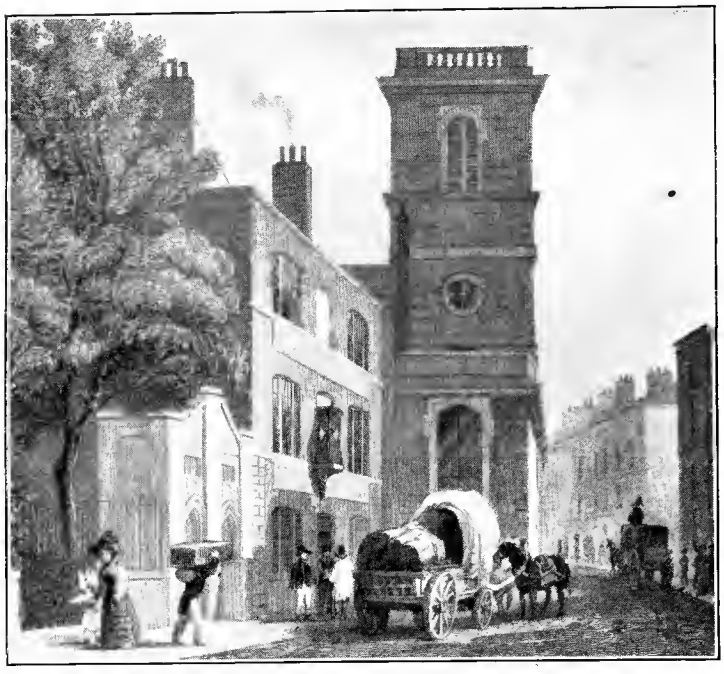
There was, manifestly, ample room for long and serious debate in a discussion of the provisions of the celebrated Deed. An additional element of disturbance was added, to-wit, the actual exclusion from the select hundred of many old and respected itinerants, for no apparent reason, giving rise to much umbrage and many heartburnings. Our old friend Joseph Pilmoor, who, for the long period of nineteen years, had borne the heat and burden of the day in America and elsewhere, was passed over in favor of newcomers like William Hoskins and James Wray, whose united years of service amounted only to three! Nor was Pilmoor's the most flagrant case of apparent injustice. Thomas Lee and Thomas Mitchell, with thirty-six years of service, and John Hampson, senior, and Thomas Johnson, each with thirty-one years, were also left out in the cold. John Pawson acknowledged that these men had some reason to feel aggrieved. John Hampson, junior, characterized it as an iniquitous and mortifying measure. Before the Conference met a circular letter was printed and sent round, with the object of stirring up a systematic opposition to the measure. When, however, the members assembled in Conference and met Wesley face to face, the overpowering force of his personality displayed itself. When the old man appealed to them to support his policy, all rose without exception. The members who had been responsible for printing the circular were censured; and through Fletcher's efforts they apologized for having printed the circular without first appealing to Conference. In this way was a very serious crisis weathered.

An opposition still, however, continued to simmer. In the spring Wesley

thought good to publish an explanation of his conduct, in a tract entitled "Thoughts Upon Some Late Occurrences." In this he explained that the term "conference" was a loose one, and required to be defined; that all along it had meant, not so much an assembly for discussion, as the persons who composed the assembly. At first he had thought of naming only ten or twelve, but he judged it better to have a greater number of counselors, and so increased the list to a hundred. The limited number, he considered, would decrease expenses, and allow preachers to remain in the circuits while the Conference assembled. Referring to the seeming arbitrariness of his choice of the hundred, he remarked that he might indeed have named other preachers than those he did, "if I had thought as well of them as they did of themselves." This remark must have stung.

A schism did result. Five of the principal opponents of the Deed, to-wit, Joseph Pilmoor, John Atlay, William Eels, and the two Hampsons, withdrew from the society. The younger Hampson was the first to write a life of John Wesley. It appeared in the year 1791, in three volumes, and included a review of his writings. There is nothing overtly unfair in the book, and yet it is colored by the author's own feelings. His conception of Wesley as essentially ambitious was reproduced in Southey's well-known biography. Pilmoor took orders in the Established Church, and, returning to America, became an Episcopal clergyman in Philadelphia. At Plymouth, William Moore, a preacher of ten years' standing, was so dissatisfied with the new policy that he withdrew from the connection and carried with him forty of the local members. Moore was a man of considerable ability, who had an excellent record as an itinerant. The leaders of the Plymouth society, who were then engaged in building a meeting-house, in consternation summoned Wesley to the scene, who, arriving in a bitter frost, spent a week in mending matters. He defended his policy with

LOCK HOSPITAL, LONDON, WHERE MADAN WAS CHAPLAIN.



ALLHALLOWS CHURCH, UPPER THAMES STREET, LONDON.

regard to the Deed of Declaration against the construction put upon it by Moore, whose sincerity he questioned, and succeeded in restoring confidence.

Of the ninety-two preachers arbitrarily excluded from the select hundred, about one-third in all took umbrage and left. It must have proved a season of severe strain to Wesley, and it was a serious crisis in Methodism. And yet such a drastic measure, it must be conceded, was necessary for its continued existence. The Conference became a legally incorporated institution, with a definite and authoritative center. The old condition of affairs, had it been allowed to continue, would have resulted sooner or later in a dissolution of the unity of the society, which would have fallen apart into congregations. The result justified Wesley's judgment.

The Bristol ordinations, followed later by the ordinations for Scotland, were excessively distasteful to Charles Wesley. He consulted Lord Mansfield on the subject, and was informed that such acts meant separation from the Church of England. Both brothers had all along been unanimous in deprecating such a separation from the state Church and in discountenancing the tendency to separation only too apparent in many members of the society. Charles accused his brother of inconsistency, a charge it was difficult to refute. John Wesley had, indeed, obeyed a higher law than that of human consistency; and between the brothers it was a case of "agreeing to differ."

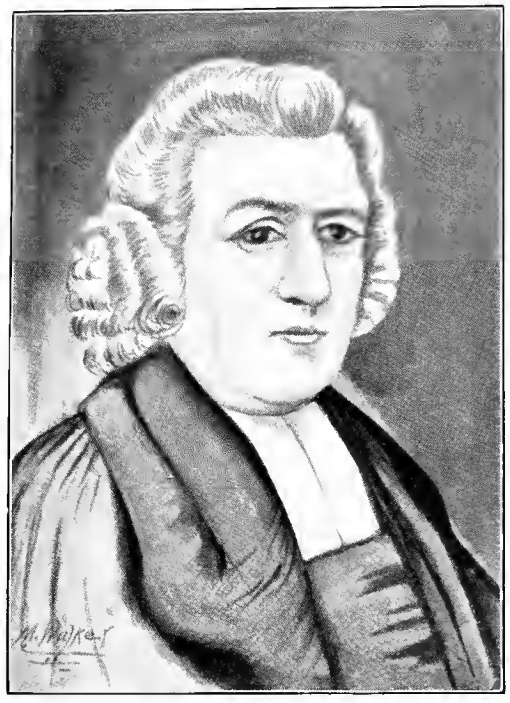
During these later years of his life Charles Wesley drifted away from the strong current of enthusiasm for humanity in which his brother piloted his way until the very end. His feeble health and musical tastes led him to associate with people of leisure, who devoted themselves to culture. He was fond of playing on the flute, and his wife loved the harpsichord, accompanying the music with her voice, which, though moderate in volume and compass, was soft and pleasing. She was specially fond of Handel's "I Know That My Redeemer Liveth" and other oratorio melodies. Their children inherited these musical tastes. Young Charles, born in 1757, could play on the harpsichord before he was three years old. His mother, indeed, in order that he might be free to play, tied him to the chair with a harp-string. At four years of age he was taken to London by his fond father and his gifts displayed to Doctor Arne and other musicians of repute. Doctor Boyce, a distinguished composer, for whom, in 1779, he composed an

elegy, his father writing the words, was much impressed, and proposed that he should enter the Chapel Royal. But this offer was declined. The lack of sound training proved a drawback, and young Charles failed to fulfill the promise of his youth. Few precocious musicians have so grievously disappointed the hopes that were formed of them.

His younger brother Samuel, born in 1766, while less of a youthful prodigy, lived to attain greater fame. His godfather was the celebrated Martin Madan, a cousin of the poet Cowper, and an ardent devotee of music. Educated like Charles Wesley at Westminister School, he had become a barrister, and belonged to a fast fraternity in the capital. At this time the Methodists were the subject of much ridicule, and Madan was sent by his jovial associates to "take off the old Methodist"—to-wit, John Wesley, who was then preaching with much power in the capital. He returned a changed man, to report that the old Methodist had taken him off. Madan resolved to become a preacher. The lawyer anxious to turn divine found that his Methodist tendencies stood in the way of his obtaining orders, but Lady Huntingdon's friendship helped him out. When he appeared in the pulpit of Allhallows Church, London, one Sunday in 1750, much curiosity was displayed among his quondam associates. For many years he was an active itinerant among the Calvinistic Methodists, and was the first to introduce the new preaching at Brighton. In 1756 the death of his father put him in possession of an ample income. John Wesley esteemed him highly and corresponded with him. Some time afterward he was appointed chaplain of the Lock Hospital, a post afterwards held by Legh Richmond, author of "Annals of the Poor." One feature of his chaplaincy was the weekly oratorio, given on Sunday afternoons to a privileged circle of friends.

His devotion to music did not please the ultra-religious. He is supposed to be the "fiddling priest" of his cousin Cowper's satire, in "The Progress of Error:"

WILLIAM COWPER.



REV. JOHN NEWTON.

He (the fiddling priest) from Italian songsters
takes his cue;
Set Paul to music, he shall quote him, too.
* * * * * * * *
Will not the sickliest sheep of every flock
Resort to this example as a rock?
There stand, and justify the foul abuse
Of Sabbath hours, with plausible excuse;
If apostolic gravity be free
To play the fool on Sundays, why not we?

It was supposed by many that the *Occiduus* of this poem, who is identical with the "fiddling priest," was none other than Charles Wesley; but his instrument was not the fiddle but the flute:

Occiduus is a pastor of renown;
When he has pray'd and preach'd the Sabbath
down,
With wire and catgut he concludes the day,
Quavering and semiquavering care away.

A letter, however, written by the poet to his friend, John Newton, disproves this, and points to Madan.

Madan seems to have been imprudent in the way he "showed off" his young godson to the musically inclined nobility and gentry of the capital; and the boy grew rather restive and moody under the experience. When Charles Wesley moved with his family to London, in the year 1771, young Samuel was already master of the oratorio "Samson," and was composing airs for his oratorio "Ruth." The musical talents of the children attracted much attention, and he was induced, in 1779, to give subscription concerts, which were attended by the best people in the capital. Twelve were given in a season, at their house in Chesterfield street, Marylebone. On February 25, 1781, John Wesley makes a note of his having attended one of the performances; and we know from another guest that he wore full canonicals. "I spent," he writes, "an agreeable hour at a concert at my nephew's; but I was a little out of my element among lords and ladies. I love plain music and plain company best."

Their uncle John had never approved of the way the boys were brought up, as tending to make them worldly, and he bluntly expressed his disapprobation. Neither of them inherited the religious earnestness of their father's family. Charles, while moral and blameless in his outward conduct, was wholly indifferent to spiritual religion. Samuel, less tractable, became before he was thirty a pervert to Roman Catholicism. In the fervor of his zeal, which seems to have been more æsthetic than religious in its nature, and finally died away entirely, he composed a mass which he sent to Pope Pius IX., and which was acknowledged in a Latin letter from that dignitary. His later life was not without scandal. After his wife's death he lived in open sin with a woman named Suter. The issue of this connection was a boy, Samuel Sebastian, who inherited his father's talents, and rose to eminence as a composer.

His godfather, Martin Madan, known in religious circles as the "Counselor" because of his previous legal training, did not enjoy at the close of his life the reputation for earnestness which had been his at an earlier period. By the more ardent Methodists he was considered over "genteel." In 1780, to the disgust of his friends and the horror of moral people in general, he published his "Thelyphthora," a treatise advocating polygamy as permissible under the Christian dispensation, and likely to help toward the solution of the vexed problem of the "social evil." His experiences as chaplain of the Lock Hospital had brought him into immediate contact with this difficult problem, and had helped to unsettle his views. The publication of the treatise was, of course, disastrous to his reputation and influence; but there is little reason to question his moral sincerity. He was no Antinomian, like Patty Wesley's husband, the miserable Westley Hall.

In 1760 Madan issued a "Collection of Psalms and Hymns," to which we owe the current version of "Lo, He Comes," and "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing." He died in the year 1790. Martin Madan must not be confounded with Spencer Madan, his brother, who became successively Bishop of Bristol and of Peterborough, and was highly esteemed as a prelate.

The concerts, which began in the year 1779, attracted, among other distinguished subscribers, the Earl of Mornington, father of the great Duke of Wellington. The earl was not only a composer—he has left us the favorite hymn-tune "Mornington"—but also a frequent performer on the violin. He was an attached friend of Charles Wesley's, and breakfasted often with the Wesley family. Those fond of genealogy will remember that the Wellesley family, of which the earl was representative, was identical with the Wesley family, and that a blood relationship existed between the two men. Not only so, but the name of the Mornington fam-

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF FRONTISPIECE OF AN EARLY METHODIST HYMNAL IN WHICH WESLEY'S FAVORITE TUNE, "WEDNESBURY," FIRST APPEARED.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

ily remained *Wesley* until the year 1797, when Richard Colley, the earl's eldest son, then an ambitious young man and rising statesman, concluded from researches in the family archives that the historic form was Wellesley. Thenceforward both he and his still more distinguished brother Arthur, afterward Duke of Wellington, wrote their name as *Wellesley*, which must be considered a revived antiquarian spelling. The earl was a diffident but sincere Christian. In a letter addressed to Charles Wesley, dated September 9, 1778, he proclaims his steadfast faith in Christ from his earliest years. "I never talk of religion," he adds, "but in my own family; but here I can say with Joshua, that I and my house will serve the Lord." A man of varied gifts, he was the father of three noted sons. His eldest son, to whom we have already referred, became Marquis of Wellesley before he was forty. It is interesting to note that he married an American wife—Mrs. Paterson, a granddaughter of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, in Maryland. As Governor-General of India he proved himself a statesman of singular ability. Every one knows the fame of Arthur, Duke of Wellington, "the great World-victor's victor." The youngest son, who became Lord Cowley, was a noted diplomatist, who rose to eminence on his own merits. But for the antiquarian freak of the eldest brother, all would have been known as Wesleys.

George III. conceived a high idea of the work and character of both John and Charles Wesley. Long after the death of the brothers, when he was white-haired and blind, it chanced that he was left alone in a room with Charles, the musician. "Mr. Wesley," he inquired, "is there anybody in the room but you and me?" "No, your majesty," was the response. "Then, Mr. Wesley," added the king, "it is my judgment that your uncle and your father, and George Whitefield, and Lady Huntingdon, have done more to promote true religion in the country than all the dignified clergy put together, who are so apt to despise their labors."

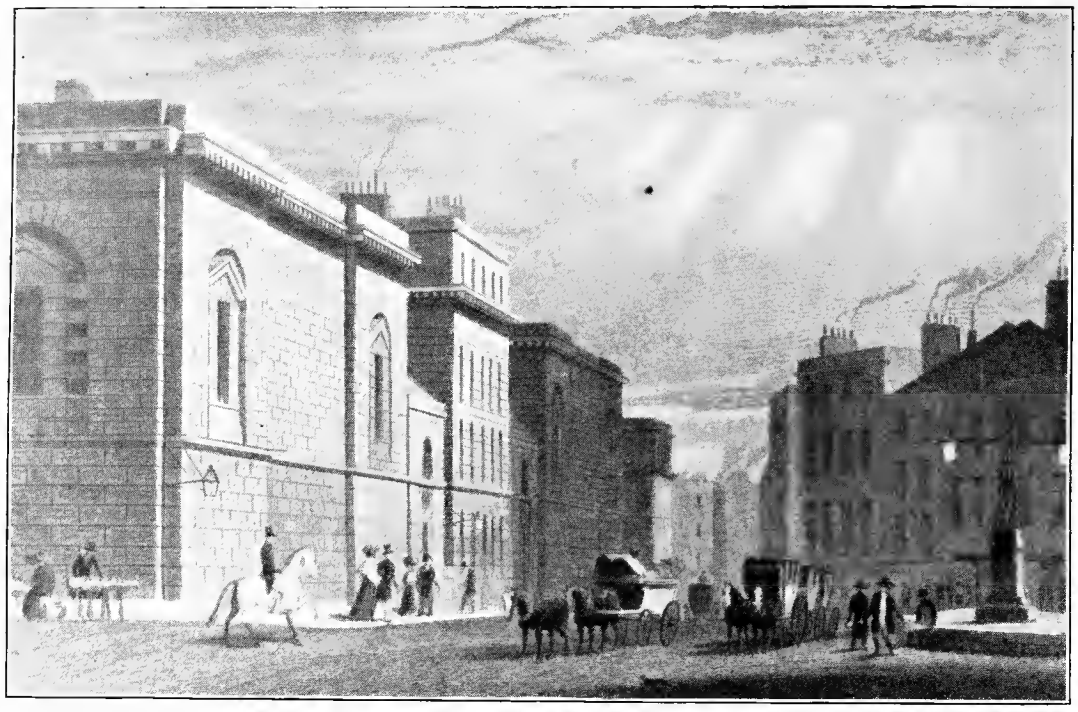
The closing years of Charles Wesley's life were not by any means spent solely

in the midst of polite society, even of a religious sort. The early sympathy he had entertained for prisoners, especially for condemned malefactors, burned brightly in his heart to the end. He visited, with his brother John, the unfortunate Doctor Dodd, who, at one time a popular and fashionable preacher and author, was brought through extravagance to commit forgery that he might meet his debts. It was the name of his former pupil, the Earl of Chesterfield, of which he had guiltily made use, and the penalty, by the severe statutes of the time, was death. Although in his prosperity he had made the Wesleys a butt for the shafts of his ridicule, they proved in his time of sorrow his best friends. Miss Bosanquet was also earnest in her sympathy and attentions. Several sets of verses remain in which Charles Wesley expressed his keen interest in the fate of this unfortunate man, who was hanged on June 27, 1777 Two days before his death Dodd wrote him a very friendly and contrite letter, which he treasured up among his papers.

This is but one instance of the constant sympathy he lavished on condemned felons. The latest of his publications was a tract entitled "Prayers for Condemned Felons," which contains a number of hymns suited for their use. He received evidence before long that these were helpful in providing the intended spiritual comfort.

A writer has described the appearance of Charles Wesley in these sunset days of his life: "He rode every day (clothed for winter even in summer) a little horse, gray with age. When he mounted, if a subject struck him, he proceeded to expand and put it in order. He would write a hymn thus given him on a card (kept for that purpose) with his pencil in short-hand. Not unfrequently he has come into the house in the City-road, and, having left the pony in the garden in front, he would enter, crying out: 'Pen and ink! pen and ink!' These being supplied, he wrote the hymn he had been composing. When this was done, he would look round on those present and salute them with much kindness; ask after their health; give out a short hymn, and thus put all in mind of eternity. He was fond of that stanza upon these occasions:

GEORGE III.



NEWGATE, OLD BAILEY.

"There all the ship's company meet,
Who sailed with the Savior beneath;
With shouting each other they greet,
And triumph in sorrow and death:
The voyage of life's at an end,
The mortal affliction is past;
The age that in heaven they spend
Forever and ever shall last."

Those familiar with his hymns will recognize in these lines the third stanza of "A Funeral Hymn," composed as far back as the year 1744, and beginning:

Rejoice for a brother deceased.

The death of Charles Wesley was preceded by many long days of weakness and weariness. In his last illness he was attended by Dr. John Whitehead, an eminent physician, to whom we owe a biography both of Charles and of his brother. A few days before his death, which occurred at the close of March, 1789, he lay silent, seemingly engaged in some mental occupation. Then he called his wife to his side, and bade her write to dictation the following lines:

In age and feebleness extreme,
Who shall a sinful worm redeem?
Jesus, my only hope Thou art,
Strength of my failing flesh and heart,
Oh! could I catch a smile from Thee,
And drop into eternity.

He died on the twenty-ninth day of the month, in his eightieth year. Some months before, he had stated that he would die in March, and he was not deceived in this prescience.

It was a strange fate which denied John Wesley timely news of his wife's and of his brother's death and burial. In the latter case a wrongly directed letter was the occasion of the delay. For eleven or twelve days he had received no news of his brother's condition, and when the fateful letter did arrive it was too late for him to be present at the funeral. He wrote from Macclesfield a letter of condolence to the widow, and a few days later received a sympathetic letter from his niece, Sarah Wesley, the third surviving child of the family, which gave a detailed account of her father's

last days on earth, and his peaceful death.

Eight pall-bearers, clergymen of the Church of England, saw him laid to rest in the churchyard of St. Mary-le-bone, which was close to his residence in Chesterfield street. It had been John's wish that they should lie side by side in the tomb he had prepared in the grounds of the City-road Chapel; but, as the ground was unconsecrated, Charles refused his consent. John had very decided views on the subject, and shortly after, in the pages of the *Arminian Magazine*, he published an article which spoke disparagingly of the rites of consecration as popish in origin, and having no warrant from primitive Christianity. The true consecration of churches and chapels, it stated, rested on no outward rite, but in the essential fact of God's worship being celebrated there. And so it was that sacerdotalism divided the brothers in death!

During the two years and more that he survived, John Wesley was consistent in his kindness to his brother's widow, and in his will made provision for the payment of a hundred pounds annuity which was secured to her by her marriage settlement. After his death she imprudently requested the trustees to pay her a lump sum in lieu of the annuity, and her request was granted. Her chief reason seems to have been a lack of confidence in the Methodist organization, since it had set up for itself—a distrust not unnatural to the widow of Charles Wesley, who had lost faith in the controlling policy ever since the signing of the Deed of Declaration, and looked for a speedy dissolution as soon as his brother should die. Doctor Whitehead, his physician and biographer, shared these views. In place of investing this sum she used it until it was expended, and then found herself in difficulties. Mr. Wilberforce, hearing of her monetary straits, for which he blamed the parsimony of the "Methodists," came to her assistance, and the Conference, as soon as the facts were made known, voted her an annuity. Sarah, Charles, and Samuel were also generously provided for. It must be remembered that the family had drifted away from Methodist moorings, and that the Conference ought not to be rashly blamed.

Mrs. Wesley survived until the year 1822, dying at the advanced age of ninety-six. Her daughter Sarah, who remained unmarried, and who was a woman of fine attainments, died when

WESLEY'S CHAPEL IN 1778.

on a visit to Bristol six years later, at the age of sixty-eight.

The saintly Fletcher remarked on one occasion that "one of the greatest blessings God has bestowed upon the Methodists, next to the Bible, is their collection of hymns." For this end Charles Wesley was providentially raised up as the chief instrument; and he took his mission very seriously. Hymn-writing with him was no genteel occupation, by which he sought the praise of men. He prized the faculty of writing devotional lyrics as something God-given and sacred, a trust committed to him from heaven, just as the lips of the Hebrew prophet were touched by a live coal from off the altar.

It was not until his heart underwent

that blessed change which made him a consecrated spirit that he began to give his hymns to the world; and this change did not occur until after his return from Georgia. Some days later, in the month of June, 1738, he wrote a hymn descriptive of his feelings, which he showed privately to a friend; doubting all the time whether he was justified in so doing. The manner in which it was received convinced him that he was not justified in hiding his light under a bushel, and he began to cultivate the art as a means of stimulating Christian fellowship. His hymns are to be considered as part cause and part effect of the mighty awakening which was soon to begin at Bristol.

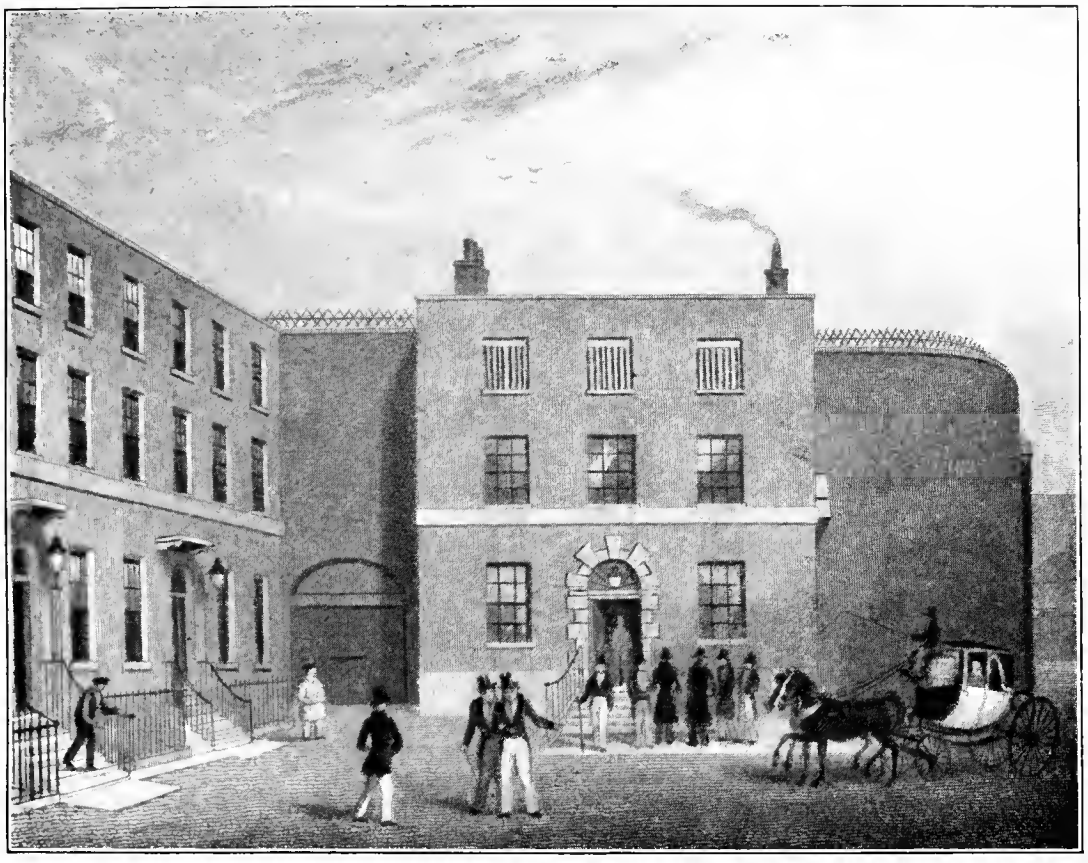
The following story, to those who understand Charles Wesley's character and life history, carries its refutation with it. Absurd as it is, it yet finds a place in Atkinson's "The Beginnings of the Wesleyan Movement in America and the Establishment Therein of Methodism." The paragraph we quote is taken from the twentieth chapter of the work:

"The great hymnist of Methodism, Charles Wesley, was likewise in Savannah, and there is reason for the belief that a number of his hymns were written while in America. Lady Oglethorpe, while residing in the governor's residence, upon Jekyl Island, near the coast of southern Georgia, wrote to her father-in-law that 'Charles Wesley dwells with us upon the island, and is zealous to save the souls of the Indians who come hither to fish and hunt. Mr. Wesley has the gift of verse, and has written many sweet hymns, which we sing.' That noble and solemn hymn,

> Lo! on a narrow neck of land,
> 'Twixt two unbounded seas I stand,

was written by Charles Wesley on Jekyl Island. He wrote from the island to Lady Oglethorpe, who was temporarily in Savannah, the history of the composition of that grand lyric. 'Last evening I wandered to the north end of the island, and stood there upon the narrow point which your ladyship will recall as there projecting into the ocean. The vastness of the watery waste as com-

FLEET PRISON, LONDON, IN THE DAYS OF THE GEORGES.



KING'S BENCH PRISON, LONDON.

pared with my standing-place, called to mind the briefness of human life and the immensity of its consequences, and my surroundings inspired me to write the inclosed hymn,

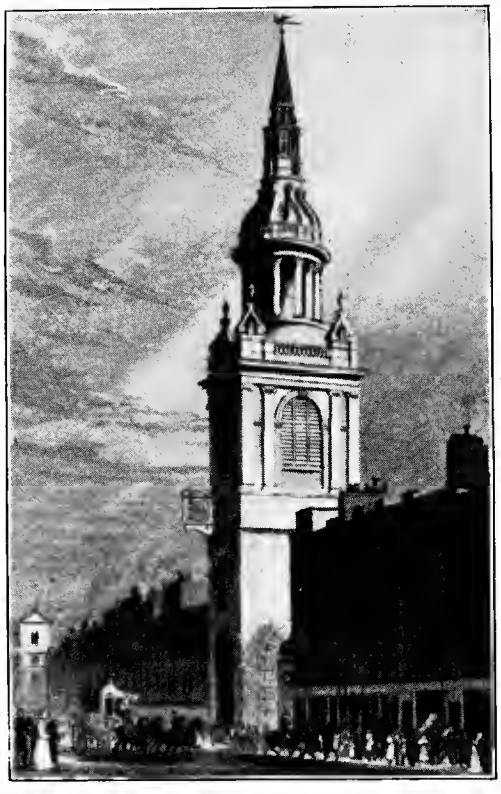
> Lo! on a narrow neck of land,
> 'Twixt two unbounded seas I stand,

which I trust may please your ladyship, weak and feeble as it is when compared with the songs of the "Sweet Psalmist of Israel."' Thus it appears that the date of the origin of this hymn is 1736. It was not written at Land's End, in England, as has been believed, but on the north end of Jekyl Island."

Doctor Atkinson gives as his authority Mr. C. S. Nutter, who contributed an article on the subject to the Nashville *Christian Advocate* of May 3, 1894. But the story is a veritable tissue of absurdity. There was no "Lady Oglethorpe" in the year 1736, nor any Mrs. Oglethorpe for eight years later; General Oglethorpe's father had died thirty-three years before; Charles Wesley was not writing hymns at this time, and there is no reason to doubt the accepted tradition that this particular hymn was written at Land's End, or was at least suggested by a visit to that promontory. Moreover, the hymn in its original shape does not begin with the two lines twice quoted in the extract; and, lastly, Charles Wesley was never guilty of such flunkeyism as glares from the phrases of this forged letter. The hymn is evidently a product of the period which followed his conversion; the period of strenuous revival preaching which followed his return from Georgia, when he became a "new man." The hymn originally began with these lines:

Thou God of glorious majesty,
To Thee, against myself, to Thee,
A worm of earth, I cry!
A half-awakened child of man,
An heir of endless bliss or pain,
A sinner born to die.

The tradition is that the first draft was written in pencil in July, 1743, as he



BOW CHURCH, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON.

stood in a narrow neck of land at the Land's End in Cornwall, with the Bristol channel to the north, the British channel to the south, and the Atlantic ocean stretching in front. It was finished at "the first inn in England," where he put up that evening. Dr. Adam Clarke, no mean authority, fully credited the story; and Thomas Taylor, as early as 1761, when visiting the spot, made note of the fact that Charles Wesley's lines had been written there. It first appeared in print in the year 1749, under the title "An Hymn for Seriousness," and was included by Madan in his collection of 1760. Benjamin Kennedy, who in his "Hymnologia Christiana," published in 1863, took many unwarrantable liberties with Charles Wesley's hymns, changes the significant line "O God, my inmost soul convert," which is evidently part of the author's life history, to the tamer "O God, Thy saving grace impart." The hymn has been warmly eulogized by Montgomery and others, and is one of the finest of sacred lyrics.

"Perhaps, taking quantity and quality into consideration," says Doctor Julian in his noble Dictionary of Hymnology, "Charles Wesley was the greatest hymn-writer of all ages." During the earlier part of their active career as revivalists, John and Charles Wesley published their hymns in common; and so, as in the case of the two Tennyson brothers, it is difficult to say which of the brothers wrote any particular hymn. Since there is no evidence that Charles knew German, a language with which John made himself familiar on the voyage to Georgia, it is usual to ascribe the numerous translations from the German to the elder brother. As time went on, hymn-writing became more and more the exclusive province of the younger. In hymn-writing he found a natural channel of expression for all the accidents and experiences of his outer and inner life. He is said to have composed in all six thousand five hundred hymns, which of course are of varied merit. And yet the marvel is that so many reach a high standard of lyric excellence. Some of the hymns of the early period seem to teach the doctrine of the Real Presence; and in others, written then and later, his brother John complained of a certain morbid strain of mysticism, such as he deprecated in Law's teaching. The doctrine and sentiments are, on the whole, eminently sound and nourishing; a serious contribution to Christian thought as well

as to Christian devotion. And yet in some points they are hardly in harmony with Methodist orthodoxy. Still the general atmosphere is invigorating and practical; the words cling to the music as a vine's tendrils to the supporting pole; they are exactly suited to congregational worship. They wonderfully fulfill the ideal John Wesley had before him in publishing his first hymnary; to-wit, that the hymns might not merely be a constituent part of public worship, but also a creed in verse.

In studying the personality of Charles Wesley, we feel that his temperament differed essentially from the serene statesmanlike temperament of his elder brother. He had more of the lights and shadows of the poetic temperament, joyous to-day, melancholy to-morrow. Physically he was by no means the equal of his brother, and he often wrote in seasons of depression. The illness which, in 1761, laid him aside from public duties, was the occasion of an outburst of song. That these hymns should all breathe a glad spirit is more than could be well expected. He shared with William Cowper the belief that God often hides His face from His saints, a belief that his more robust brother would not allow.

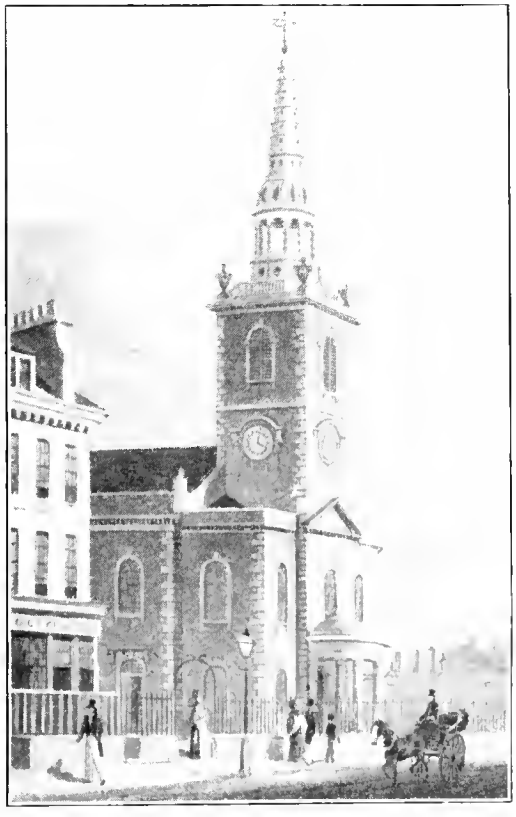
This hiding of God's face from His children he associated with the sovereignty of God:

> Shall man direct the sovereign God,
> Say, "He cannot use His rod
> But for some fresh offence?
> From saints He never hides His face,
> Or suddenly their comforts slays,
> To prove their innocence?"

Indeed, the theology of Charles Wesley is hardly to be distinguished from a moderate Calvinism. There occurs a beautiful stanza in the hymn entitled "I Know That My Redeemer Lives," which teaches the sovereignty of God and the perseverance of the saints in a manner that would satisfy the ultra-orthodox in the Calvinistic camp:

> He wills that I should holy be,
> Who can resist His will?
> The purpose of His grace in me
> He surely shall fulfill.

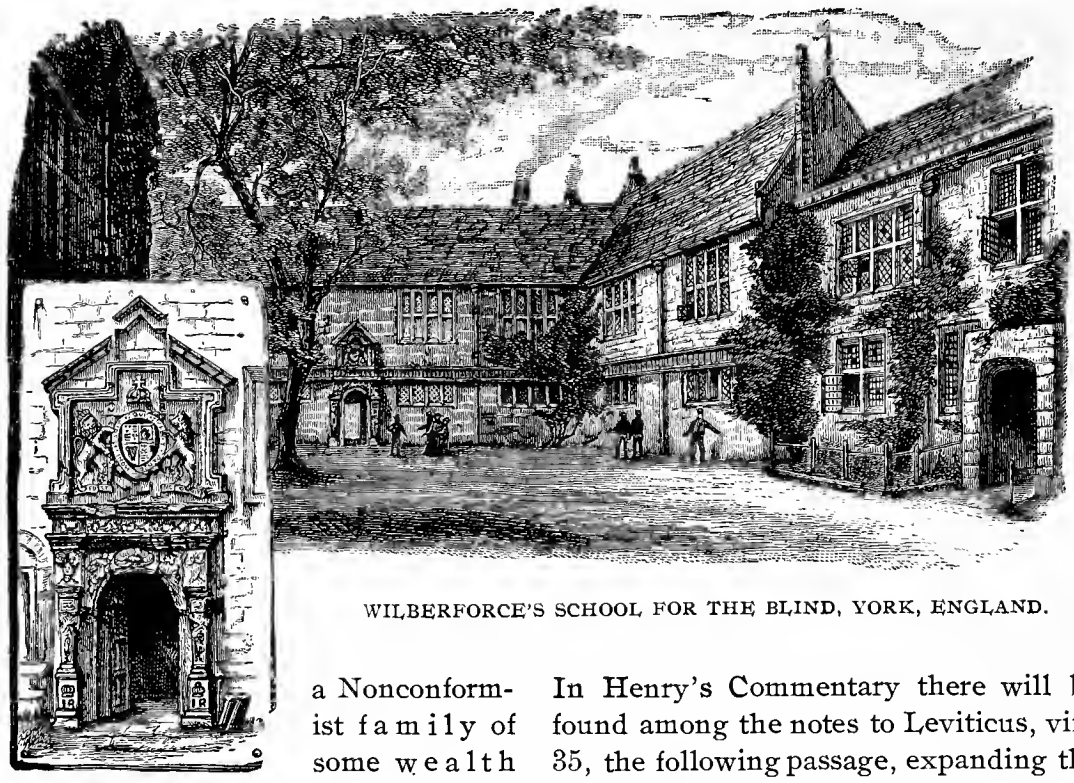
Nor is it wonderful that his theology should have a flavor of this kind. His biographer, Jackson, shows that many of his hymns are nothing more than poetic paraphrases of the Bible Commentary of Matthew Henry. There is some confession of this in the preface to the "Short Hymns on Select Passages of the Holy Scriptures." It is there stated that many of the thoughts are borrowed from Mr.



ST. MARY ISLINGTON, LONDON.

Henry's Commentary, Doctor Gell on the Pentateuch, and Bengelius on the New Testament.

Matthew Henry, whose prolix but valuable Commentary is still a standard work, was born in Wales shortly after the Restoration. He belonged to



WILBERFORCE'S SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND, YORK, ENGLAND.

a Nonconformist family of some wealth and standing, and, after studying law, entered the ministry. His theology was a mild Calvinism, acceptable to most Evangelicals; and it breathed the spirit of his own personality. "The very churchmen," it was said, "love him." At his death in the last year of Queen Anne's reign, when Charles was a boy of five, he had the Commentary complete down to the Acts of the Apostles. The remaining books of the New Testament were afterward edited by thirteen Nonconformist divines. Modern editions usually print Henry's notes along with those of Scott, an English Church vicar of much more pronouncedly Calvinistic views.

Charles Wesley's indebtedness to Matthew Henry for the sequence of thought in many of his hymns may be illustrated from the well-known:

> A charge to keep I have,
> A God to glorify,
> A never-dying soul to save
> And fit it for the sky.

In Henry's Commentary there will be found among the notes to Leviticus, viii. 35, the following passage, expanding the two phrases in the original—*Keep the charge of the Lord; lest that ye die not:* "We have every one of us a charge to keep, an eternal God to glorify, an immortal soul to provide for, needful duty to be done, our generation to serve; and it must be our daily care to keep this charge, for it is the charge of the Lord our Master, who will shortly call us to account about it, and it is at our utmost peril that we neglect it. Keep it, that ye die not; it is death, eternal death, to betray the trust we are charged with; by the consideration of this we must be kept in awe."

We know that at this period his views of perfection shifted somewhat from the ecstatic conception of the early days, when the day-star shone so brightly in his heart, and few clouds were in the sky. He began to lean more to the current Protestant conception of a gradual perfection, a conception which never satisfied the aspirations or suited the theology of John Wesley. A study of his "Perfection" hymns discloses the fact

that those which give the distinctively Wesleyan teaching on the subject belong to the earlier period, before 1750.

Doctor Gell, whom Charles Wesley mentions along with Matthew Henry, as having supplied matter for his hymns, was a London clergyman who lived during the Commonwealth. His favorite doctrine was the sinlessness granted to the people of God during this life; and, with the view of expounding this doctrine, he began a new translation of the Scriptures.

The last of the three names he mentions in the preface is that of a pious and scholarly German, the great Bengel, who united a devotional and a critical spirit in his treatment of the word of God. The son of a Würtemberg pastor, he was a young man of twenty-two when Charles Wesley was born. He was naturally pious, and the influences that formed his character were those of Gerhardt, Franke, and other consecrated spirits.

His "Gnomon Novi Testamenti" was completed in the earlier part of the year 1742. On the evening of the day when he received the final sheets from the printing-press at Tübingen, where he was professor, he burst into a song of gratitude:

O Thou, who our best works hast wrought,
And thus far helped me to success,
Attune my soul to grateful thought,
Thy great and holy Name to bless;
That I to Thee anew many live,
And to Thy grace the glory give.

The name he gave the commentary, which signifies *Index* or *Pointer*, shows that he intended it to be suggestive in interpretation rather than exhaustive or dogmatic. A German translation followed the original Latin version. Bengel died ten years later, at the age of sixty-six. Such were the various evangelical influences which were congenial to Charles Wesley's theology, and helped to mould and develop it. It was too catholic and genial for the extremer Calvinists, who discovered in some of his hymns expressions that they deemed lax in theology and savoring of Universalism. For this reason Madan, in his collection of 1760, altered a line in stanza 4 of the well-known "Hymn for Easter Day," which begins, "Christ, the Lord, is risen today." The words stood originally:

Dying once, He all doth save,
Where's thy victory, boasting grave?

The hymn was dropped from Methodist collections after 1780, and when, fifty years later, it was restored, Madan's anti-Arminian version of the line,

Once He died our souls to save,

was accepted; and so it appears in Methodist hymnals to this day.

Madan was one of the first, but by no means the last, to take liberties with the wording of Charles Wesley's hymns. John Wesley resented these liberties with warmth, and has left us a protest in writing:

"I desire," he remarks, "that they would not attempt to mend them (his own and his brother's hymns), for they really are not able; none of them is able to mend either the sense or the verse. Therefore I must beg of them one of these two favors: either to let them stand just as they are, to take them for better or for worse, or to add the true meaning in the margin or at the bottom of the page, that we may no longer be accountable either for the nonsense or the doggerel of other men."

The Christian world has, however, assented to certain modifications of the language where the sense is obscured by archaic usage. The line, "To me, to all, Thy bowels move," has been acceptably altered, and now reads, "To me, to all, Thy mercies move." "Taken" has been substituted for "ravished" in the line,

REV. MATTHEW HENRY.

"Hail the day that sees him ravished;" and "panting" has been substituted for "gasping" in the fourth stanza of the Ascension hymn. In Whitefield's "Collection" of the year 1753 first appeared the current version of the glorious Christmas hymn:

> Hark! how all the welkin rings,
> Glory to the King of Kings,

which now reads:

> Hark! the herald angels sing
> Glory to the new-born king,

and Madan so printed it in 1760. The change may have been John Wesley's, who seems to have assented to it. Apologists for the alteration consider the word "welkin" too remote from ordinary usage to be suited to a popular hymn; but Palgrave, in his "Golden Treasury of Sacred Lyrics," reverts to the original form as the more expressive. This is the only hymn of Charles Wesley's that has found its way, no one knows how, into the Church of England Book of Common Prayer, where it appears in the revised form. But the manner in which other hymns have been tinkered calls for the warmest protest. Possibly no hymn has been subjected to more impertinent changes than the universally loved:

> Jesus, lover of my soul,
> Let me to Thy bosom fly,
> While the nearer waters roll,
> While the tempest still is nigh.

It is one of his very earliest hymns, and appeared in printed form in the year 1739, when the recollection of his stormy Atlantic experiences were still fresh within him. Various stories that are

afloat respecting the incidents which preceded its composition may be dismissed more or less summarily. One, which connects it with Toplady's "Rock of Ages," and represents the two hymns as the result of a doctrinal contest, is shattered at once by the fact that Toplady was not born until the hymn was at least a year old.

The first line has offended the taste of some editors, who have changed "Lover" into "Savior," "Father," and "Refuge." The most impertinent alteration of the stanza in existence is perhaps that of Benjamin Kennedy, an accomplished classical scholar, who should have known better. But did not Milton suffer equally at the hands of the great Bentley? Doctor Kennedy's version, in his collection of 1863, reads as follows:

Jesus, refuge of my soul,
To Thy sheltering arms we fly,
While the raging billows roll,
While the tempest's roar is high.

This tinkering effectually removes from the stanza that element of warm German inwardness which makes the hymn the noblest "heart-hymn" in existence.

It is curious how the Methodist religious world has neglected one of the brightest gems of Charles Wesley's lyric art. In the first publication of John and Charles Wesley's "Hymns and Sacred Poems," which appeared in 1740, there is found on page 61 "A Morning Hymn." Thirty-four years later, Toplady included it without alteration in his "Psalms and Hymns," and it was generally supposed by the religious world to be his production, owing to its neglect by Methodists. The hymn referred to is the exquisite "Christ, Whose Glory Fills the Skies." In 1825 Montgomery, who considered it "one of Charles Wesley's most lovely progeny," in including it in his collection, gave its true authorship. Not until 1875 was it included in its complete form in the Wesleyan Hymn-Book. Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, will look for it in vain in their Hymn-Book. And yet in Congregational, Presbyterian, Anglican and other hymnals it finds an honored place; and is one of the nine lyrics selected by Palgrave out of six thousand five hundred, to give readers of his "Golden Treasury of Sacred Lyrics" an idea of Charles Wesley's lyrical powers. It is difficult to account for the seeming capriciousness.

Charles Wesley gained but scant recognition from the world of letters during his lifetime. No notice was taken of his poetry until the year 1768, when an article appeared in the *Monthly Review*, criticizing his "Short Hymns on Select Passages of the Holy Scriptures." The reviewer picked out some of the least attractive as specimens, and then proceeded to describe the language as "spiritual Billingsgate," and the whole collection as a burlesque on Scripture. "Seriously," continues this unsympathetic reviewer, "are these rhyming enthusiasts not apprehensive of the fate of Uzziah, on account of their indecent freedom with the holy word of God?"

Good Isaac Watts was one of the first to recognize his supreme excellence. Speaking of "Wrestling Jacob," he characterized it as worth all the works he himself had written. Professor Palgrave, in the notes to his "Golden Treasury," remarks on its dramatic vividness and lyrical fervor; and on the music and consoling sweetness of faith in "Jesus, Lover of My Soul." And yet, on the whole, he is of opinion that both Charles Wesley and Isaac Watts sacrificed art to direct usefulness, and have given much to the world that is deficient in taste and finish; but, in so doing, "they have their reward." Their aim was practical—to arouse and to edify; and they nobly fulfilled it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A LITERARY AND GENERAL SURVEY.

NO OTHER life so takes in the whole sweep of the wonderful eighteenth century as that of John Wesley. Born when it was three years old, he died when it had little over eight years to run. These closing years of the century are oftenest regarded in their political aspect; for the temper of the time was pronouncedly political. Students of history, however, and students of literature, find in the era a deeper interest than belongs merely to its passing political problems. They long to discover the ethical and religious conditions of the nation, which was producing or to produce men of the noble moral earnestness and purity of Wordsworth, the two Macaulays, Thomas Chalmers, Keble, Newman, Gladstone, Tennyson, and a host of other names without reproach.

To such inquirers a scene like that witnessed at Dublin in the summer of 1789, when Wesley bade a final farewell to Ireland, and multitudes flocked to bid adieu to their spiritual father, is a notable one. Wesley was no priest; he enjoyed no privileges of saintship or special communion with God that he did not profess to share with the meanest of his followers; he imposed no rule on himself which was not equally applicable to them. The bond between them was based on a common humanity and a common religious experience. Hence, wherever his societies were planted, the social life was leavened rather than altered. Religion was squared with conduct, as by a carpenter's rule; and conduct was directly linked to the divine. The scene at Dublin pier was far more significant than a political gathering of French patriots on the Champs de Mars, or a blood-stained battlefield, the name of which will be inscribed on the historian's pages and on the flags of the conqueror.

The two years and a half which followed this Irish visit were as full of activity as ever, and the old hero-saint may truly be said to have died in harness. As late as February, 1791—and he passed away in the beginning of March—he was planning his usual trip to the north, and had actually secured seats for himself and his friends in the Bath coach. On the seventeenth of February, a Thursday, he preached at the village of Lambeth, now part of the great city, from the text: *Labor not for the meat which perisheth; but for that which endureth to everlasting life.* He seems to have caught cold, for he did not feel well for the next few days. His last sermon in public was preached on the following Tuesday, in City-road Chapel, from the text (Galatians v. 5): *We through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith.* After preaching he conferred with the leaders. Next day he traveled eighteen miles out of London to visit a magistrate at Leatherhead, in Surrey, in whose dining-room he preached from the text in Isaiah (lv. 6): *Seek ye the Lord when He may be found; call upon Him while He is near.* This was the very last time his voice was heard in exhortation.

It would be a pleasant task to linger over the details of the happy death of this great saint and worker for God. When he returned to London at the close of the week, he found it necessary to seek retirement in his room; and he never left it again. Extreme weakness and drowsiness supervened. In his wakeful moments he would repeat verses

of the hymns that were dear to him. On the Sunday morning he repeated this stanza from one of his brother's hymns:

Till glad I lay this body down,
Thy servant, Lord, attend!
And oh! my life of mercy crown
With a triumphant end!

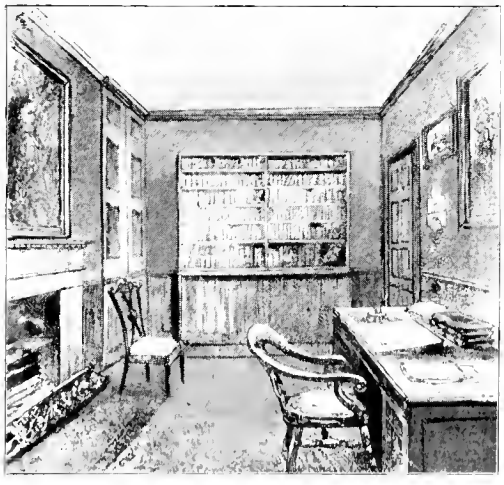
Again he would lapse into a troubled sleep, in which his thoughts were taken up with preaching or with meeting his classes.

It was evident to all that his last moments on earth were come; and his friends gathered to comfort him and receive his last wishes. He called on them to pray and to praise; and, as John Broadbent pleaded fervently that God would continue to bless the system of Methodist doctrine and discipline, the responses of the dying man were particularly fervent. One of his very latest wishes was that his sermon on "The Love of God to Man," being an exposition of the text from Romans v. 15, *Not as the offense, so was the free gift*, should be distributed freely after his death. The request was complied with, and ten thousand copies were printed and distributed.

On Wednesday morning, March 2, at ten o'clock, surrounded by a company of eleven persons, John Wesley passed away. As he had desired, the company sang a hymn of praise while standing round his corpse:

Waiting to receive thy spirit,
Lo! the Savior stands above;
Shows the purchase of His merit,
Reaches out the crown of love.

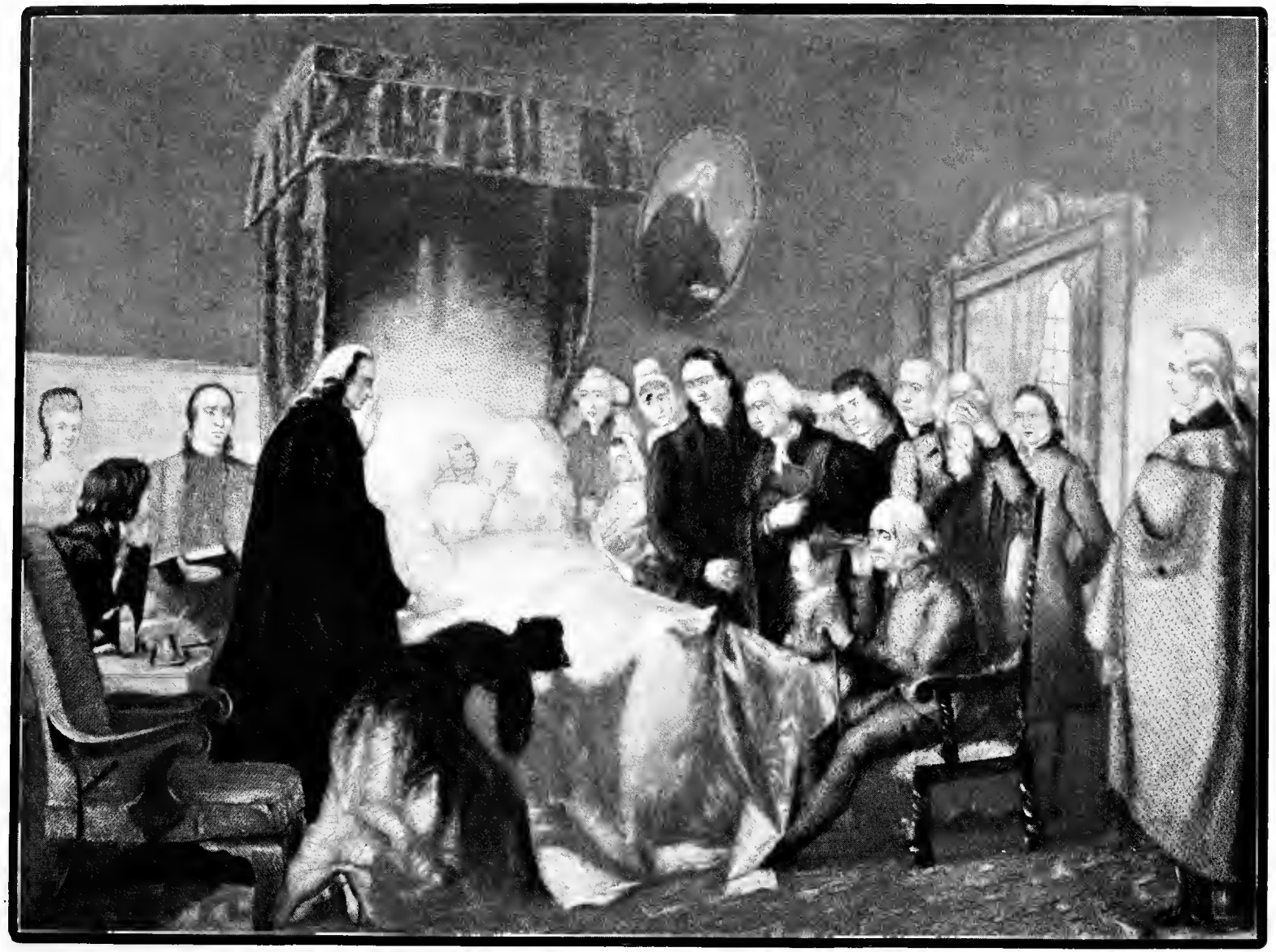
It consisted of Joseph Bradford, so long his faithful attendant; George Whitfield, his book steward; Mr. Horton, one of his executors; Doctor Whitehead, his physician and biographer; Robert Carr Brackenbury, a friend and fellow-worker, who, it will be remembered, began the work in the Isle of Jersey; his niece, Sarah Wesley; Mr. and Mrs. Rogers and their little boy, who were occupants of the house at City-road; and Elizabeth Ritchie. The last named was very highly esteemed by Wesley. In a letter of date September 16, 1780, written to Samuel Bradburn, he expresses a hope that Mrs. Bradburn might meet Miss Ritchie, "the fellow to whom I scarce know in England." Thomas Rankin was not present at the closing scene, but had been privileged to see Wesley as he lay dying. His sister-in-law had also been with him during these last few



THE ROOM IN WHICH WESLEY DIED

days, and had helped to minister to his wants in these hours of weakness.

On the morning of March 9th, at five o'clock, the interment took place in City-road Chapel, this early hour having been chosen at the last moment to avoid the unseemliness of a great and over-curious multitude. A friend and clerical assistant of Wesley's for thirty years —the Rev. John Richardson, who was afterward buried in the same vault— read the impressive funeral service, amid tears and sobs, in presence of a considerable number of friends, who had been privately informed of the change in the hour of interment. At ten o'clock in the forenoon, the hour originally named, a huge crowd gathered in the chapel, to



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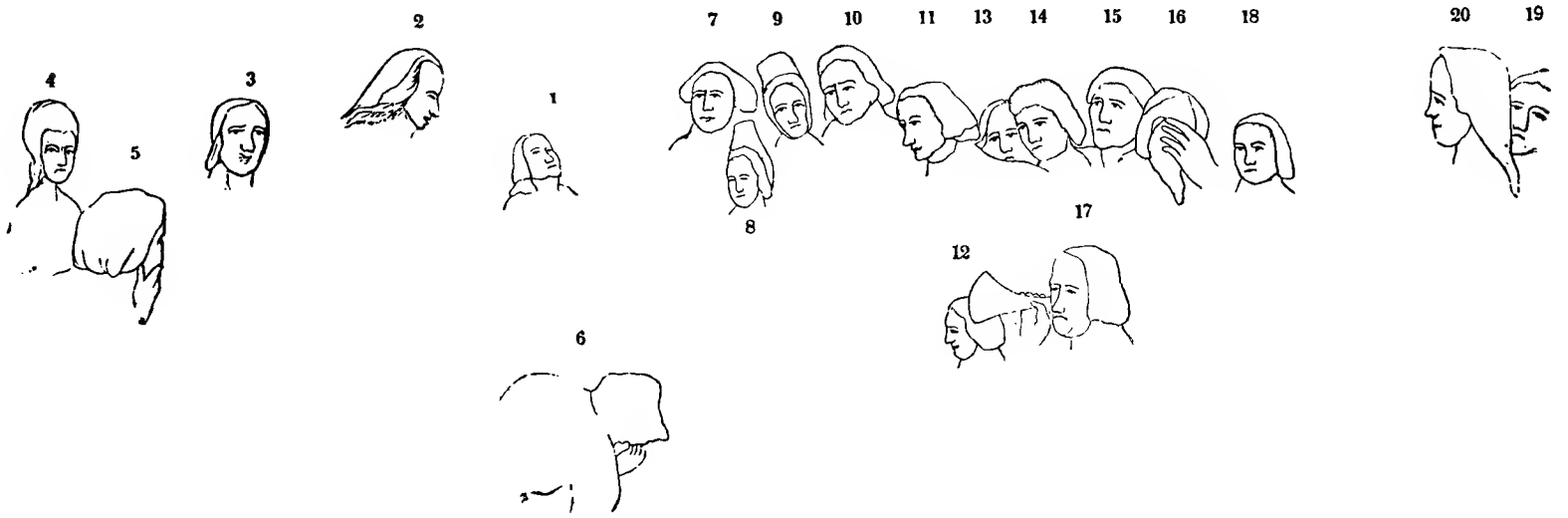
THE DEATH-BED OF JOHN WESLEY



1. The Rev. John Wesley, A. M., supposed to be uttering his last memorable words, "The best of all, God is with us."
2. Rev. Peard Dickenson, A. M., for nine years the reader of the prayers at City-road Chapel.
3. Rev. Joseph Bradford, the most intimate and tried friend of the venerable founder of Methodism.
4. Miss Sarah Wesley, daughter of Mrs. Charles Wesley.
5. A medical assistaut to Doctor Whitehead.
6. Mrs. Charles Wesley.
7. Rev. Thomas Rankin, Supernumerary.
8. Mrs. Hester Ann Rogers, well known to the Methodist connection for her valuable "Life and Letters."
9. Miss Ritchie, afterward Mrs. Mortimer.
10. Rev. James Rogers.
11. Rev. James Creighton, A. M., one of the readers at City-road Chapel.
12. Master Rogers, son of Rev. James Rogers, living in 1843, who was present at the time.
13. Robert Carr Brackenbury, Esq., of Raithby Hall, Lincolnshire.
14. Rev. Thomas Broadbent.
15. Rev. John Broadbent.
16. John Horton, Esq., one of the executors of Mr. Wesley's will.
17. Rev. Alexander Mather.
18. Rev. George Whitfield (Book Steward).
19. Rev Jonathan Edmondson.
20. Doctor Whitehead, the friend and biographer of Mr. Wesley.

The Bible, chair and portrait are drawn from the originals.

HORACE WALPOLE.

whom Doctor Whitehead, who had once been an itinerant and was now a local preacher in London, delivered a sermon on the character of the dead hero, the importance of religion, and the utility of Methodism. All of the great crowd, out of respect for the deceased, wore black, except one woman, who, having a blue ribbon, quickly removed it lest she might attract notice, and threw it to the ground. Much emotion was shown, and the general impression made by the news of the death throughout the English-speaking world was profound. It was felt that a master in Israel had fallen.

The estimate of the dead leader given by Dr. Adam Clarke sums up in a final way his surpassing qualities. "Was not Mr. Fletcher, doctor, a holier man than Mr. Wesley?" asked a Dublin lady of Doctor Clarke some time after Wesley's death. "No, no," was the quick reply, delivered with uplifted hand; "there was no man like John Wesley. There was no man whom God could trust with the work He had to do but John Wesley. There were prejudices here and prejudices there; but his prejudices always gave way to the force of truth. The personal religion sufficient for Mr. Fletcher, in his limited sphere, was far beneath that deep intimacy with God necessary for Mr. Wesley in the amazing labor he had to undergo, the calumnies he had to endure, his fightings without, the opposition arising from members of society within, and his care of all his churches."

On the whole, contemporary literature was not unkind to John Wesley. The poets of most consideration during his lifetime were undoubtedly Thomas Gray and William Cowper. While the former, living a cloistral life in a learned retreat that was singularly unaffected by Methodism, makes no reference to the movement, the latter has an impressive eulogy in one of his earliest poems. Cowper's "Conversation," published in the year 1782, contains a passage which shows how deeply the poet admired the character of Wesley, his intellectual brilliancy, his youthful vigor in old age, his finished scholarship joined to a meek and simple bearing:

A Christian's wit is inoffensive light,
A beam that aids, but never grieves the sight;
Vigorous in age as in the flush of youth;
'Tis always active on the side of truth;
Temperance and peace insure its healthful state,
And make it brightest at its latest date.
Oft have I seen (nor hope, perhaps, in vain,
Ere life go down, to see such sights again)
A veteran warrior in the Christian field,
Who never saw the sword he could not wield;
Grave without dullness, learned without pride,
Exact, yet not precise, though meek, keen-eyed;
A man that would have foiled at their own play
A dozen would-be's of the modern day;
Who, when occasion justified its use,
Had wit as bright as ready to produce,
Could fetch from records of an earlier age,
Or from philosophy's enlightened page,
His rich materials, and regale your ear
With strains it was a privilege to hear:

Yet above all, his luxury supreme
And his chief glory, was the gospel theme;
There he was copious as old Greece or Rome,
His happy eloquence seem'd then at home,
Ambitious not to shine or to excel,
But to treat justly what he loved so well.

It is true that William Cowper must be regarded as essentially a religious poet, having his particular friends among the Calvinistic Methodists who came to be generally known as Evangelicals. We know, indeed, that he expected to be dubbed "Methodist" by the critics when he published his first volume of poems; including "Charity," as appears in a quizzical letter of the year 1781, addressed to the Rev. John Newton. "I have writ 'Charity,'" he says, "not for popularity, but as well as I could, in hopes to do good; and if the reviewers should say 'to be sure the gentleman's Muse wears Methodist shoes, you may know by her pace and talk about grace, that she and her bard have little regard for the tastes and fashions, and ruling passions, and hoidening play of the modern day.'" And so the rhyming epistle proceeds.

The man who had, conspicuously, a regard for such "tastes and passions" is the least sympathetic of all contemporary writers in his references to Methodism. While we may find some excuse for the antagonism of the stage, which was directly assailed by Methodist preachers, and would naturally retaliate, the unfriendly comments of Horace Walpole, who enjoyed opportunities of hearing and meeting Wesley, betray a heart that evidently lacked the due spirit of reverence. It is not that the worldly son of the British prime minister—who afterward became heir to an earldom but never qualified himself—was a French atheist. On the contrary, less than a year before he met Wesley, he writes of the Methodists as being in the same category with "jesuits, the hypocrite Rousseau, the scoffer Voltaire"—all impostors, every one of them! There was an incurable levity in Walpole's whole attitude toward society; not the levity that rashly commits itself, but a levity that blunders through dimness of moral vision. He has placed it on record that he preferred the most absurd lines of Nathaniel Lee to Thomson's "Seasons;" and to such a man a Methodist meeting was a raree-show.

In October of 1766, he writes to an intimate friend of the poet Gray: "I have been at one opera, Mr. Wesley's. They have boys and girls, with charming voices, that sing hymns in parts to Scotch ballad tunes; but, indeed, so long, that one would think they were already in eternity, and knew not how much time they had before them." The service was held in the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel at Bath. A description follows of the preacher: "A clean, elderly man, fresh colored, his hair smoothly combed, but with a little

OLIVER GOLDSMITH.

(340) BOSWELL. JOHNSON. REYNOLDS. GARRICK. BURKE. PAOLI. BURNEY. WARTON. GOLDSMITH.

LITERARY LIGHTS OF WESLEY'S TIME.

soupçon of curl at the ends." It was not brought home to him that Wesley was sincere; indeed the whole of his talk seemed acting, like Garrick's. "Toward the end he exalted his voice, and acted very ugly enthusiasm, decried learning and told stories."

Sixteen years later, when society had begun to give up its antagonism to Methodism, and to testify its respect for Wesley, he was still incorrigible. In writing to a friend respecting epic poetry, he makes the astonishing remark that "Dante was extravagant, absurd, disgusting; in short, a *Methodist parson in Bedlam.*"

That Horace Walpole was not an enemy to religion is shown by his friendship, late in life, with the excellent Hannah More, whose piety he commended as being free from enthusiasm. He was so out of touch with the deeper human life of the period, with the crying needs of the lower classes, that he associated enthusiasm with the emotionalism of society women, eager for some new excitement, and ever prone to an attack of "the vapors."

One of the most interesting minor characters of the eighteenth century was Mary Granville, who became the wife of Doctor Delany, the Dean of Down in Ireland. Her career extended nearly through the century. Born in 1700, she survived until the year 1788; and during her long life was acquainted with most of the prominent actors on the stage of English and Irish society.

Left early a widow by the death of a husband much older than herself, whom she was forced to marry, she made the acquaintance of John Wesley, and, during several years, they carried on a correspondence under the names of "Aspasia" and "Cyrus," which might have ended in a marriage. She became the wife of Doctor Delany some eleven years later. Her "Autobiography and Correspondence," published in 1861, contains much that is of the deepest interest. The writer has been described by Madame D'Arblay as "the fairest model of female excellence of the days that were passed."

FOOTE, AS "MAJOR STURGEON."

The following extract from a letter written by her in the year 1733 is of special interest. The literary reference is to the "Moral Essays" of Pope, in the third of which, entitled, "Of the Use of Riches," *the Man of Ross* is depicted as the ideally virtuous man. The actual prototype was a Mr. Kyrle, who, after a life spent in doing good, died in 1724 at the age of ninety:

Who taught that heaven-directed spire to rise?
"The Man of Ross," each lisping babe replies.
Behold the market-place with poor o'erspread!
The Man of Ross divides the weekly bread;
He feeds yon alms-house, neat, but void of state,
Where age and want sit smiling at the gate;
Him portioned maids, apprenticed orphans blest,

DAVID GARRICK.
(From an oil painting.)

The young who labor, and the old who rest.
Is any sick? the Man of Ross relieves,
Prescribes, attends, the medicine makes, and
gives.
Is there a variance; enter but his door,
Balked are the quacks, and contest is no more;
Despairing quacks with curses fled the place,
And vile attorneys, now a useless race.

From Mrs. Delany's letter it will be seen that her ideal *Man of Ross* was John Wesley:

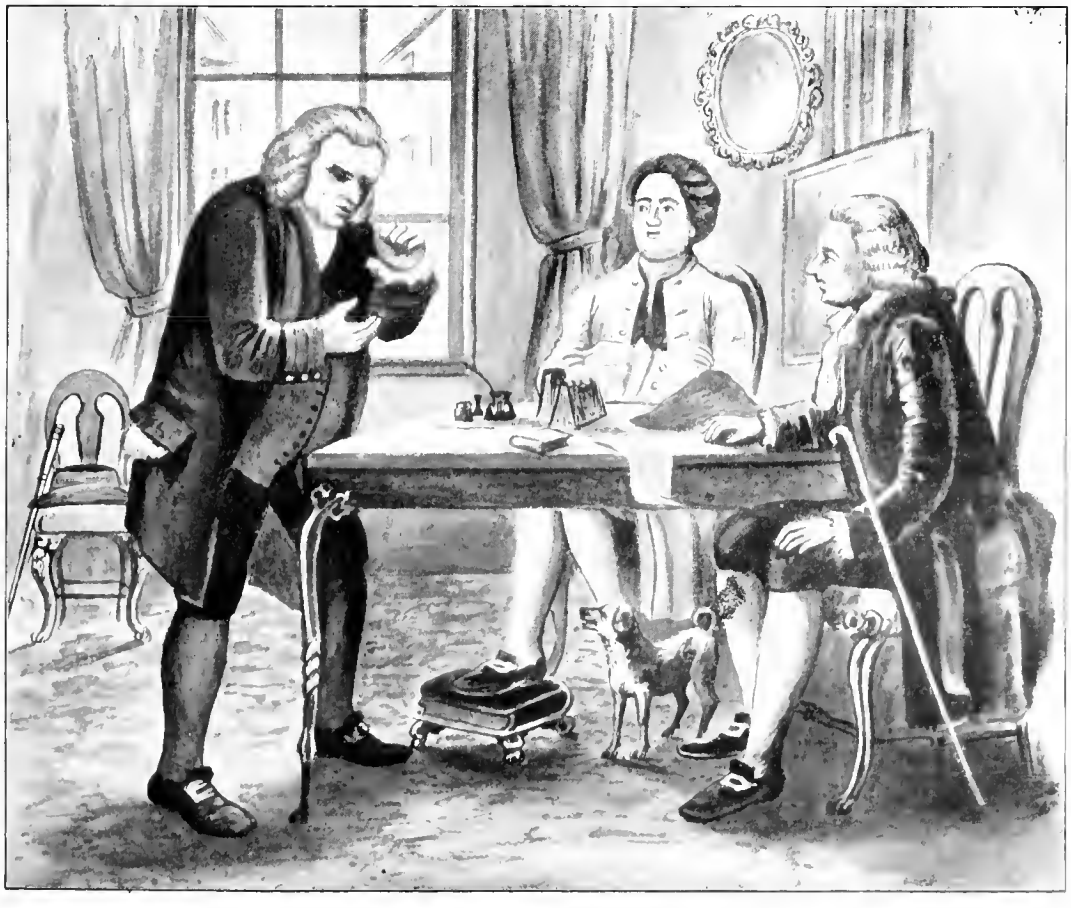
"On Sunday we had a violent storm of wind, but were obliged to go abroad to a christening, where we were pretty merry. The Wesleys were there. Have you not read the poem on Riches, and do you not think that the *Man of Ross* suits Mr. Wesley, my hero? I believe that you that do not know him as I do will find some resemblance, but I that have been in the way of hearing of all his generous actions think the character points him out. I have made acquaintance with men in Ireland that I should be heartily glad to improve and cultivate a friendship with had I an opportunity; but in all likelihood we may never meet again the Dean of St. Patrick's, whose wit you are well read in, and whose conversation is entertaining and delightful. Doctor Delany is as agreeable a companion as ever I met with, and one who condescends to converse with women, and treat them like reasonable creatures. Mr. Wesley you know, and my opinion of him. These are the sort of men I find myself inclined to like, and wish I had such a set in England."

Macaulay has a pleasant reference to Mrs. Delany in one of his essays: "Nobly descended, eminently accomplished, and retaining, in spite of the infirmities of advanced age, the vigor of her faculties and the serenity of her temper, (she) enjoyed the favor of the royal family. She had a pension of three hundred a year; and a house at Windsor, belonging to the crown, had been fitted up for her accommodation."

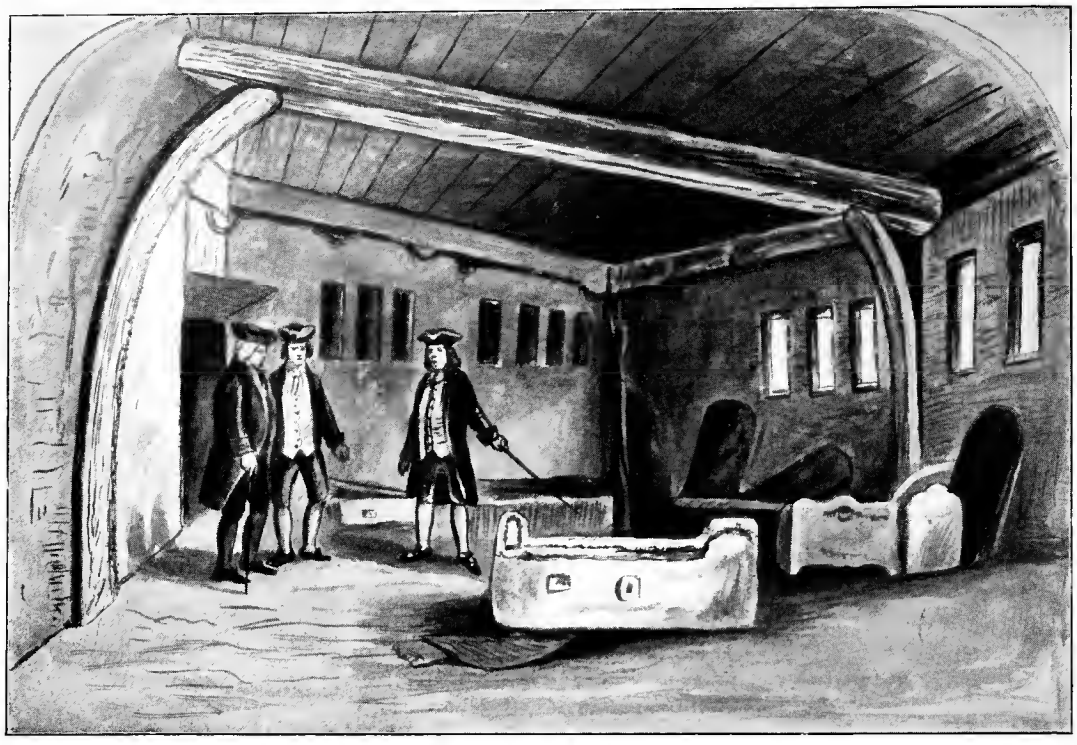
In the case of Oliver Goldsmith, with

a childlike desire to pose as a man-about-town, there was a warmer heart and a keener humanitarianism than Walpole possessed. One of his essays, entitled "English Clergy and Popular Preachers," admits the earnestness of Whitefield's manner of delivery, and recommends the clergy to add this excellent characteristic to their own good sense. In another article, which first appeared in 1760 as a letter in the *Public Ledger*—among a series purporting to come from a Chinese philosopher on a visit to London—the Methodists are classed with the Faquirs, the Brahmins and the Talpoins of the East. Ridicule, he asserts, is the only weapon to be used successfully against such folly. It is doubtful how far Goldsmith speaks from pure conviction in this passage, and how far merely dramatically. His mind was essentially of the "mirror" order which reflects impressions, and suits itself to its audience. As a successful dramatist, he appealed to a public which was frankly worldly and antipathetic to Methodism. In emphasizing ridicule as the weapon to use against Methodistic and other enthusiasm, he had probably a reference to the plays of Foote, whose "Minor" was first performed in January of this year. As an intimate friend of Doctor Johnson, whose character and convictions dominated the more facile Irishman, he probably shared the neutral position maintained by that great writer.

Dr. Albert Swallow, to whose able pamphlet, entitled "Methodism in the Light of the English Literature of the Last Century," we are indebted for much valuable information on these points, asserts that Goldsmith, with the



JOHNSON, RICHARDSON AND HOGARTH.



ROOM IN THE TOWER OF ST. MARY REDCLIFF, BRISTOL, WHERE CHATTERTON FOUND THE ROWLEY MANUSCRIPTS.

more respected playwriters of the time, "did not condescend to defile their hands by libeling the new sect of enthusiasts." This is hardly correct in Goldsmith's case at least, for the song of *Tony Lumpkin* at "The Three Pigeons" contains a stanza now generally omitted lest it should give offense:

When Methodist preachers come down
A-preaching that drinking is sinful,
I'll wager the rascals a crown
They always preach best with a skinful.
But when you come down with your pence
For a slice of their scurvy religion,
I'll leave it to all men of sense,
But you, my good friend, are the pigeon.
Toroddle, toroddle, toroll.

He was fond of singing the song himself, to amuse a company. On one occasion he actually sung it at General Oglethorpe's!

On the whole, the Methodism of Whitefield was as unpopular as could be with the literary men of the time. Moreover, Whitefield died just when the beneficial results that flowed from Methodist preaching were beginning to impress themselves on the world. The long life of John Wesley had an Indian summer at its close which was denied to the younger and less cultured man. The publication of Whitefield's Journal, with its numerous breaches of good taste, was fatal to his reputation in other than religious circles. And the Calvinism he preached, which insisted upon the doctrine of election, was, in that age of sentiment, singularly open to abuse by the sentimental and the ignorant. Without the faculty of organization, he made no provision for discipline; and his followers, remaining in the national Church, were apt to find their enthusiasm gradually grow cold or become morbid and unhealthy. It was against the diseased type of Whitefield enthusiast that the writers of the day loved to fulminate. The tremendous wave of religious enthusiasm that accompanied

Whitefield's preaching, undoubtedly carried with it much froth and rubbish; and the scoffing world, for a number of years, judged of the whole movement by the froth and rubbish.

The play of the time which was specifically directed against the Methodists, with the view of exploding what its writer regarded as a great bubble, has already been referred to. Samuel Foote was a writer of some talent and reputation; although, indeed, it was chiefly through his powers as a mimic that he "carried off" the parts which his pen had created. He came of a good Cornish family, and enjoyed an education at Winchester public school and Worcester College, Oxford. Thereafter, drifting to London, he became nominally a barrister, and actually busied himself in the dissipation of a fortune he had inherited through the death on the scaffold of a baronet uncle who had murdered his only brother. By the year 1744, having dissipated a second fortune, he took to the stage as a profession. Some horse-play, that had its origin in a drunken carouse, resulted in his losing a leg. Foote was foul-mouthed and scurrilous, without being really evil-natured or malicious. His attacks on Methodism would not be taken very seriously, inasmuch as he and his friends made no pretensions whatever to a high standard of life and conduct. Nor did his art commend itself to the critics. Chatterton has a depreciatory reference to it in his "Elegy on February:"

Now, Foote, a looking-glass for all mankind,
Applies his wax to personal defects,
But leaves untouch'd the image of the mind;
His art no mental quality reflects.

It was unfortunate for Whitefield that he was born cross-eyed; cases are on record of mothers who have, out of sheer disgust, murdered their cross-eyed offspring. The insistent manner in which Foote and others of his tribe harp on this physical defect, is a little wearisome. Their nickname for the great preacher was *Doctor* or *Mr. Squintum*. A woman of bad repute, named *Mrs. Cole*, who is one of the leading characters in "The Minor," is represented as having applied in vain for absolution to the "bare-footed, bald-pate beggars" at Boulogne. But she fares better with the Methodists than with the Roman Catholics: "So in my last illness I was wish'd to Mr. Squintum, who stept in with his saving grace, got me with the new birth, and I became, as you see, regenerate, and another creature." And she continued her infamous trade of procuress, while a zealous and regular attender of the Tabernacle at Tottenham-Court! Foote himself is said to have played the part of this woman.

An attempt to secure the approval of the Church for the play was happily a failure. Its author had the assurance to send the manuscript to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a request that His

DEATH OF CHATTERTON.

DOCTOR BYROM.

Grace would alter or eliminate anything objectionable. But that dignitary was wise enough to steer clear of the association, and returned the manuscript untouched. In no less than eight others of his plays does Foote return to the attack, and ridicule the Methodists.

In a comedy by Isaac Bickerstaffe, entitled "The Hypocrite," and produced in 1768, two repulsive characters, named respectively *Doctor Cantwell* and *Mawworm* appear, the one a leader of the Methodists, the other a grocer turned local preacher. It is possible that, under the guise of *Cantwell*, who is a duplicate of Molière's *Tartuffe*, he meant to satirize Wesley. Henry Fielding in a farce entitled "Miss Lucy in Town," which appeared as early as 1742, introduces a character, *Mrs. Midnight*, who follows the same disreputable occupation as Foote's *Mrs. Cole*, and who, having been "converted" at Kennington-Common, where Whitefield and the Wesleys preached, "repents" without altering her mode of life. The great Garrick was juster to the Methodists. Quin, the tragedian, had taunted him with being a Whitefield on the stage, whom crowds for the nonce were following, but would soon desert. Garrick replied in the following epigram:

Pope Quin, who damns all churches but his own,
Complains that Heresy infects the town;
That Whitefield Garrick has misled the age,
And taints the sound religion of the stage:
"Schism," he cries, "has turned the Nation's brain;
But eyes will open, and to Church again!"
Thou great infallible, forbear to roar,
Thy Bulls and Errors are revered no more;
When doctrines meet with general approbation,
It is not Heresy, but Reformation.

We have seen that the "wonderful boy" Chatterton, in a youthful effusion, indulged in a fling at Foote. During the short closing period of his brief life, which he spent in London, it happened to be the fashion to satirize Methodism. The boy had been born and brought up in a Methodist center, in the city, indeed, where the movement began. Before he was twelve years old, in a poem called "Apostate Will," and written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, he describes a person who, having belonged to the Methodists, forsook them to obtain a post in the Established Church. Strangely enough, Chatterton seems to have believed that Methodists were not Protestants:

A noble place appeared in view;
Then—to the Methodists adieu!
A Methodist no more he'll be,
The Protestants serve best for *he*.

It is noticeable that the name of Wesley, and not of Whitefield, is mentioned in the poem as the man's spiritual teacher. It was probably the post of sacristan or verger that was bestowed on the turncoat—more lucrative than the twenty pounds a year he would get as a Methodist itinerant.

The boy poet, with his vaulting ambiton and crude notions of life, was fond of proclaiming himself a freethinker, and in a poem called "The Defence," written on Christmas day, 1769, he attempts to explain his position:

Happy, if mortals can be, is the man
Who, not by priest but Reason, rules his span.

It contains, further on, two references to Whitefield, whom he held in but slight esteem. Three months before this he had written in his Journal some verses descriptive of a dispute between a squire and a rector regarding the condition of the Church. Whitefield's name is introduced, not very respectfully; and then follows a long passage dwelling upon the cant and vulgarity of the Methodists:

In his wooden palace jumping,
Tearing, sweating, bawling, thumping,
"Repent, repent, repent,"
The mighty Whitefield cries,
Oblique lightning in his eyes.
* * * * * * * *
Now again his cornet's sounding
Sense and harmony confounding
Reason tortured, Scripture twisted,
Into every form of fancy;
Forms which never yet existed,
And but his oblique optics can see.

Certain "Articles of Belief," which he wrote down at this time, state his opinion that "if a man leads a good moral life, he is a Christian;" and that "the Church of Rome (some tricks of priestcraft excepted) is certainly the true Church." In the following August he rashly took his own life, before years could teach him wisdom.

A different career was that of the physician-poet, John Byrom. He has already appeared in this History as the friend of William Law, and was consulted along with that saintly man by John Wesley before he accepted the mission to Georgia. To the Christian world he is known as the author of the hymn, "Christians Awake, Salute the Happy Morn." Byrom was born at Manchester, in the year 1693, and early imbibed strong High Church opinions and Jacobite sympathies. When the Methodist movement began to spread he was, on the whole, in warm sympathy with it, describing the doctrine of the new birth in one of his metrical epistles as

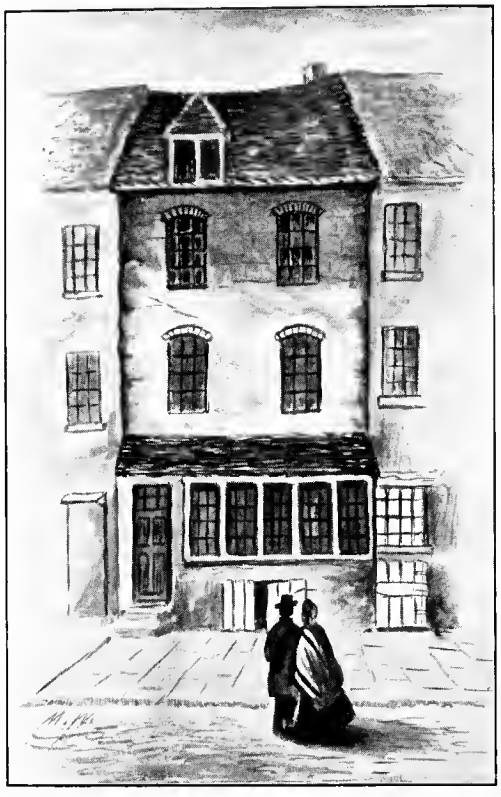
No part of Scripture, but the whole;

and it is a recurring note in his poems. To the extreme Calvinism of Harvey and the predestinarians he was passionately antagonistic; while he leaned to the mysticism of Law, with which Wesley disagreed. A system of shorthand he invented and taught was adopted by both the Wesley brothers. The divergence of opinion on the subject of mysticism had a somewhat chilling effect on his early friendship with the Wesleys, and it is certain that he never identified himself with the Methodist movement.

The stormy and dissipated career of Charles Churchill, whom some have

HOGARTH.

termed the "British Juvenal," was not such as to bring him into sympathy with Methodist seriousness. He did not allow them to escape in the various attacks he made on the characteristics and foibles



SCENE OF THE COCK LANE GHOST'S EXPLOITS.

of the time. In 1763, the year before his death, in a long poem entitled "The Ghost of Cock Lane," in which Doctor Johnson is satirized as *Pomposo*, he classifies the Methodists with juggling priests from the time of Herodotus onward, and credits them in a shallow fashion with doing it all for gain:

> A mystery, so made for gain,
> E'er now in fashion must remain,
> Enthusiasts never will let drop
> What brings such business to their shop,
> And that great saint we Whitefield call,
> Keeps up the humbug spiritual.

Such is also the tone of Robert Lloyd's verses, a man who, like Churchill, shortened his life by dissipation, dying in the Fleet prison, in 1764, a few weeks after hearing of the death at Boulogne of his friend Churchill.

The great painter-satirist of his day, William Hogarth, who died in the same year as Churchill and Lloyd, but at a ripe age, used his pencil somewhat unworthily to make the Methodists ridiculous. One of his pictures is entitled "Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism." It pictures the interior of a London church—the edifice is still standing—the pulpit of which is occupied by a ranting preacher. A congregation, composed of varied types, hang intently upon his words. So excited has he become that the sounding-board over his head is cracked, his wig has fallen off, and his gown has flown open. The disorder of his attire discloses a harlequin's jacket under the ministerial gown, and a priest's tonsure under the wig. Flying toward him is a winged cherub wearing a post-boy's cap, and bearing a letter addressed to "Saint Money-Trap;" a suggestion, of course, that the preacher has sordid aims beneath his enthusiasm. Other symbols fill out the picture. Resting on a volume of Wesley's sermons and Glanville's "Book of Witches," is a thermometer, placed upright in a human heart. On the top of the thermometer appear the Cock Lane Ghost and the Drummer of Tedworth. A volume of Whitefield's Journal lies in a basket that stands upon King James the First's "Treatise on Demonology." These objects are meant to suggest that the preacher plays upon the human hearts before him by using a mixture of pure superstition and Methodist theology. In the background of the picture there hangs from the ceiling a globe, serving as a symbol for hell, to which a lay preacher is pointing, and frightening the wits out of a poor man standing by. A Turk is gazing through an open window, on the scene, and exclaims in astonishment: "If

this be Christianity, great Prophet, I thank thee that I am a Mahometan." Horace Walpole, strangely enough, thought this the best thing Hogarth ever sketched.

The Cock Lane Ghost story, which made quite a ferment in London, and was used by freethinkers to discredit all belief in the miraculous, belongs to the history of the year 1762. A Mr. Aldrich, a clergyman in Clerkenwell, London, had a servant girl in his employ who was supposed to be disturbed by a departed spirit, which, by a system of knocks, was about to reveal to her the existence of an enormous crime. He invited to his house a party of gentlemen, eminent for rank and character, to examine into the circumstances. They entered the chamber of the girl, who had been carefully put to bed by several ladies; but, after sitting for more than an hour, they heard no supernatural manifestations. No sooner had they left, however, than the spirit attacked the girl "like a mouse upon her back," and knocks and scratches were heard by the ladies. The girl declared that it had promised to reveal something awful if one of the gentlemen would go to a vault beneath the Church of St. John's, Clerkenwell; but, when the test was made, nothing resulted. The practical conclusion come to was, that the girl had some peculiar method of making noises. The story greatly interested Doctor Johnson, who investigated the whole circumstances with considerable care, and wrote an article on the subject for the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The details bear a curious resemblance to the rappings of "Old Jeffery" at Epworth parsonage. To Doctor Johnson and Wesley such manifestations possessed an extraordinary fascination, while they excited the ridicule of rationalists.

The famous life of that eminent scholar and moralist, by the Scotchman Boswell, contains numerous passages which deal with the Methodists. Unlike Byrom, Johnson decried the doctrine of the new birth and inward light, as "a principle of action of which we could know nothing." In the year 1763, when so many satirists were making of Methodist preachers butts for their ridicule, Doctor Johnson commended their plain and familiar manner of expressing themselves, as suited to their congregations and worthy of imitation by the clergy in general. Boswell believed, indeed, that Johnson was a Methodist "in a dignified manner." But there is no doubt that, while the doctor respected the Wesleys, and admired the pluck of men who would travel hundreds of miles in a month, preaching twice a day, he was nevertheless cold to their mission. No reference to them is found in any of his writings. The last entry in Boswell's

HANNAH MORE.

"Life" relative to the Methodists, brackets them, curiously enough, with papists. The subject under discussion was the best religious discipline for convicts. "Sir," remarked the doctor, "one of

our regular clergy will probably not impress their minds sufficiently; they should be attended by a Methodist preacher or a popish priest."

The respectful, but yet coldly critical attitude of Johnson toward Wesley and Methodism, happily passed over in the next generation, among the most representative of his disciples, into a positive friendliness. Among those who enjoyed the companionship of the old man, and were petted and patronized by him, was a brilliant young school-teacher from

MRS. HESTER ANN ROGERS.

Bristol, named Hannah More. Her friendship with Garrick led to her writing several plays for the stage, somewhat dull performances, which borrowed largely from Shakespeare. After Garrick's death, however, her interest in the drama declined, and her sympathies drew her more and more to religious people.

A legacy which an admirer of her talents bequeathed to her, enabled her to live comfortably without depending on the uncertain profits of literary work, and in London, whither she removed, she enjoyed the friendship of Charles Wesley and of William Wilberforce, then a young man of high promise. "I went, I think, in 1786," writes Wilberforce, "to see her, and when I came into the room Charles Wesley rose from the table, around which a numerous party sat at tea, and coming forward to me, gave me solemnly his blessing. I was scarcely ever more affected. Such was the effect of his manner and appearance, that it altogether overset me, and I burst into tears, unable to restrain myself."

Hannah More remained within the state Church; but her influence was entirely in harmony with the teaching of the Wesleys. While Lord Dartmouth had been, in the early days of George the Third's reign, an almost solitary instance of personal piety among the nobility, by the year 1800 so strong was the revulsion against French atheism and anarchy, that a pious or Methodistic way of living had begun to command respect and was regarded as English and patriotic. The Queensberrys and Sandwiches, who, before the French Revolution, had openly reveled in vice, now became a shunned and discredited class, fit "to point a moral, or adorn a tale." This current set in steadily during the closing years of Wesley's life, and continued to gain in force until Evangelicalism pervaded the whole Church.

The respect generally accorded to Wesley was bestowed on Hannah More, who, in the closing years of the century, was living at Cowslip Green, near Bristol, and busying herself with philanthropical efforts which have kept a pleasant fragrance about her name. Here it was that Zachary Macaulay, father of the famous historian, came in 1795 to make her acquaintance; and here it was that he found a wife. Selina Mills, mother of the historian, had been a pupil of the More sisters when they kept school at

Bristol in their early days. Soon after this visit Zachary Macaulay returned to Africa, but without his bride-elect, in order that he might look after the success of his negro colony at Sierra Leone. He had some difficulties there, not only with a congregation of Lady Huntingdon's Methodists, who were disorderly and inconsistent in their lives, but also with a Moses Wilkinson, "a so-called Wesleyan Methodist," whose congregation were passing through the throes of a not overseemly revival. Returning in 1797, Macaulay was happily married at Bristol to Selina Mills. It was in the atmosphere of the strict pietism of Hannah More and her friends that their son, Thomas Babington, born in 1800, was reared.

Perhaps the hero of her "Cœlebs in Search of a Wife," a very popular book in its day, owed some of his characteristics to Zachary Macaulay. Published in 1808, the book is the first in which the authoress mentions the Methodists. "These (habits of attending church more than once a day, conducting family prayers, and refraining from all gaiety on Sundays)," remarks Hannah More in that story, "though the man attend no eccentric clergyman, hold no one enthusiastic doctrine and associate with no fanatic—will infallibly fix on him the charge of Methodism." If we judge from contemporary usage, it is probable she referred rather to Lady Huntingdon's Methodists than to the societies of John Wesley.

Toward the close of the century a book appeared entitled "Anecdotes of Methodism," which enjoyed considerable popularity. A Cornish High Church vicar named Polwhele, in a controversy he was carrying on with a Plymouth clergyman named Doctor Hawker, made use of its contents as a weapon of offence. The celebrated Samuel Drew, Coke's biographer, who was destined to make a name for himself in science, forthwith appeared in the arena, and picked the whole scurrilous publication to pieces. Out of thirty-four anecdotes he found eight false, nine misrepresented, and five related with the omission of some material circumstances. Of six of the others he could get no account, while the remainder were all "doctored." He bluntly accused Mr. Polwhele of a breach of the ninth commandment, an accusation

DAVID HUME.

which the latter seems to have considered not undeserved; for he certainly bore no ill-will to Mr. Drew, whose "Essay on the Soul" he generously reviewed some years later. As he wrote this review for Canning's *Anti-Jacobin Review*, he must have been possessed of some literary standing.

The great quarterly reviews which were founded in the beginning of the nineteenth century showed themselves hostile to Methodism. The rapid prog-

GEORGE COLMAN.

ress of the Methodists had begun to alarm the friends of the national Church. The clerical element on the staff of the *Edinburgh Review* was represented by Sydney Smith, well-known as the "witty canon of St. Paul's." With many virtues, this cleric had also many of the defects of the worldly-minded clergyman. Indeed, he reminds us at many points of Chaucer's "fair prelate," and bears but little resemblance to the poor but "wondrous diligent" parson, who

> Dwelt at home, and keptë well his fold.

It is difficult to read without indignation the bitter attacks on Methodism made in the *Edinburgh Review* of January, 1808, and of April of the next year. The earlier article closes in a would-be pious strain: "To the learning, the moderation, and the rational piety of the Establishment, we most earnestly wish a decided victory over the nonsense, the melancholy, and the madness of the tabernacle. God send that our wishes be not in vain." An answer to this and other attacks, made by John Styles, brought down the still fiercer denunciation of the following year, full of the same would-be witty alliterations. Mr. Styles is termed a "sacred and silly gentleman," and nothing but contempt is expressed for "the nasty and numerous vermin of Methodism," whom he proceeds to "catch, crack, and kill" with his nimble wit.

It is noticeable that Mr. Styles, in the disapproval he expresses of dancing and other forms of dissipation, advocates, as a better means of recreation, the enjoyment of the beauties of nature. "Instead of the common rough amusements to which they (the poor) are now addicted," he writes, "there remain the simple beauties of nature, the gay colors, and scented perfumes of the earth." He is evidently in full sympathy with Wordsworth and the nature poets. But the reviewer will have none of it; he scoffs at the suggestion: "Shut out from all their dances and country wakes, they are then sent pennyless into the fields, to gaze on the clouds and smell to dandelions."

DAVID GARRICK.

That the school of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey was at heart in sympathy with Methodism is made plain in many ways. Coleridge was the master-spirit among them, the inspiring and fructifying influence. Coleridge in his turn had been profoundly influenced by German thought, and was, to Englishmen, the exponent of the ideality of Kant. Now Immanuel Kant, as his Christian name might indicate, was a direct product of German pietism, and, indeed, was its legitimate development in the domain of pure thought. Many of Wordsworth's finest lines are but poetic embodiments of Kant's philosophical dicta. "God in the heart of man" is a conception common to Wesley, to Kant, and to Wordsworth, and lying at the very foundation of their ethics.

It is not, then, strange to discover in Wordsworth's poetry a genial and appreciative introduction of Methodist character. What Sydney Smith and such as he characterize as "drunken declamations," to Wordsworth are healing spiritual influences. In "Peter Bell," a poem written in 1798, but not published until 1819, when it appeared with a dedication to Robert Southey, the earnest preaching of an itinerant serves to bring the brutal hawker, who is the hero of the tale, into his right mind. As he is wandering disconsolate and horror-stricken, the victim of an evil conscience and superstitious terror, he hears a voice coming from a woody glade:

The voice, though clamorous as a horn
Re-echoed by a naked rock,
Comes from that tabernacle—List!
Within, a fervent Methodist
Is preaching to no heedless flock!

"Repent! repent!" he cries aloud,
"While yet ye may find mercy; strive
To love the Lord with all your might;
Turn to Him, seek Him day and night,
And save your souls alive!

"Repent! repent! though ye have gone,
Through paths of wickedness and woe,
After the Babylonian harlot;
And, though your sins be red as scarlet,
They shall be white as snow!"

Even as he passed the door, these words
Did plainly come to Peter's ears;
And they such joyful tidings were,
The joy was more than he could bear!
He melted into tears.

Sufficient answer this, from the pages of one of the noblest of English poets, to the acrid attacks of alliterative reviewers! It will be noticed that, in the at-

COLLEY CIBBER.

tack on Methodism made by the London contemporary of the *Edinburgh Review*, the same string is harped upon, and with equal fatuousness.

This attack was contained in one of the very first numbers of the *Quarterly Review*, founded in London in the year 1809, as the organ of the high Tory party. It was entitled "On the Evangelical Sects," and was professedly a review of "Hints to the Public and the Legislature on the Nature and Effects of Evangelical Preaching." The author of the book reviewed seems to have be-

SAMUEL RICHARDSON, THE NOVELIST.

lieved that the creed of the Evangelical sects was substantially Antinomian. "The word of proclamation," he declares, "delivered weekly from the pulpit, and dispersed daily in cheap tracts to all degrees of society, is, to the seducer: 'You have betrayed many that once were innocent, and brought down many a father's gray hairs with sorrow to the grave; but add one more victim; *for your life cannot be too impure*, and then *take refuge in a Redeemer.*'
To the murderer: 'Your sins cannot be too great; dip your hands once more in the blood of your fellow-creatures, and then wash them white in the blood of the Lamb.' Such is the plain, distinct, intelligible language of Evangelical teaching."

The reviewer was sufficiently well acquainted with the creed and habits of Methodists to recognize in such language "willful and malicious misstatements;" and yet he proceeds to make remarks of his own which are so overstrained as to be ridiculous. "In proportion," he remarks, "as they overspread the country, the very character of the English face is altered; for Methodism transforms the countenance as certainly as sottishness or opium. They have already obtained as distinct a physiognomy as the Jews, or the Gypsies; coarse, hard, and dismal visages, as if some spirit of darkness had got into them, and was looking out of them." He goes on to deprecate the wide sale throughout the kingdom of the Evangelical and Methodist magazines, whose "bigotry, fanaticism, and uncharitableness are melancholy proofs of human weakness." He compares the influence of Methodism upon educated people to a mildew "blasting all genius in the bud, and withering every flower of loveliness and of innocent enjoyment."

The aggressiveness of the new sect fills him with fear lest it will soon prove as strong as the Establishment. He credits its leaders, from Wesley downward, with an ambition to found a church that should rival, and finally supersede the state Church; and he even goes on to insinuate that they contemplated an alteration of the reigning dynasty! The disintegration of society which would result from the supremacy of separatists

ROBERT SOUTHEY.

LORD MANSFIELD

so sour and intolerant, is a prospect which fills him with dismay.

Robert Southey, who, eight years later, wrote the "Life of Wesley," and who was the "stroke oar" of the *Quarterly Review*, has been credited with the authorship of this article. This is hardly possible. On one or two occasions he was made a scapegoat in this fashion; and the tone of the article is so extravagant and so political as to point to some other source. Six or eight months after it appeared, a bill was introduced in the House of Lords by that narrow-minded Tory, Lord Sidmouth. Its object was to render more effectual some intolerant Acts against Dissenters dating from the reign of William III. Had it been carried the work of the local Methodist preachers would have been summarily cut short. The speeches made in its favor echoed the extraordinary forebodings of the Quarterly Reviewer. Happily, common-sense views prevailed and the bill was strangled at its birth.

Five or six years later we find Robert Southey busy with his "Life of Wesley," which, published in 1818, has since remained a highly-esteemed piece of biographical literature. Written as it was by a man out of immediate sympathy with the peculiar religious fervor of Methodism, it has always given more or less dissatisfaction to devout Methodists. And yet no thoughtful reader can be blind to its many essential excellences: the chaste style, the sense of literary proportion, the judicial fairness, the moral sincerity it displays, together with that real admiration for its hero without which a biography is apt to be but waste paper. Its conspicuous defect—of which the author was convinced by evidence furnished after the work appeared in print — is the constant imputation of "ambition" as a ruling motive in Wesley's career; and this defect he intended to remedy had he survived. When we compare his estimate of Methodism with that of the Quarterly Reviewer of 1810, who belonged to the same political party and wrote in the organ to which he was a staple contributor, it is evident what a boon Southey conferred on the cause of true religion. Writing, as he declared in a private letter, without bias of party

LORD CHESTERFIELD.

or sect, he produced a work worthy of the man—a work, with all its shortcomings, at once "beautiful and appreciative," as the latest Methodist biographer, Telford, has pronounced it to be. The great spirit of Samuel Taylor Coleridge found constant delight in its pages.

The previous biographies, which had been written for Methodists, were none of them works which had any literary prestige or any particular weight. It is not necessary, in these pages, to enter at any length into the "biography" controversy which followed the death of Wesley and caused considerable bitterness.

The first biography which appeared came from a source which was not likely to produce anything unbiased. The younger Hampson, who had left the connection in disgust because of the provisions in the Deed of Declaration, was its author; and he was the authority on whom Southey seems to have leaned in preferring his charge of ambition against Wesley. The three executors of Wesley—Coke, Whitehead, and Moore—accordingly warned the public against relying too implicitly upon the statements of such writers as Hampson, who had no access to Wesley's papers. So busy were Coke and Moore with their itinerant labors, that the work was finally intrusted to Doctor Whitehead, who stipulated privately that he should receive one hundred pounds for his time and trouble. Subsequently he repudiated this agreement, and a dispute ensued, in which he made himself very unpopular with the Conference. That body saw fit to request the other two executors to bring out a Life—a work which they performed in some haste. Doctor Whitehead's Memoir breathes the bitterness of a disappointed man, and is evidently out of sympathy with the main current of Methodism; he writes in pessimistic strain regarding its future, and unduly exalts the High Church views of Charles Wesley. It is evident that none of the three biographies was likely to satisfy the reading public; owing to the absence of perspective, judicial fairness, literary competence, or sufficient leisure.

It was with James Rogers, the occupant of the house in which Wesley died, and a trusted friend of the great leader, that Doctor Whitehead made the verbal agreement which he afterward desired to cancel. Both, it will be remembered, were present at Wesley's death. Rogers was trustee of the deed conveying Wesley's books to the Conference, and had charge of his papers. He had married an excellent woman, Hester Ann Roe, daughter of a Macclesfield clergyman, whose name worthily finds a place among the elect women of Methodism. Wesley highly esteemed her saintly qualities. The account of the trials she passed through in her earnest striving after the higher life did much to form the ideal of conduct among the women of the ensuing generation. Such works as the "Experience of Hester Ann Rogers," the "Life and Labours of John Valton," and the "Life of the Rev. Peard Dickenson," usher in a new kind of biography—the introspective or Methodistic—in which the ups and downs of religious experience are carefully and minutely detailed. Only a sincere and intense spiritual life could produce such memorials; and Methodism may well value records so interesting, so unique, and so precious.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ERA OF THE CAMP-MEETING.

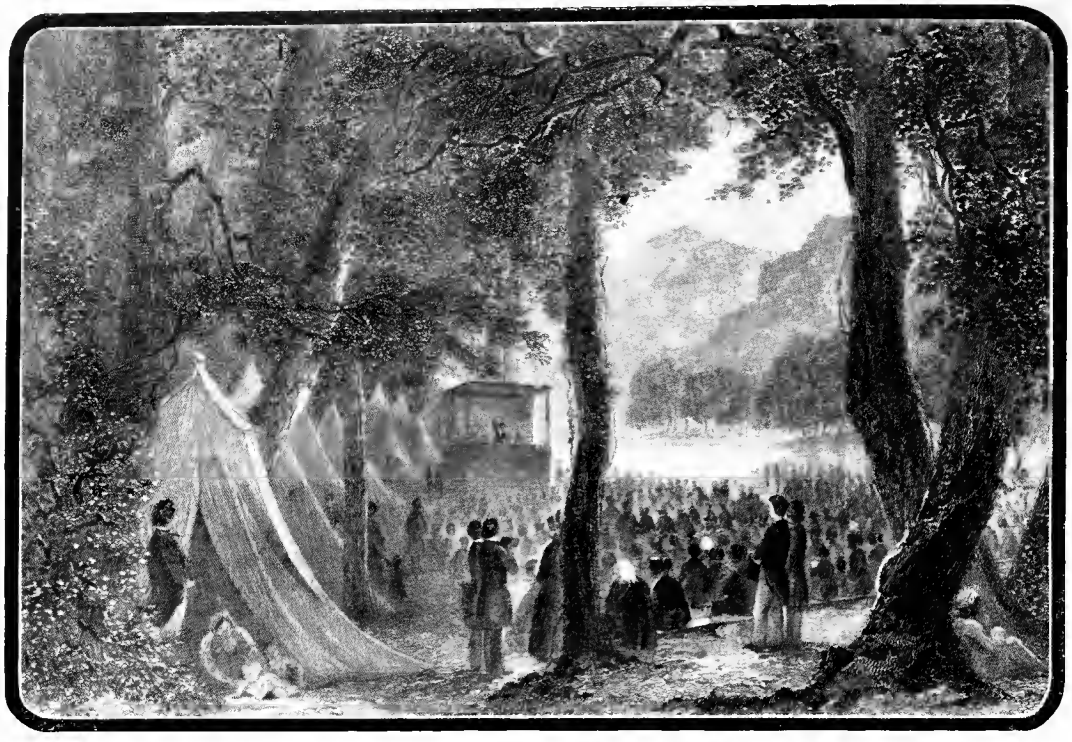
THE secession of O'Kelly, in 1792, left Asbury in supreme and unquestioned command of a great Christian army. To students of history it is evident that the period following the declaration of peace in 1783 was one in which the bonds of authority were dangerously weakened. Very near did the nation drift to the breakers of anarchy. The pressing call was not for less authority, but for more authority, so long as the authority was at once capable and well-intentioned.

Wide, almost unrestricted, executive powers were intrusted to the bishop. Not only did he preside at the Conferences, but he was allowed to unite two or more of these, as he judged fit, and to name or change the dates of their meeting. It was his duty to assign preachers their stations, and, in the intervals between Conferences, to receive, change, or suspend them. Disputes between preachers and people fell to him to decide; and he had a veto on all ordinations. On the other hand, as Asbury pointed out somewhat pathetically, the bishop had no local district that he could call his own, and where his personal influence could tell; he received no higher salary than his subordinates; and he could be removed upon the vague charge of "improper conduct"—a restriction imposed on no other church official.

The duties of the preachers in charge, and of other subordinates who worked under him, have already been described in detail. The new organization was indeed a well-equipped spiritual army, with officers constantly recruited from the exhorters, who, becoming local preachers, were afterward appointed to the traveling ministry. With its untiring and capable commanding general, who traveled south, and north, and west, and organized in a fashion that is only possible to a single directive personality, the whole organization grew and spread like a well-nourished, well-tended plant.

A certain marked decrease in membership occurred during the last decade of the century. For the first half-dozen years, under the new episcopal *régime*, the advance in numbers and strength was by leaps and bounds. In most histories of Methodism the total membership in 1791 appears as 76,153, which would mean a quintupling since the organization of the Church. But, by an oversight in calculation, the total of that year was illegitimately increased by nearly 13,000. The number of whites in that year was only 50,385, with 12,884 colored. It was by the addition of the second item to the total of 63,269 that the grand total of 76,153 was obtained; a fact brought out by Dr. John Emory, in his valuable "A Defence of Our Fathers." If we base our investigations on the sophisticated figures, the ebb which set in soon after appears sufficiently alarming. There was a decrease in 1794, a very marked decrease in 1795, and still a decrease in 1796, when a total membership of 56,544 was reported. But this is not a loss of 20,000, or more than one-fourth, as has been believed, but merely of one-ninth. In 1801 the Church had recovered its ground, and thenceforth the expansion was phenomenal.

The enemies of the new episcopate, anti-prelatists on the one hand, and apostolic successionists on the other, were



A TYPICAL CAMP-MEETING SCENE.

pleased to note this "extraordinary" decrease, and drew pessimistic forecasts from it. Various reasons have been assigned for the decrease. Undoubtedly the secessions of O'Kelly and Hammett not only weakened the membership by actual subtraction, but also shook the Church by temporarily weakening the authority and prestige of Asbury. Two embryo bishops, McKendree and Capers, the latter through his father's intimacy with Hammett, at Charleston, were nearly drawn into the vortex of these schisms. But there were other causes. To begin with, the system by which the preachers were supported was unsatisfactory, the remuneration being too meager to retain good men. In the second place, the zealous itinerants of the first period, being desirous to marry, found it impossible to support a family unless they located. One after another dropped out of active service, until Asbury began to despair. But a celibate itineracy hardly suited American ideas; and until the Church was prepared to furnish an income that would support a married man, the quality of her preachers was likely to fall off.

Again, during this period the country was disturbed by fierce warfare with the Indians in the Northwest, and many homes were broken up. There was also a constant flow of emigration to the fertile lands north of the Ohio, which diminished the population in the older settlements, often denuding them of their most active citizens.

The story of O'Kelly's secession has hitherto been told in more or less of a partisan spirit, and we still await an impartial history of the movement. That the leaders of the Church were loth to part with him is certain. Doctor Coke invited him to a private interview, and, in the most conciliatory manner possible, inquired of him on what terms he was willing to return. When O'Kelly responded that he must still insist on the right of appeal, Coke had to inform him

that this could not be granted. Before he left for home Asbury expressed the keenest regret at his departure, and promised him free access to Methodist pulpits and a yearly salary of forty pounds. The former concession he accepted; and it is generally believed that he also accepted the latter. But there is no reason for doubting the truth of the statement made in his "Apology," that he refused any salary; and that a gift of ten pounds, sent shortly afterward by Asbury, and disbursed the same day in part payment for a saddle-horse, was all the money he ever received. Its acceptance he bitterly regretted, as it led people to remark that, while accepting pay from the Methodists, he opposed them. So certain was O'Kelly of success when he went up to the Conference that the defeat greatly mortified him. He was in no way prepared for secession; nor did he possess the gifts which were required for organizing a new body. Soon the men who had seceded with him returned to the original fold.

THE OLD CAMP-MEETING GROUND ON MUDDY RIVER, NEAR RUSSELLVILLE, KENTUCKY.

The first camp-meeting in America was held here, in August, 1799.

McKendree, who was on the Greenville circuit, and who had sent a letter of resignation to the Conference because he sympathized with O'Kelly, was visited by Asbury, and accepted a change of appointment. Later we find him traveling with the bishop; and from a dissident he became a devoted henchman. All except one of the preachers who went out with O'Kelly finally returned.

It was not until more than a year had passed that hopes of reconciliation finally died out. By that time much factional bitterness had been aroused, and two definite camps had been formed. Finally, on Christmas Day, 1793, there was held at Manakin, Virginia, a Conference of the disaffected preachers, who proceeded to organize themselves into a new connection under the appellation of "Republican Methodists." Its distinctive principles have been enunciated for us by O'Kelly. "We formed," he said, "our ministers on an equality; gave the lay-members a balance of power in the legislature; and left the executive business in the Church collectively." The Conference was adjourned until August of the next year, when it met in Surrey county, "with open doors that all might see and learn." But the presence of a master-mind was distinctly lacking, and after long and unproductive discussion and reference of plans to a committee, it was finally decided that all human laws should be discarded and the word of God alone accepted as guide. Such an organization was altogether too invertebrate to meet the needs of the times. On the motion of Rice Haggard, the only preacher who remained faithful to

GRAVE OF VALENTINE COOK.
One of the founders of the camp-meeting, near the site of the first camp-ground.

O'Kelly, it was resolved that the name "Christian" should be adopted, to the exclusion of all party and sectarian names. That no decisive action was taken to make the motion effective is shown by the fact that seven years later O'Kelly published a pamphlet in which he proposed that the name "The Christian Church" should become the appellation of their organization. There followed on this proposal a new defection of four preachers and a number of members in Charlotte county; but the remaining congregations kept together pretty well. The southern border of Virginia and the northern part of North Carolina were the districts in which this "Christian Church"—to be carefully distinguished from the organization of Alexander Campbell—kept alive the old Methodist doctrines.

It was widely asserted that O'Kelly was unsound on the doctrine of the Trinity; and even Asbury seems to have accepted the fact of his heterodoxy. It may be that some of O'Kelly's statements were irreconcilable with a very accurately worded theology; but he seems to have erred, not in lowering the authority of the Son, but rather in ignoring the authority of the Father. The form of ordination made use of in the new connection read as follows: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the authority of the Holy Scriptures, with the approbation of the Church, and with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, we set apart this our brother to the Holy Order and Office of Elder in the Church of God; in the name of the *Father*, and of the *Son*, and of the *Holy Ghost*, Amen."

The charge of Unitarian heresy preferred against the O'Kellyites before the century closed gained momentum from the fraternal advances of a Unitarian "Christian Church," founded in New England some years later. This new body had, in the year 1808, established a religious organ to expound its views. Its paper, the *Herald of Christian Liberty*, said to be the first religious publication of the kind in the United States,

OLD REHOBOTH METHODIST CHURCH, NEAR UNION, MONROE COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA.
The church was built in 1786 and was dedicated by Bishop Asbury. Freeborn Garrettson, Francis Asbury and other noted preachers have occupied its pulpit.

vas the exponent of a theol-)gy that denied the divinity)f Christ, and ridiculed the loctrine of the atonement. Hearing of a Christian Church n the South, one of their mis-ionary preachers, named Plummer, visited the Confer-ence held at Pine Stake, North Carolina, as a delegate. Prob-ibly he had been led to believe hat O'Kelly and his followers vere Unitarians. When he nade his mission known, O'Kelly asked him plainly if ie was a worshiper of Jesus Christ. He answered that he :ould not worship Jesus Christ, or he did not believe Him to)e divine. Then O'Kelly declared that he :ould have no fellowship with him. The nission of Plummer was not, however, vithout its fruits. An able preacher of he connection, William Guirey, was lrawn off, and a number of members se-:eded with him. They founded, at Suffolk, Virginia, a weekly paper, the *Christian Sun*, in support of their doc-:rines, and it lived for a considerable :ime. It must not be confounded with the *Christian Sun* of the orthodox con-nection, which has been published at Raleigh, North Carolina, since 1844. It is the organ of the "Christians" of to-day, who look to O'Kelly as the founder of their body, which has become by union quite a strong denomination, with a college, a seminary, and other equipments. O'Kelly, who survived until 1826, when he died at an advanced age, is buried in the church of the sect at Raleigh, North Carolina, and a suit-able monument has been erected over his grave.

"GREEN HILL," THE OLD MacDONALD HOMESTEAD, NEAR BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA.

The house was built about the close of the Revolutionary War. Bishop Asbury frequently stopped here on his way to and from the Holston Conference. Jeremiah Lambert was the first regular preacher to take charge of the work here. He was appointed in 1783, but frequent services were held prior to that time.

Wholly unsympathetic as have been the relations in America between Meth-odists and Unitarians, it must be re-membered that Universalism and Meth-odism had a common origin. In its early days, Universalism, now so closely linked to Unitarianism as to be hardly distin-guishable in the popular mind, was allied to French and German religious mysti-cism, and looked to the Moravian breth-ren for teaching and inspiration. The founder of New England Universalism was John Murray, one of Whitefield's preachers, who was brought up a Cal-vinist. The imputation of Universal-ism, our readers will remember, rested upon a line in Charles Wesley's hymn, which Madan changed into

Once He died *our souls* to save.

Murray organized his first congrega-tion of Universalists at Gloucester, Massa-chusetts, in 1779, and his teaching re-mained evangelical. But the later ac-cessions to Universalism showed a "lib-eral" tendency, and gave the body its drift toward a creed which is, in its es-sence, sociological rather than mystical. It was only by a slow process, however, that the Unitarian body came to find in the Universalists their natural allies. "God," said the Universalist, "is too

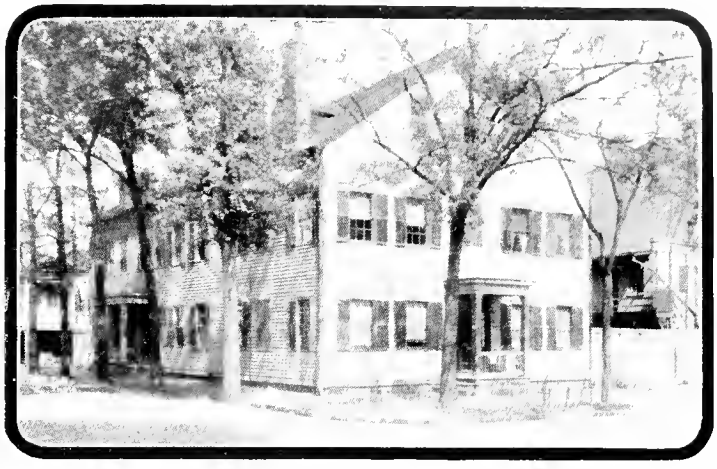
GOVERNOR VAN CORTLANDT, OF NEW YORK,
An intimate friend of Asbury's, who described Mrs. Van Cortlandt as "a Shunammite indeed."

good to damn a man;" "Men," said the Unitarian, "are too good to be damned." The history of Universalism in America shows a gradual drift from its Methodist origin to an alignment with pure "morality" teaching.

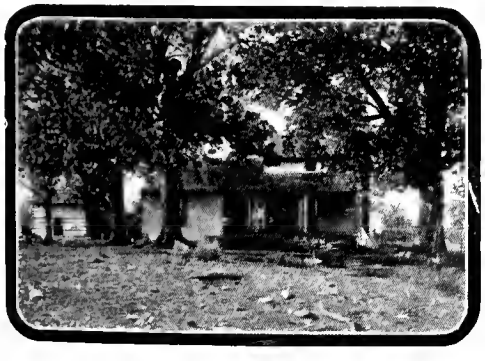
Besides the O'Kelly secession, and the other causes we have mentioned, the loss of the Canadian circuits diminished the total of membership. For about ten years after the memorable Christmas Conference of 1784, the work in British America remained an integral portion of the work in the United States. But thereafter, as a natural result of political sympathies, it began to ally itself with English Methodism, and by the close of the century looked entirely to the old country for aid and brotherhood. The discordant elements, which were finally to result in the regrettable conflict of 1812–14, were already at work. In the young republic a desire to assert itself as a nation made her citizens extremely jealous of anything which seemed like British dictation or interference. Their sympathies were with France rather than with Great Britain in the vital struggle which, beginning at the close of the century, lasted until the battle of Waterloo. It is not, therefore, surprising that the work in British America was left to take care of itself. On the other hand, the pronounced sympathy with France, found in Virginia, Kentucky, and the South generally, brought in a flood of infidelity which affected disastrously all Christian work. The story of the cross was regarded by these French sympathizers as so much outworn fable. Granade, the poet-preacher, was on one occasion earnestly addressing a party of revelers, and speaking to them of the atoning death of Christ. A bold orator of the devil said: "If there was such a man as Jesus Christ, and if He had done so much for him, he was much obliged to Him; but that he thought Tom Paine a greater man than Jesus Christ, and would stand on the right hand of God in the day of judgment like a game-cock, jumping and huzzaing at the same time in the name of Satan." This was unfortunately the attitude of only too many at this time. The legislature of Kentucky in the year

797 gave up having any religious exercises.

This very godless state of Kentucky was to be the center of a wonderful revival. Usually a great deal of hard, unrecognized preliminary work is required as a basis for the spread of a revival. The materials for the fire must be carefully laid, before the flame will catch and spread. In Kentucky, certainly, the Methodist preachers, amidst much obloquy and opposition, had not been idle. Here they had planted the second educational venture in the New World. Bethel Academy, in Jessamine county, was the place where the Conference met in the year 1799. Built on a lofty situation, it was a structure of some pretensions, being three stories in height and measuring eighty by forty feet. The scheme greatly interested Bishop Asbury, and received considerable local support. The state legislature was induced to set apart six thousand acres of land for its endowment; but unfortunately the donation proved an expense rather than a source of income. The local preachers did their best to foster the institution, and for a time the academical department flourished; but, though it received a charter in 1804, it gradually declined, and was finally abandoned.



THE OLD WESLEY CHAPEL, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Built in 1813 and dedicated by Bishop Asbury. At that time the membership was fifty-two—twenty-seven white and twenty-five colored. The building is now used as a dwelling.



BENNETT BABB HOUSE.
The home of Bishop Asbury at the time he held his last Conference at Bethlehem Church, Wilson County, Tennessee. The old church has entirely disappeared.

Many efforts, however, are not to be judged by their immediate success or failure. The ardent zeal which sought to found in the wilderness a center of light like Bethel Academy, did not burn in vain, although the institution itself came to naught. In the year 1800 there began a revival which swept over Kentucky and the surrounding states like a prairie fire. In the great work the Presbyterians and Methodists were closely allied. Strong as were the Baptists in these districts, they do not seem to have taken a prominent part in the movement, and yet a doubling of their membership showed that they shared in its blessed results. The revival affected not only Kentucky, but Tennessee, the Carolinas, and the neighboring parts.

"In this revival," states Peter Cartwright in his autobiography, "originated our camp-meetings, and in both these denominations (Presbyterian and Methodist) they were held every year, and, indeed, have been ever since, more or less. They would erect their camps with logs, or frame them, and cover them with clapboards or shingles. They would

EUTAW STREET METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, BALTIMORE.

The body of Bishop Asbury was placed under the pulpit of this church May 10, 1816. The church was built in 1808.

also erect a shed, sufficiently large to protect five thousand people from wind and rain, and cover it with boards or shingles; build a grand-stand, seat the shed, and here they would collect together from forty to fifty miles around, sometimes farther than that. Ten, twenty, and sometimes thirty ministers, of different denominations, would come together and preach night and day, four or five days together; and, indeed, I have known these camp-meetings to last three or four weeks, and great good resulted from them. I have seen more than a hundred sinners fall like dead men under one powerful sermon, and I have seen and heard more than five hundred Christians all shouting aloud the high praises of God at once; and I will venture to assert that many happy thousands were awakened and converted to God at these camp-meetings. Some sinners mocked, some of the old dry professors opposed, some of the old starched Presbyterian preachers preached against these exercises, but still the work went on and spread almost in every direction, gathering additional force, till our country seemed all coming home to God.

"In this great revival the Methodists kept moderately balanced; for we had excellent preachers to steer the ship or guide the flocks. But some of our members ran wild, and indulged in some extravagances that were hard to control.

"The Presbyterian preachers and members, not being accustomed to much noise or shouting, when they yielded to it went into great extremes and downright wildness, to the great injury of the cause of God."

A strange phenomenon accompanied this revival, causing no little amazement in the community, and some scandal. The excitement attending conviction of sin manifested itself in a nervous physical condition known as the *jerks*, which would break over whole audiences, saints and sinners alike, and sway them as a storm sways the standing corn. "I have seen," says Cartwright, "more than five hundred persons jerking at one time in my large congregations. Most usually persons taken with the jerks, to obtain relief, as they said, would rise up and dance. Some would run, but could not get away.

HOME OF RICHARD M. TODD, BALTIMORE COUNTY, MARYLAND.

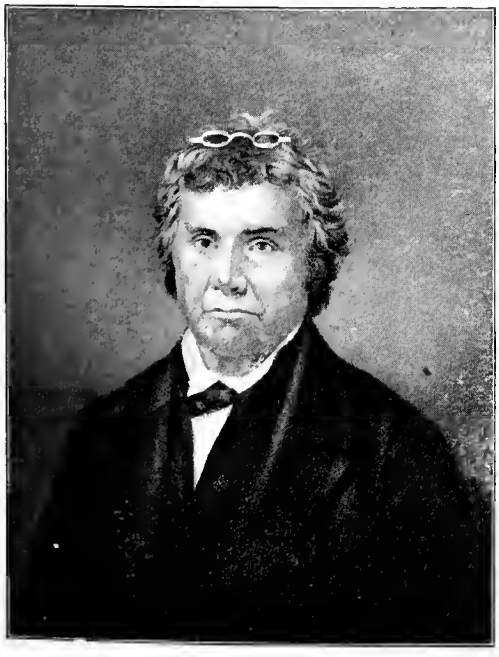
The house was built in 1794. Before it was finished Tobias Stansbury with a party of young people attended a Methodist prayer-meeting held within its walls. They "went to scoff and remained to pray." Stansbury was converted and afterwards became a useful Methodist preacher.

Some would resist; on such the jerks were generally very severe.

"To see these proud young gentlemen and young ladies, dressed in their silks, jewelry, and prunella, from top to toe, take the jerks, would often excite my risibilities. The first jerk or so, you would see their fine bonnets, caps, and combs fly; and so sudden would be the jerking of the head that their long loose hair would crack almost as loud as a wagoner's whip."

In this same chapter of his autobiography, he relates an instance where the spasms proved fatal. During a camp-meeting that was held at a place called The Ridge, William Magee presiding, a band of rowdies planned an interruption of the assembly. Headed by a powerfully built man, and carrying whiskey bottles in their pockets, they broke into the gathering, cursing the jerks and all religion. Soon their leader found himself a victim to the complaint, and started to run off, but he was affected so powerfully that he could not get away. Catching at some saplings which stood near, to steady himself, he reached for his whiskey bottle, but was unable to get it to his mouth. Finally, a violent jerk swung it against a sapling, and it was broken in pieces. The loss of the whiskey and the ridicule it occasioned increased his violence and his oaths. At length a violent jerk snapped his neck, and he fell to the ground unrepentant, and soon expired.

BISHOP WILLIAM McKENDREE.



PETER CARTWRIGHT.

There occurred at these gatherings other physical demonstrations even more irregular than the jerks. Running, jumping, and barking were indulged in; demonstrations which always drew from Cartwright and most of the Methodist preachers protests more or less vigorous. These protests were not always taken in good part; for many of the ignorant country people believed that the more extraordinary the excitement the more effective was the revival. Nor did the excitement cease with the camp-meeting or the religious gathering. Many, says Cartwright, professed to fall into trances and see visions, and would lie motionless and without food for days, even for a

THE HOME OF DR. WILLIAM DALLAM, HARFORD COUNTY, MARYLAND.

Doctor Dallam was one of the most prominent Methodists of his section. The house was built about 1800 and was the home of all the early preachers.

week at a time. When they came to, they announced that they had been in heaven or hell, had seen the blessed or the damned; and on the strength of these visions would prophesy the end of the world as near, and the speedy advent of the millennium. Others would claim for themselves supernatural powers of healing and of raising the dead, or assert that they had a means of communication with the spirit world.

While there was much to cause rejoicing in the movement, as thousands joined the Church and became fervid Christians, it was a trying time for conscientious preachers. They felt their responsibility deeply, and were determined to make a stand against the delusions that were carrying so many into soul-destroying errors.

At this time a section of the Presbyterians came near joining the Methodist Church. The needs of the revival in the Cumberland river district led to the licensing of a great number of young men, earnest expounders, but without the scholarly qualifications demanded by the Presbyterian Church. To this formal defect was added a divergence from strict Calvinism. The tone of the revival preaching was of a distinctly Arminian kind, with no insisting upon unconditional election or reprobation. The young men who were so licensed, did not subscribe to these doctrines; and the synod of Kentucky, which was responsible for the irregularity, dealt severely with the presbytery which had licensed them. The result was a series of censures, suspensions, retractations, and expulsions. Those preachers who found themselves outside of the pale of the Presbyterian Church made certain overtures to the presiding elder of Logan county, with a view to entering the Methodist organization in a body. But they were dissuaded from this step, and in due time constituted themselves into a new organization, styling itself the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. In theology the new body took a midway position between Calvinist and Arminian, rejecting special election and reprobation, but retaining the doctrine of the final perseverance of the saints.

HOME OF THE REV. ANNING OWEN,

Who entered the work in 1795 and died in 1814, a member of the Genesee Conference. He was known as "Bawling" Owen and was one of the best known preachers of his time.

In the enthusiasm of a common cause, Methodists and Presbyterians formed an alliance for organizing these camp-meetings, and worked in unison. Two brothers, John and William Magee, were leading preachers, the first a Methodist, the other, whom we have already referred to in the narrative, a Presbyterian. This alliance unfortunately led to the temporary discontinuance of class-meetings, love-feasts, and other distinct features of Methodism—a suspension of which the wiser heads did not approve.

BIRTHPLACE OF BISHOP JOHN F. HURST.
The place is in Dorchester County, Maryland. The house was built about 1801.

At the height of the excitement, McKendree arrived in the district, and for the next eight years presided over the work on the western frontier. He soon formed the conviction that a time of sifting was at hand, and that affairs must be managed very cautiously so that when reaction should come, the Church might be able to resume the even tenor of its way, with its discipline and prestige unimpaired.

At the close of his fourth year of supervision the results shown in the Kentucky district were eminently encouraging. In 1800 there was a total membership of 1941 whites and 116 blacks. By 1804 the number of whites had risen to 11,141, and of colored to 734. The eleven itinerants, who had in the earlier year supplied one district, had now increased to forty-five, supplying four districts.

The tour which Asbury made to the Cumberland district and the West in the fall of 1800 possesses a good deal of interest, as we read of it in his Journal. He was accompanied by his old friend Whatcoat, now elected a bishop of the Church. They began what he terms "their grand route to Kentucky" at the close of September, and reached Bethel on Saturday, the third of October. Asbury felt much fatigued by the long horseback journey of a hundred and forty-five miles, through rough country, and was in a state of mental dejection. "Bishop Whatcoat," he tells us, "and William McKendree preached: I was so dejected I could say little—but weep. Sabbath day it rained and I kept at home. Here is Bethel—Cokesbury in miniature, eighty by thirty feet, three stories, with a high roof, and finished below. Now we want a fund and an income of three hundred dollars per year to carry it on—without which it will be useless. But it is too distant from public places, its being surrounded by the river Cumberland in part, we now find to be no benefit: thus all our excellences are turned into defects. Perhaps Brother Poythress and myself were as much overseen with this place as Doctor Coke with the seat of Cokesbury." He was disappointed with the condition of the work in Kentucky. "It is plain," he remarks, "that there are not many mighty among the Methodists in Kentucky."

of the market-house, and every available corner of court, street or alley was crowded. Even on the roofs and ridges of the houses they swarmed, the multitude numbering as many as fifteen thou-

PATAPSCO METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, PATAPSCO NECK, BALTIMORE COUNTY, MARYLAND.
This church was built in 1799. In 1814 it was used as a hospital, at the battle of North Point.

sand. The marvelous ingenuity and power of the discourse, from the text in Daniel v. 27—*Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting*—filled all who heard it with rapture. That same evening he preached to an audience of twenty thousand in the celebrated Pit of Gwennap, a natural amphitheater. Two years later, in the spring of 1799, the societies in Cornwall were again stirred by a spiritual awakening.

The extraordinary physical contortions which marked the revival of 1800 had not been entirely unknown up to this time. A quarter of a century before a band of religious emigrants from Lancashire in England, who recognized a certain Ann Lee as their prophetess and leader, arrived in New York. "Mother Ann," as she was called, accompanied her disciples, and they founded a settlement on the Hudson, at Nishayuna, now Watervliet. The name they gave themselves was the "United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing," and they designated their leader the "Elect Lady" and "Mother of All the Elect." In their religious exercises they found a vent for their condition of exaltation in violent dancing. This, coupled with the fact that they had originally sprung from a Quaker community, led to their receiving the name of Shakers.

Some five years after their arrival in the Hudson, a revival occurred at New Lebanon, in Columbia county, New York. It was accompanied by scenes of extraordinary physical excitement which puzzled onlookers, who resorted to "Mother Ann," at Nishayuna, to find if, with her larger experience, she could throw any light on the matter. Henceforward many of the extreme contortionists found a home in the Shaker community.

It was not until the year 1805 that Shaker missionaries arrived on the scene of the Cumberland revival. In that year three missionaries visited Ohio and Kentucky, and succeeded in making numerous converts, among them several Presbyterian ministers. Four communities were established in Kentucky and two in Ohio. The extravagances in creed and the peculiarities of life which marked the Shakers, made the sober-minded supporters of the revival anxious that the outside world should not suppose that any close connection existed between the two movements.

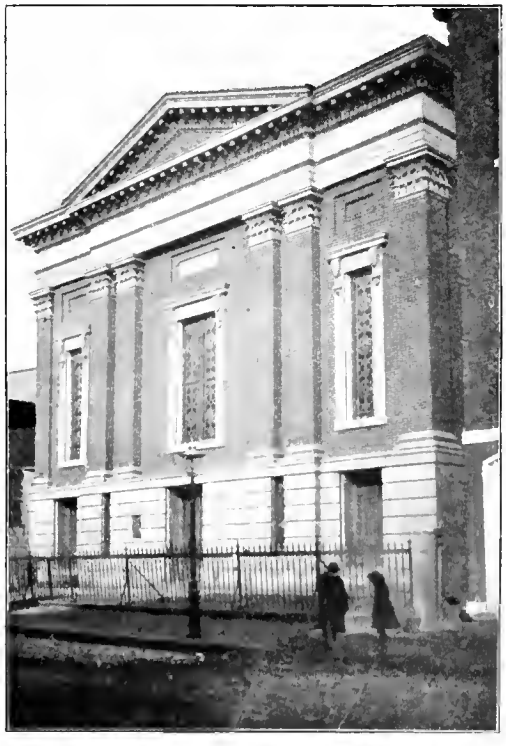
The present generation will probably witness the final extinction of the Shakers, whose own name for their organization is "The Millennial Church, or United Society of Believers." For long they attracted attention as the only sect of religious communists who were practically successful; while their peculiar religious service, recalling the old Pyrrhic dance of the Greeks or the modern Indian corn festival dance, remained the most interesting of spectacles.

In the year 1870 they had eighteen communities, with nine thousand souls; in the last year of the century they have shrunk to a membership of hardly one thousand.

A picturesque character enters into the history of Methodism at this time—that of Lorenzo Dow, whose quaint ways and unextinguishable enthusiasm gained for him a cosmopolitan reputation. That he was somewhat proud of this reputation is shown by the fact that the Journal which he kept, and which has been printed, bears the name of "Cosmopolite's Journal." From the St. Lawrence in the North to the Suwanee river in the South, and from the Alleghanies in the New World to Vinegar Hill in the Old, "Crazy Dow's" odd figure was well known by young and old.

He was a native of Coventry, in Connecticut, where he was born in the year 1777. His name shows that he was of a Celtic family, probably Scotch. Dow is a common family name in Scotland, being the Celtic word for "black;" it is also transliterated Dhu, as in *Roderick Dhu*, and was originally pronounced like *do*. Brought up religiously, he was early subject to those inward searchings that are characteristic of Puritanism. When fourteen or fifteen years of age he began to hear people talk of the new sect of Methodists, most of them characterizing the movement as a delusive one, and its adherents as the deceivers that were to come at the last times; while others spoke well of them. It was, therefore, with some eagerness that he seized the opportunity to hear Hope Hull, who came to visit his native town of Coventry. The impression he received on entering the door of the hall was a favorable one; "to my surprise," he remarks, "he appeared like other men." When Hull began to preach, he seemed to get to the depths of the lad's heart; "I thought he told me all that ever I did." The effect was deepened in subsequent discourses; Dow was convinced that the preacher enjoyed something he himself was destitute of, and he recognized in him a servant of God. After a period of intense mental agony he at length found peace for his soul, and was thenceforward a happy man.

In the year 1796 he began those itinerant labors which occupied his whole energies during a remarkably active career. For three months he traveled as an authorized preacher of the Methodist Church, but at the close of that time was advised to return home, as his eccentricities had raised a storm of criticism; and he shortly afterward came to loggerheads with the Methodists in his state. This difficulty of working in a regular organization continued through-



EXETER STREET METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

This church grew from a class organized in 1789. A part of the original building, erected in 1803, is yet standing.

out his lifetime; for he was by nature, and incurably, a "free-lance."

A break-down in health a few years later convinced him that a sea-voyage would benefit him; and in one of his many dreams he believed that he had received a call to visit Ireland. Making his way to Montreal in a leaky canoe, with a bush for a sail, he engaged a passage for five guineas in a vessel bound for Dublin. When he got on board, a woman passenger remarked: "I judge this man's a Methodist." He turned away in pretended disdain, asking why she lumped him in with that despised people. "Because you don't drink," was the answer, "and be jovial and

BIRTHPLACE OF BISHOP DOGGETT.
The house was built in 1800. It is in Lancaster County, Virginia, about midway between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers. In the early days services were frequently held here.

cheerly as what the rest of us are; but you are gloomy and cast down, like that people, always melancholy." This made him an object of sport for the sailors, who tarred his face, and put tallow on his clothes, until he had to complain to the captain of the ship. It took them seven days to reach Quebec, during which he suffered from the cold, as his clothes were thin, and he had no blanket; but, finding a small sail, he begged it of the captain, and so kept warmer.

A recruiting sergeant who came on board was very anxious to have him take the king's shilling, don the cockade, and enter the British army. At Quebec he went on shore to avoid the hazing of the sailors, and found some backslidden Methodists in the town. A society, numbering twenty-six, had left during the previous week for Halifax, but a few scattered members remained; and he spent the five days during which the vessel remained in port in gathering audiences in the old meeting-house and addressing them. His labors were so well received that when he prepared to depart, Quebec friends provided him with all the requisite equipment for his voyage.

The passage was a particularly stormy one, and yet at its close he found himself in much more vigorous health. At the end of November the vessel, after narrowly escaping shipwreck, put in at the port of Larne, in the north of Ireland; and he made his first acquaintance with Irish life. The mud floors in the houses struck him with astonishment.

In this year seventeen hundred and ninety-nine the "distressful island" was in a peculiarly disturbed condition, and martial law was still in force after the troubles of 'ninety-eight. During the rebellion the Methodists in Ireland, and especially the preachers, were exposed to constant and deadly dangers. "There is not a night," wrote one preacher, "that we are not in apprehension of being attacked by murderers. The Protestants on my ground assemble in my house every night for protection; and God has hitherto preserved us, though we are the only little body in the country who have not arranged themselves in any military corps, being determined to trust God with our souls and bodies, believing that Jesus will save to the uttermost all who come to the Father through Him. I had a very happy tour of four months. The Church of God I found in rather a fixed mourning state than otherwise, save in Sligo and Belfast, where the work of God is

sweetly progressive." Others wrote of carnage and desolation all around them. Some were imprisoned for weeks by the rebels, others were exposed to fire and sword in the heat of battle, others were plundered of everything they possessed, and some were brutally murdered. The Conference, happily, was held in peace by the special favor of the lord-lieutenant. But the ill result of all these disturbances was shown in a diminished membership.

It was during the period of reconstruction, when the societies and preachers were striving to regain lost ground and restore again the spirit of love and amity, that the eccentric Yankee from Connecticut with his white hat and long surtout appeared upon the scene. He would descend upon a village or town, and, wholly fearless of danger, would launch into denunciations of sin and exposures of false doctrine, which gained for him an attentive hearing. The curiosity excited by his appearance, his outlandish accent, and his curious delivery served to engage and hold the attention; and he did much to arouse the people from religious apathy.

Arriving at Dublin in the middle of July, he found Doctor Coke there, who had just returned from America, and who brought him several letters from friends. The doctor, who was a great stickler for order and authority, proposed to Lorenzo that he should go as a missionary to Halifax or Quebec; and promised to bear all his expenses, provided he would agree to obey directions for a period of six years. Books, clothing, and other necessaries should be bountifully supplied. It was a diplomatic proposal, but Dow was not to be tempted. After twenty-four hours' consideration, he tearfully made reply that he was not prepared to leave Ireland for the present, as he believed God meant him to stay there. When Dow had one of these *impressions*, it was useless to try to persuade him.

The refusal considerably nettled the doctor. During this period of commotion and disorder, when the rebellion was still smouldering, he was anxious to have his preachers well under control. Privileges could be received from the government for members of the society only so long as he could be directly responsible for their orderly conduct. When Dow's refusal was reported to the Conference, it withdrew from him all countenance, and henceforth the chapels were no longer open to him.

A long and serious illness followed, during which he was attended by a

THE OLD DOGGETT CHURCH.

good Samaritan in the person of Doctor Johnson, a physician of the city, who remained his constant friend. Though neither in membership with the Quakers or the Methodists, Doctor Johnson treated him like a brother, "setting up" with him ten whole nights, and carrying him to his house in a sedan chair. It was from Doctor Johnson that he received the cure he was fond of recommending; and it was also he who introduced him at Leeds to Dr. Adam Clarke, when he visited that town some years later.

The news of the wonderful scenes at these camp-meetings had crossed over to England and excited much comment, mostly of an unfavorable character. In the year 1806, when Dow, on his second

LORENZO DOW.

PEGGY DOW.

visit to England, met Doctor Clarke, their talk fell upon camp-meetings. Clarke acknowledged that at one time he had been so deeply in sympathy with the revival in Cornwall that he was ready to persecute those who objected to the work as "an impropriety and wild-fire." Since that time, however, he had changed his mind, and now "saw better." He had grown shy of unrestrained enthusiasm, and was set against the camp-meetings in America, as being improper, and the effects attending on them, as a thing accountable for altogether on natural principles. It struck Dow that he had got his mind hurt and prejudiced through the abuse of revivals, and had ceased to be willing to discuss the subject on its merits; had become, indeed, a rigid devotee of the old system order.

Dow certainly was not a rigid devotee of any old system. On a second visit to Dublin, made in January, 1801, before he left the island, believing the judgment of God to be hanging over the place, he got about three thousand handbills printed, which he distributed freely in the shops and houses. Some copies he had specially prepared. One of these, directed in gold letters "For the Lord-Lieutenant," sealed with black wax, and tied with red tape, he left at the castle. A similar one, "For the Merchants," he hung up in the Royal Exchange, and a third, "For the Lawyers," in the Four Courts. He believed firmly in the influence of such publications.

Returning shortly afterward to his native land, he was again placed on trial in the regular circuit work; but those who knew him best did not expect him to stay long in harness. "Dow! Dow!" said one, when he was told that Lorenzo was on the Dutchess and Columbia circuit; "why, he is a crazy man; he will break up the circuit." Before the close of the year he had again broken bounds, and in the beginning of January, 1803, was off to Georgia, where he knew no one but Hope Hull. Landing in Savannah, he had a number of handbills printed, which he distributed right and left, throwing them in at open windows and handing them to passers-by. There

was no Methodist preaching station in the place at that time, nor for ten years later, nor were there any regular Methodists. One preacher, named Adam B. Cloud, who belonged to the Hammetites of Charleston, allowed him to preach in his place, and about seventy people, white and colored, came to the service. A Baptist preacher was also friendly.

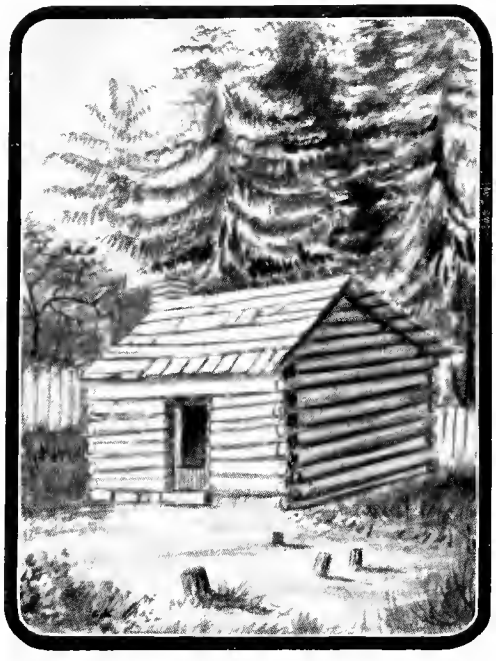
He journeyed inland to Augusta, where the Methodist preacher took him for an impostor, and refused him the use of the meeting-house. However, he crossed the river to Camelton, where he held three meetings, by invitation of a man who was friendly to the Methodists. While in Augusta, he put up with "a black family who lived in as good fashion as two-thirds of the people" of the town; and addressed some hundred of their race in the Baptist meeting-house.

After some wanderings, the pilgrim arrived at the home of Hope Hull, at Washington, Georgia, where he looked for a warm welcome. "How do you do, father?" he cried, as he caught sight of Hull at work in the corn-house. (Hull he termed his spiritual father, and Garrettson his spiritual grandfather.) The response was so cool as to disappoint him. He told of his travels in Ireland, and of the remarkably kind reception he had met with, evidently hoping that Hull would regard him as specially commissioned by Providence to be an itinerant at large. But the older man thought that his Irish experiences might be accounted for on natural principles, as hospitality extended to a stranger; and he entreated Dow to give up his freakish wanderings and settle down to ordinary circuit work. Dow was for the moment impressed by the other's common-sense view of the case; but his old fondness for irresponsible traveling quickly revived, and Hull left him "to paddle his own canoe." He even gave him a friendly send-off, in the shape of letters of introduction which might prove useful.

This, the first of Dow's many visits to Georgia, proved of real service to the cause of religion. His eccentricities grew with advancing years. A vivid

JACOB ALBRIGHT,
Founder of the Evangelical Association, a branch of Methodism organized about 1800.

ADAM CLARKE, IN EARLY MANHOOD.



EARLY HOME OF THE REV. R. R. ROBERTS.
Married in 1799 to Miss Elizabeth Oldham, Mr. Roberts brought his bride to this Pennsylvania cabin which was for some years their home.

description of the man has been left us by Elisha Perryman, a Baptist preacher. "He wore," writes Perryman, "an old half-red overcoat, with an Indian belt around his waist. He did not wear a hat, but had his head tied up with a handkerchief. Coming into the house, he sat down by the fire-place for a few minutes, and then, all of a sudden, jumped up and cried out: 'What will this babbler say? Those that have turned the world upside down are come hither also.'"

What struck the New England people most in his appearance is not referred to by Perryman—his long, flowing beard, which gave him the appearance, in a shaven community, of a wild hermit. Against the Calvinistic theology of New England he never lost an opportunity of fulminating. It was to relieve the church at Augusta of its load of debt that he published his "Chain of Lorenzo," a racy bit of reasoning directed against the doctrine of election. The Calvinists he called "A double L part people," a phraseology which recurs very frequently in his Journal. Odd as the man was, he had a singularly keen intellect, and real power as a preacher.

His intimate association with camp-meetings began early in the following year. In an entry in his Journal, dated February 14, 1804, he states that he "had heard about a singularity called the *jerks* or *jerking exercises*, which appeared first near Knoxville, in August last, to the great alarm of the people, which reports," he goes on to state, "I considered, at first, as vague and false; but at length, like the Queen of Sheba, I set out to go and see for myself."

Three days later, at Knoxville, he first beheld the phenomena, in so keen and powerful a form that a kind of grunt or groan was emitted when its victims would jerk. "I have seen," he says, "Presbyterians, Methodists, Quakers, Baptists, Church of England, and Independents, exercised with the jerks; gentlemen and ladies, black and white, the aged and the youth, rich and poor, without exception; from which I

CABIN OF THE REV. R. R. ROBERTS,
Who entered the Baltimore Conference in 1802. He lived in this cabin from 1805 to 1808, while engaged in his regular work of preaching. It was also his episcopal residence for some years after he became bishop.

infer, as it cannot be accounted for on natural principles, and carries such marks of involuntary motion, that it is no trifling matter. I believe that those who are most pious and given up to God, are rarely touched with it; and also those naturalists who wish to try to get it to philosophize upon it are excepted; but the lukewarm, lazy, half-hearted, indolent professor is subject to it; and many of them I have seen, who, when it came upon them, would be alarmed and stirred up to redouble their diligence to God; and after they would get happy, were thankful it ever came upon them. Again, the wicked are frequently more afraid of it than the small-pox or yellow fever; these are subject to it; but the persecutors are more subject to it than any, and they sometimes have cursed and swore, and damned it, whilst jerking. There is no pain attending the jerks except they resist it, which if they do, it will weary them more in an hour than a day's labor, which shows that it requires the consent of the will to avoid suffering."

Dow now found himself in the midst of congenial work, and was active in promoting the revival. In a letter written in the summer of 1804, from Lynchburg, by William Heath, a Methodist preacher, and addressed to Ezekiel Cooper, reference is found to his labors. The camp-meetings, says Mr. Heath, which had been usual in the South and West for some years, began in the Lynchburg district in the spring. At one held in March by Lorenzo Dow, assisted by other preachers and ministers, fifty souls professed to find peace with God; and the movement commenced to spread in all directions. In his own church the immediate result was an increase in his class from twenty to one hundred and sixty members.

The general result of these camp-meetings was to increase the membership of the various Christian bodies, but especially of the Methodists. Many of the Methodists objected to Dow that he worked as much for other bodies as for his own; but the Conferences decided, after discussing the matter, to uphold and encourage him; and there is no doubt that this magnanimous course was a wise one. The Church membership was increasing at a most gratifying rate, having more than doubled in the decade from 1794. The record for 1804

DOCTOR LOVICK PIERCE.

showed a grand total of over five hundred preachers, and one hundred and forty-five thousand members.

When Lorenzo Dow visited England in the summer of 1806, his vigorous revival methods won acceptance in some of the midland counties, where the people were sunk in a practical heathenism. On the whole, he felt less at home in England than in Ireland, the people being more formal and less hearty. He mentions six "kind of names of Methodists in England: (1) Old Society; (2) Kilhamites; (3) Quaker Methodists; (4)

Whitefield's Methodists; (5) Revivalists, or Free Gospellers; (6) Welsh Methodists, called Jumpers, a happy, plain, pious people, by the best accounts, besides the Church Methodists." At Macclesfield he preached the dedicatory sermon of the new chapel built by the Free Gospellers, with whom he was in sympathy. This town and Burslem, in Staffordshire, situated in the district known as "The Potteries," became centers of camp-meeting revivals, in the American style. The first camp-meeting was held on the last day of May, 1807; the next extended over three days, but this was found to be too long. The leaders in this movement were Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, earnest men, who had no idea of separating from the Wesleyan connection. The superintendent, however, of the Burslem circuit disapproved of the new methods, and, when converts from these camp-meetings applied for admission into the regular societies, he refused them unless they would pledge themselves to have no further intercourse with the agents of their conversion; but this they refused to do. The General Conference of the Methodist societies, held that year at Liverpool, passed a resolution forbidding these camp-meetings, and thus forced the issue. The result was the formation of a new organization, much to the regret of good Hugh Bourne. The first class met at the village of Standley, in the year 1810, and before the close of the year the number of members was one hundred and thirty-six. Two years later, in February, 1812, their first printed plan was issued, and the name "Primitive Methodists" assumed. The organization spread to Lancashire, and its first circuit was named after the old Lancashire town of Tunstall; then Derby became the head of a circuit, then Nottingham. The new connection differed from the old in the privileges it granted to the laity, who numbered two to one in the Church councils. It also licensed women to preach. Its members were characterized by great plainness in dress, manners, and life. In the year 1820, the first Conference, at which sixteen circuits were represented, was held at Hull, when a membership of seventeen thousand was reported. It was resolved to establish a book-room and printing-press, which was soon after established at Bemersley, and continued there for twenty years, until removed to London. The vigorous preaching of William Clowes did much to spread the work over the length and breadth of England. This organization may be said to have sprung out of the camp-meeting.

CHAPTER XX.

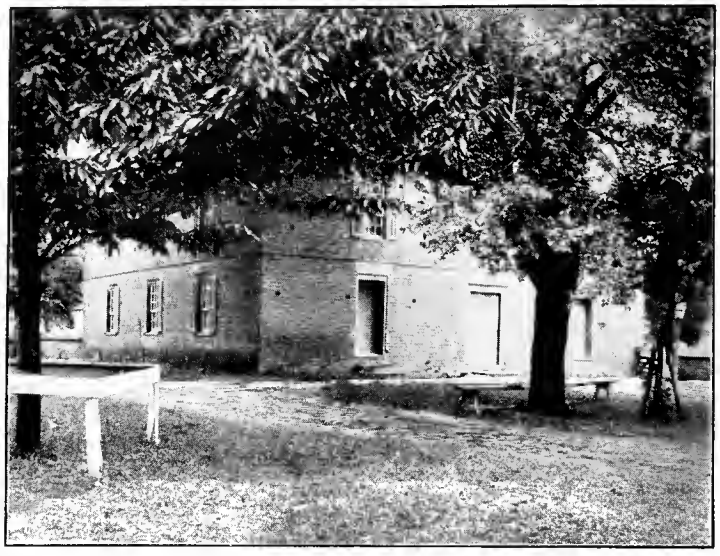
ASBURY'S HELPERS AND SUCCESSORS.

WHEN the Quadrennial Conference met at Baltimore in the month of October, 1796, one of the questions that came up for consideration was the appointment of an additional bishop or bishops to help Asbury, whose labors weighed heavily upon him. Moreover, he himself felt that his single life was too slender a thread on which to suspend the continuation of the episcopate. The dissensions, of which more anon, that rent English Methodism after Wesley's death, made him recognize more and more the desirability of preserving intact the American episcopate. Far from desiring that the English and American Conferences should come closer together in the matter of organization, he preferred to have American Methodism develop under the system which he had labored so zealously to bring to perfection.

It is true that Doctor Coke was nominally and actually senior bishop; and here we have an anomalous condition of affairs. During the previous five years and a half the executive duties which the doctor had performed in the United States practically limited themselves to presiding at the General Conference of 1792. Called to England in May, 1791, by the news of Wesley's death, he returned to America in October, 1792, barely in time to take the chair; and before the year was out he had sailed for the West Indies. In the following years he visited England, Ireland, and Holland. His object in visiting the Netherlands was to secure, if possible, better treatment for the missionaries and their converts in the island of St. Eustatius, where the Dutch governor had tyrannically forbidden the preaching of the gospel; but his endeavors were fruitless. The year 1795 was mostly taken up with the promotion of an industrial scheme for the regeneration of the negroes on the west coast of Africa. He had heard that the blacks of the Foulah country were a well-intentioned people, anxious to improve themselves; and he thought it might be a wise plan to send thither a number of pious mechanics who might not only give the people religious instruction, but also teach them the arts of civilization. Accordingly, in the month of February, 1796, a company of persons whom he had selected as suitable, and for whose efficiency he was responsible—consisting of five or six sober married men with their wives—sailed from Portsmouth, with an ample supply of tools and other requisites. The port of destination was Sierra Leone, a place that has already been mentioned in this history in connection with Zachary Macaulay. On board was the governor of Sierra Leone, whom Doctor Coke had interested in the enterprise, and who promised the adventurers every help in his power.

Arrived at their destination after a prosperous passage, the company landed on African soil in perfect health. But soon dissensions, which had smouldered on shipboard, broke out, and only one man of the whole number seems to have kept his temper and behaved with decent Christian propriety. The mission proved a dismal failure, none of the members ever reaching Foulah. After creating a scandal in Sierra Leone, the individual members seized the first opportunity that offered to get back to their native land.

Very considerable was the mortifica-



BARRATT'S CHAPEL, NEAR FREDERICA, DELAWARE.
One of the first Methodist churches in the United States. Asbury and Coke first met here and laid plans for the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church. From a photograph taken in 1900.

tion caused to Doctor Coke by the failure of this pet scheme of his; and no doubt the voyage to America saved him from many keen reproaches from those who had been interested in its success. He arrived just in time to preside at the Conference. But it was evident that something had to be done to define his position more clearly. As a bishop of the American Church he was discharging none of the onerous and unceasing round of duties that were prematurely aging Francis Asbury. The fact that he was bishop in no way helped to solve the problem, how to strengthen the hands of Asbury—unless Coke should promise definitely to devote himself to the work in America. The Conference, assuming to itself those supreme powers which it has never shown a disposition to surrender, forthwith set itself to consider the whole matter.

In respect to the doctor's willingness to place his services entirely at the disposal of the American brethren, he set that matter at rest by declaring himself ready to live and die among them. The debate which followed was, naturally, conducted in his absence. A powerful minority, with strongly national sentiments and a somewhat aggressive tone toward Great Britain, were unwilling to have a thorough-bred Englishman placed in so responsible a position. One of the leaders of this party was Jesse Lee, who had no great love for the doctor; nor, indeed, for the doctor's conception of the episcopal functions. For two days the debate lasted, and it seemed as if the ultra-American party might prevail; but Asbury threw his weight into the scale in favor of Coke, to whom the mortification of such a rejection would, in the existing state of his feelings, have been doubly painful; and the Conference decided upon a cordial acceptance of the doctor's proffer. He thereupon gave them in writing the following pledge:

I offer myself to my American brethren entirely to their service, all I am and have, with my talents and labors in every respect, without any mental reservation whatsoever, to labor among them, and to assist Bishop Asbury; not to station the preachers at any time when he is present, but to exercise all episcopal duties when I hold a Conference in his absence, and by his consent, and to visit the West Indies and France when there is an opening, and I can be spared.

THOMAS COKE.

Conference Room,
Baltimore, October 27, 1796.

The friendship between Coke and Asbury was very close. From the time of the Conference until February, 1797, when the doctor sailed from Charleston for Europe, they were constantly together; and Asbury felt keenly the pain of parting. These months were largely spent in preparing a new edition of the

Discipline. This edition bears the following on its title-page: "The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, with Explanatory Notes, by Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury. The Tenth Edition. Philadelphia: Printed by Henry Tuckniss. Sold by John Dickins, No. 41 Market street, between Front and Second streets, and by the Methodist Ministers and Preachers throughout the United States. 1798." The Notes, which cover three closely printed pages, contain an elaborate defense of the new episcopacy. Asbury attached considerable importance to this revisal of the Discipline, in preparing which he had the invaluable literary help of Coke, and he took special measures to have it widely circulated.

It shows the indomitable spirit of Coke that he should still have dreamed of introducing Methodism into France. Just before the memorable Conference of 1792 he had made a deliberate effort to evangelize the city of Paris. The time seemed favorable, for the Revolution had effected a change in the laws, by giving perfect freedom to all denominations. An appeal had been sent to Lady Huntingdon shortly before her death, requesting her to do something for the spiritual destitution of the great city; and, having fallen into the doctor's hands, roused him to action. He secured the services of a Channel Islander, Mr. de Queteville, of Jersey, whose native tongue was French; and the two were so pleased with the outlook when they arrived in Paris, that a hall, with a seating capacity of two thousand, was secured. Until the necessary papers were made out for its purchase, they rented a commodious room in one of the great thoroughfares. But the audiences were disappointing. Thirty-six persons were attracted to hear de Queteville speak, and only six came to listen to the doctor, whose French may not have been of the best. Further inquiries did not raise the doctor's hopes, and he called off the bargain for the church. And so the attempt failed. Nor was it ever renewed, notwithstanding the hint contained in Doctor Coke's pledge to the Conference.

The American field was not destined to be the scene of Coke's activity. On the sixth of February, 1797, he embarked at Charleston on a ship bound for Glasgow, with the view of arranging his affairs on the other side and then returning for good. The short stay he made in Glasgow and the vicinity did not impress him favorably with the condition of religion in Scotland, the defects in which he in great measure attributed to the state connection; but no doubt his temperament was unsympathetic to Scottish society He came to the conclusion that the Methodists in Scotland would

INTERIOR OF BARRATT'S CHAPEL, SHOWING PULPIT.
From a photograph taken in 1900.

BARRATT'S CHAPEL AND CEMETERY.
From a photograph taken in 1900.

better work apart from the Presbyterians, and that their freedom from state control or help, judging from affairs in America, would be a help rather than a hindrance.

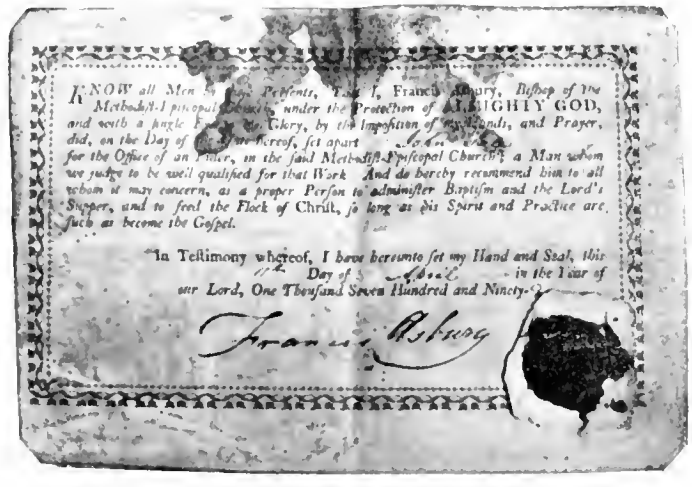
At the close of March he was busy in Ireland, traveling hither and thither throughout the country and diffusing the gospel. Many of his addresses contained a farewell note, which led his hearers to believe that they would not see him again. The affection in which he was held by the Irish preachers was made manifest by the possibility of a separation, and the doctor began to realize how difficult a matter it would be to cut himself entirely away from his old and tried friends and associates.

His intention to settle permanently in America was discussed at the English Conference held at Leeds in the month of August, with Thomas Taylor as president. There was a general feeling that English Methodism could ill stand the loss of so energetic a missionary, and so capable an administrator, who was acquainted with all the details of the organization. Being urged to reconsider his determination, he, with his usual impulsiveness, consented to enter into negotiations with the brethren in America, with the view of being honorably released from his engagement. An address was accordingly prepared and signed, in which the English brethren urged their superior claims to his services. Carrying this address with him, the doctor sailed from the port of Liverpool at the close of August, and in due time arrived in the United States, having first, however, gone through the exciting experience of being captured by a French privateer.

The Virginia Conference, which met at the close of November, considered the request, and Bishop Asbury had the drafting of the reply. It stated that the only body which could deal authoritatively with the matter was the Quadrennial General Conference, to which Doctor Coke had made the pledge, and that the yearly Conference then assembled had no intention whatever of usurping these functions. But for the present, and until the meeting of the General Conference, they were willing to agree to his *partial* stay in England, where his presence, they hoped, would promote union and heal the divisions that were disturbing them. But they must ask for due consideration of the needs of America, where the superintendency was far too weak, there being "only one worn-out superintendent, who was this day advised by the yearly Conference to desist from preaching until the next year, on account of his debilitated state of body."

DEACON'S COMMISSION, SIGNED BY ASBURY.

It is evident from the tone of the letter that Asbury was very loath to accede to the request. He had a short time before taken some steps to procure assistance in his episcopal duties, but without success. The New England Conference, which had met at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, in September, 1797, received from him a communication in which he nominated Lee, Whatcoat, and Poythress as assistant bishops. Lee presided at this Conference, the business of which was conducted to the satisfaction of the preachers and in a harmonious spirit. They decided not to act upon Asbury's suggestion, as incompatible with the requirements of the Discipline; but went so far as to give Lee a certificate containing their wish that he should "travel with the bishop and fill his appointments when the latter could not be present."



ELDER'S COMMISSION, SIGNED BY ASBURY.

The name of Poythress has already been mentioned in connection with the planting of Methodism in Kentucky. Francis Poythress became an itinerant preacher in the year 1776, when he was admitted at the Conference held at Baltimore; but little is known of his birthplace or his previous history. Left early an orphan, he succeeded to considerable

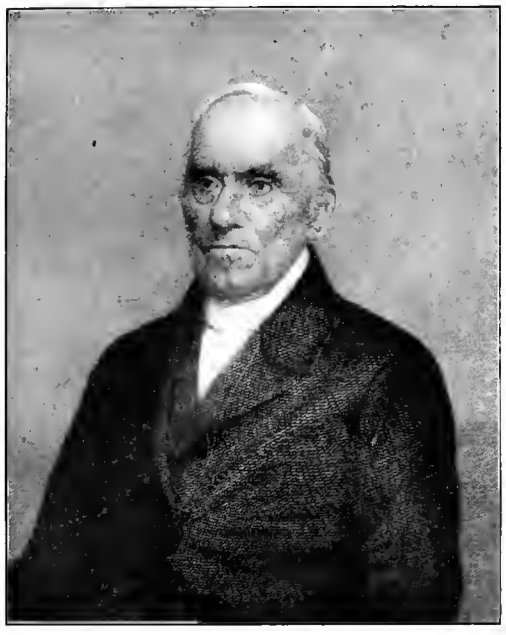
GRAVES OF MARTIN AND EVE BOEHM.
The stone on the left marks the grave of Martin Boehm.

property before he had sufficient steadiness to manage it prudently. He consequently yielded to the impulses of his passions, and indulged in all manner of youthful excesses and follies. The reproof of a lady of position and culture brought him to a sense of his responsibilities, and was followed by a period of self-examination and search after the truth. At length, having heard of the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, he repaired to Dinwiddie county, and remained for some months under his instruction. Having at length obtained spiritual peace, he resolved to devote himself to preaching. For some months he traveled on his own account, for the Methodists had not yet reached that part of Virginia. Then, chancing to meet a Methodist itinerant, who showed him the Discipline and articles of faith of Mr. Wesley, he was favorably impressed, and applied for admission into the society. For the next seven years he was busy in Carolina, Virginia, and the territory east of the Alleghanies; and in 1783 he extended his labors across these mountains as far as the waters of the Youghiogheny. Three years later he was made an elder in the Church, being one of the first Americans ordained to that office.

Grave in deportment, constant in his devotions, and faithful in the discharge of his duties, Poythress was an exemplary pastor and administrator He possessed a sound judgment, and was a stanch upholder of pure doctrine. To oratorical gifts he had little claim, nor was his enunciation very distinct, possibly owing to the loss of his teeth. Of medium height and heavily built, he possessed more than ordinary muscular force. His complexion was dark, and his hair, which was quite gray at the close of his ministry, was turned back from his ears, and hung down on his shoulders.

The closing few years of his career, which ended with the century, were marked by growing signs of mental aberration, induced by ill health. Unreasonable suspicions began to enter his mind; he thought that his best friends had entered into a conspiracy against him. These symptoms became apparent in 1795, and his mental and physical health rapidly deteriorated, until in the year 1800 he was a perfect wreck. Even then, however, he was able to converse ration-

FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, UNIONTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA.
In this church Bishop Asbury held several Conferences. Michael Leard, the first Methodist preacher ordained west of the Alleghany Mountains, was ordained here.



HENRY BOEHM.

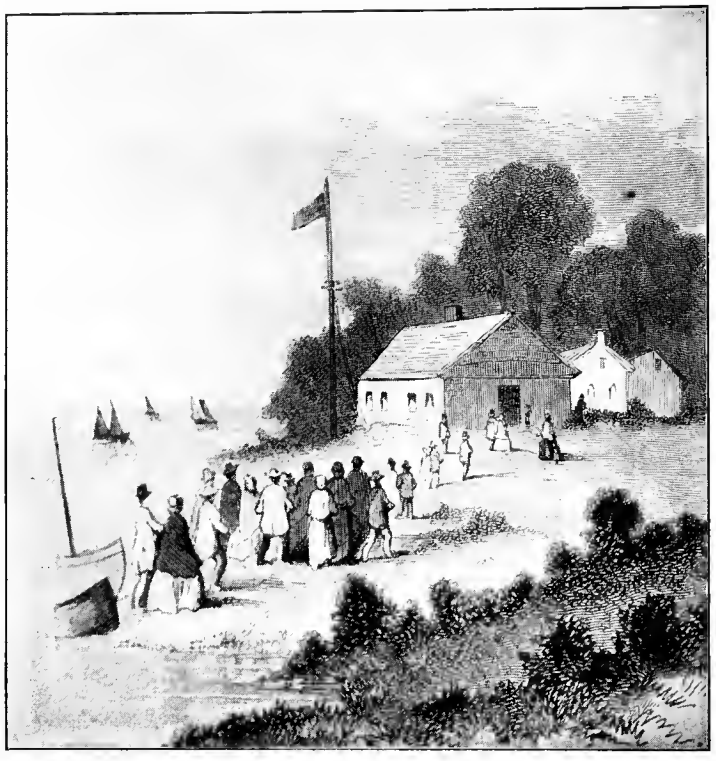
ally on certain subjects that were congenial to him. The closing period of his life was spent at his sister's, who lived near Lexington in Kentucky. His name will remain pre-eminent among the pioneers of Methodism in Kentucky and Tennessee.

The nomination by Asbury of a veteran like Poythress would, if acted upon, have in no way helped the episcopate, for by this time Poythress' days of usefulness were, unfortunately, nearly over; but it shows in what high estimation his work was held. Jesse Lee was certainly the only one of the three who, in respect to bodily vigor, was fully qualified to relieve the bishop.

At this Wilbraham Conference there was reported the formation of a second circuit in the province of Maine, then attached to the state of Massachusetts. The population of the province was scanty and scattered, and the inclement winters, with the absence of roads and bridges, made the life full of hardships. The presiding elder, Jesse Lee, was himself the pioneer missionary to these wilds. Appointed to the work at the Lynn Conference of 1793, he lost no time in taking it up. Reaching for his saddle-bags and mounting his horse, he made direct for the north. On arriving at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, two days later, on a Saturday, he asked for the use of the court-house on the Sunday; but this was denied him. Not to be daunted, he ascended on the Sunday morning the steps at the doorway, and began to preach. From a dozen persons the audience increased to hundreds, and filled the adjacent streets. It was a renewal of the old enthusiastic days of Whitefield.

Next day he had crossed the Piscataqua river into the state of Maine, a territory in which he had no friends or acquaintances. First at Saco, and then at Portland, he was well received. Thence he pressed along the coast to Freeport and Bath, busy seaport communities. As he proceeded further, he came to settlements where there was no regular preaching, and where the people were anxious to retain him. His first visit was more a tour of observation than of actual organization; and a year elapsed before the first class in Maine was organ-

BOEHM'S CHAPEL.

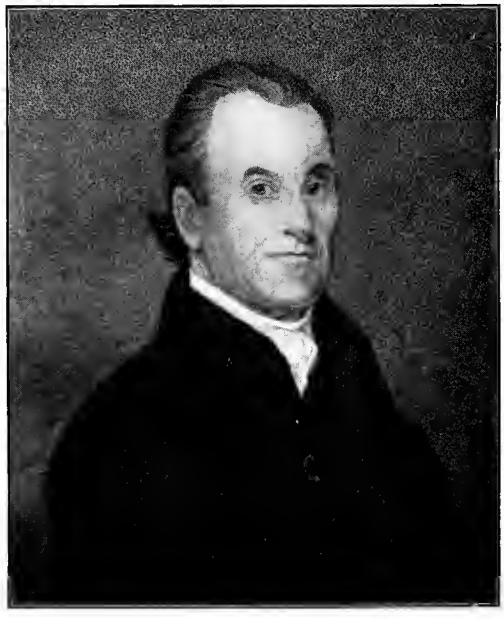


THE FIRST METHODIST MEETING-HOUSE ON TANGIER ISLAND, MARYLAND; BUILT IN 1808.

ized. This took place on November 1, 1794, at Monmouth, a village in the interior, situated some twelve miles northeast of the modern twin-city of Auburn-Lewiston. Lee, however, organized a circuit. "Although"—to quote his own words—"I was a perfect stranger to the people, and had to make my own appointments, I preached almost every day, and to crowded assemblies. After viewing the country, I thought the most proper place to form a circuit was on the Kennebec river. The circuit was accordingly formed, and named Readfield. This was the name of the first circuit formed by the Methodists in that part of the country; it was about two hundred miles from any other which we had in New England. It extended from Hallowell to Sandy river."

At the Conference of 1794 Philip Wager, much to Lee's satisfaction, was appointed to the northern section of New England. Lee and Wager met at Monmouth in the middle of November, and were able to cheer one another with news of revival work all around. From the little society of fifteen at Monmouth the newly arrived preacher had the pleasure of hearing testimony—a refreshing sequel to the sermon he preached. The first lay Methodist in Maine was Daniel Smith, who eventually became a local preacher, and, after a long and well-spent life, died in the year 1846, leaving behind him a large family like him in spirit.

The second Methodist society in the province was organized at Readfield, ten miles north of Monmouth—the community which gave its name to the circuit—by a devout and enthusiastic band of seventeen believers. The meeting-house which they built, the first of the kind in the province, was



REV. DANIEL McJILTON,
One of the most useful and popular local preachers of Baltimore, Maryland.

THE FIRST METHODIST MEETING-HOUSE IN OHIO.
Near Portsmouth. First services held here in 1801.

ready for roofing at the close of the year 1794. Wager, after laboring on this circuit for some time, left for New Hampshire, and was succeeded by a devout Pennsylvanian, John Broadhead, who later became presiding elder of the New Hampshire district.

The first circuit in New Hampshire was formed in 1796, and was known as the Chesterfield circuit, from the place where the first society had been organized in the previous year. The rapid formation of new societies at the beginning of the century led to the formation, in 1804, of a New Hampshire district. It was not, however, until nearly thirty years later that a New Hampshire Conference was instituted.

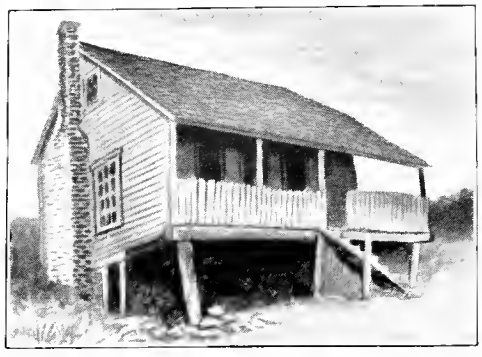
It was during the period immediately following the year 1790 that Methodism began to spread among the Germans of Pennsylvania. Jacob Albright, who became a local Methodist preacher in that year, was active in the work of evangelization. He had been converted under the preaching and influence of Martin Boehm, who left the Mennonites, and joined the United Brethren. Boehm became a warm friend of Otterbein's, and was ordained a bishop in the connection; and his home at Conestoga, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, was a hospitable shelter for Asbury and other of the Methodist leaders. Boehm's Chapel, planned by Whatcoat, and built of limestone in the year 1791, was famous as a center of evangelization.

From the year 1796 Albright devoted himself exclusively to the German population, and finally in 1800 organized his converts into a society known later as the Evangelical Association.

Albright was highly esteemed by Asbury, with whom he had cordial relations, and he modeled the constitution of his society upon that of the Methodists. In 1803 he was appointed presiding elder and labored diligently in planting stations until his death at

HON. ALLEN TRIMBLE,
Governor of Ohio in 1822. A prominent Methodist, and father of Dr. J. M. Trimble, of the Ohio Conference.

Mühlbach in 1808. It was at this time that a translation into German of the Methodist Discipline was completed, for



THE VIRGINIAN HOME OF THE REV. STEWART TAYLOR, FATHER OF BISHOP TAYLOR.

Here Bishop Taylor spent his boyhood days. The house is about two miles west of Rockbridge Baths, Virginia.

the use of the members. The translation was in the main the work of a German physician named Romer, who had been brought up a Roman Catholic and had lapsed into pure skepticism, but Boehm had also something to do with it. Converted in 1800 through the exemplary life of a Methodist woman, Doctor Romer made his home a center of religious influence. This German version of the Discipline, to which was prefixed an excellent account of Methodism, was widely circulated in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. The organization, popularly known as "The Albrights," has grown and prospered, and still clings to the principle of the itineracy.

Henry Boehm, a son of Martin Boehm, born in 1775, lived to be a centenarian, and a link between several generations. Having joined the Methodist Church in 1798, he was licensed to preach two years later, and in 1801 was admitted on trial by the Philadelphia Conference. To his "Reminiscences" we owe much of our acquaintance with personages and events from this time onward. After 1808 he became Bishop Asbury's traveling companion, and was closely associated with him for five years. Much of his preaching was in German; he was the first man to preach in German in Cincinnati. Even after he had completed his hundredth year, he was still able to occupy the pulpit. There are many persons living who treasure the remembrance of having heard this Nestor among the Methodists. A member of the North Georgia Conference, the Rev. William O. Butler, has favored us with an account of a sermon he heard Henry Boehm preach nineteen days after the completion of his hundredth year. Mr. Butler, who was at the time a student of theology at the Drew Seminary in New Jersey, crossed the Hudson to hear him. The edifice in which he was to speak was the historic John Street Church, the pulpit of which, a hundred years before, Francis Asbury had occupied. It was therefore a double centenary. After the opening devotional exercises the aged man entered the church, leaning on the arm of an assistant, and ascended the platform. He was introduced to the audience by Bishop Janes. Moving up to the desk, he took out his

THE OLD TOBACCO HOUSE,

Used as a place of worship from 1807 to 1811 by the first Methodist society in Washington, D. C. President Jefferson attended services held in this building.

spectacles, and gave out the text from Rev. iii. 20. For ten minutes he spoke in clear tones and with great impressive-

From a painting] THE ITINERANT PATHFINDER. [by N. C. B. Love.
Crossing the Maumee Rapids, 1818.

ness on the condescension of the Lord in knocking at the door of our hearts. "I rejoice," he concluded, "that the enjoyment of the favor and love of God does not get old. It is as dear to me to-day as in the days of my youth. It is the source of comfort, of joy, of hope. What a change has taken place since I was first in this place! Bless the Lord, He has still a people here."

Three months later, in October of the same year, he preached at Woodrow, in Staten Island, and administered the Sacrament. Two months later, on the seventeenth day of December, this wonderful old man passed away, full of years and labors and triumphs.

The General Conference of 1800, which met in the new Light Street Church at Baltimore, had to consider the matter of strengthening the episcopacy. Wearied with his excessive labors, Asbury had been privately intimating his intention of resigning his office; but this was not to be thought of. He did not see fit to bring up for consideration his assistant-bishop plan, which he had mooted at the Wilbraham Conference in New England three years before. The Conference finally decided to appoint another bishop by ballot, and there ensued a long debate as to what his powers should be, whether subordinate or co-extensive. The latter alternative having been chosen, they proceeded to ballot. At the first ballot, no one candidate had a majority; at the second, there was a tie between Whatcoat and Jesse Lee; at the third, Whatcoat had a majority of four votes. Whatcoat was accordingly declared to be duly elected. Thirteen years had elapsed since the Conference refused to

REV. JAMES QUINN,
An early Ohio Itinerant.

carry out Wesley's suggestion, that he should be a superintendent in America, and this belated acquiescence must have given satisfaction to many of the older members. The new bishop, through his gentle and unassuming ways and his earnest piety, had gained general respect, and the appointment was felt to be a safe one. The question might be asked: Why was not the much more energetic and resourceful Lee, a native-born American, chosen? Possibly it was felt that his ecclesiastical notions did not sufficiently magnify the office, and that he would fail to carry on the traditions in an adequate manner. Moreover, he was a man with angles, who frequently roused antagonism.

The matter of the bishops' support came up. Hitherto there had been no proper provision made for the episcopal salary, and Asbury was left to depend in great measure on the private assistance of friends. A resolution was passed making it obligatory on the Annual Conferences, of which there were now seven, to contribute their due quota to the support of the bishops. In course of time this salutary provision fell into desuetude, and the bishops came to be paid out of the profits of the Book Concern—a regrettable irregularity which was finally rectified.

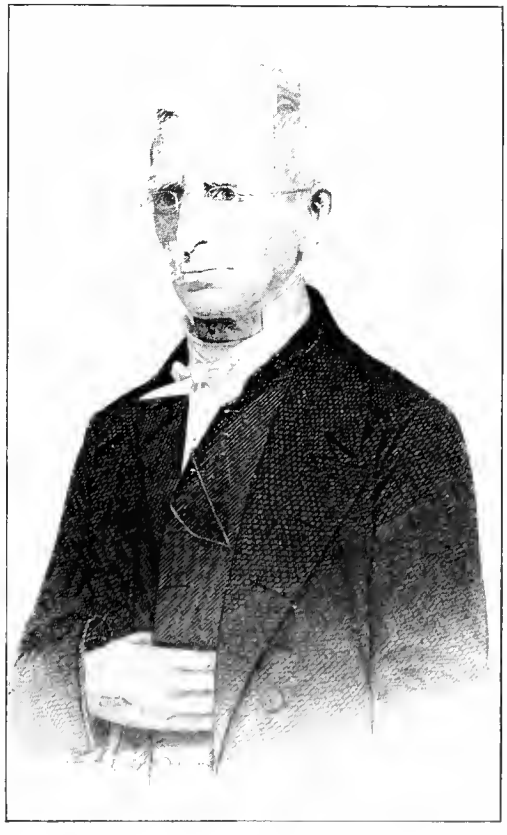
Another resolution was passed which limited membership in the General Conference to those preachers who were in full connection and had been traveling for four years. At this and previous Conferences, deacons had sat and voted. The question of the appointment of presiding elders, which had come up for discussion in 1796 and had been shelved, was again before the Conference; and a resolution providing for their election by the Annual Conference was defeated. Provision was made for the admission as deacons of colored preachers; but, as the rule was never printed, few of the preachers knew of its existence.

The next General Conference, which met four years later in the same place, was less numerous, and was composed chiefly of preachers from the adjoining

RUSSELL BIGELOW,
An eloquent preacher among the early Ohio Methodists
Born February 24, 1793; died July 1, 1835. From
an oil painting by Leonard Gurley.

territory—a manifest defect. Of the one hundred and eleven members, the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conferences contributed no fewer than sixty-seven, while the Western Conferences, New England and South Carolina were represented by three, four, and five, respectively, or a total of twelve. Virginia sent seventeen members, and New York twelve. A renewed attempt was made to have the Conference on a delegated plan, but it was deferred to the next session. This Conference is memorable for having passed the "Restrictive Rule," as it was called, a regulation which forbade the appointment of any preacher for a period longer than two years. For fifty years this regulation was rigidly enforced; but it finally proved too narrow, and the period was lengthened. This Conference ordered a division of the Discipline into two sections, one dealing with doctrines and conduct, the other with the temporal economy. When the first part came to be printed, an edition was prepared for use in the South, from which the enactments against slavery were omitted.

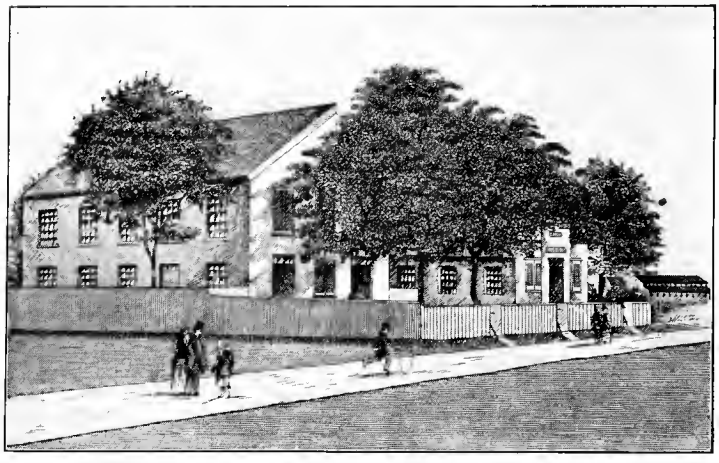
This was the last occasion on which Coke, Asbury and Whatcoat were to meet. Coke never returned to America, and Whatcoat died in the year 1806, at the age of seventy. In the revival which marked the early years of the century he had taken an active part, and was esteemed an impressive and melting preacher. Growing bodily weakness gradually restricted the sphere of his labors, and in these later years he confined his travels to the Middle States. His last journeys were made along the eastern shore of Maryland. On the eighth of April he preached at Milford, Delaware, a sermon that was to be his last. Next day he fell ill while traveling, and with difficulty succeeded in reaching the hospitable home of Richard Basset, at Dover. For three months he lingered on in weakness, and finally passed away in July. His remains rest under the altar of Wesley Chapel at Dover, and a marble slab, with inscription, inserted in the wall to the left of the pulpit, records the facts of his life and his place of interment. Asbury, who was traveling at the time he was taken sick, changed his route to visit him, but could not get nearer than a



REV. DANIEL WEBB.
He lived to be the oldest Methodist minister in active service in the world.

hundred and thirty miles. "A man so uniformly good, I have not known in Europe or America;" such is his colleague's testimony. Laban Clark speaks of him as fulfilling, better than any man he knew, St. James' description of a perfect man—one who bridled his tongue and kept in subjection his whole body.

Before entering upon an account of the next very important General Con-

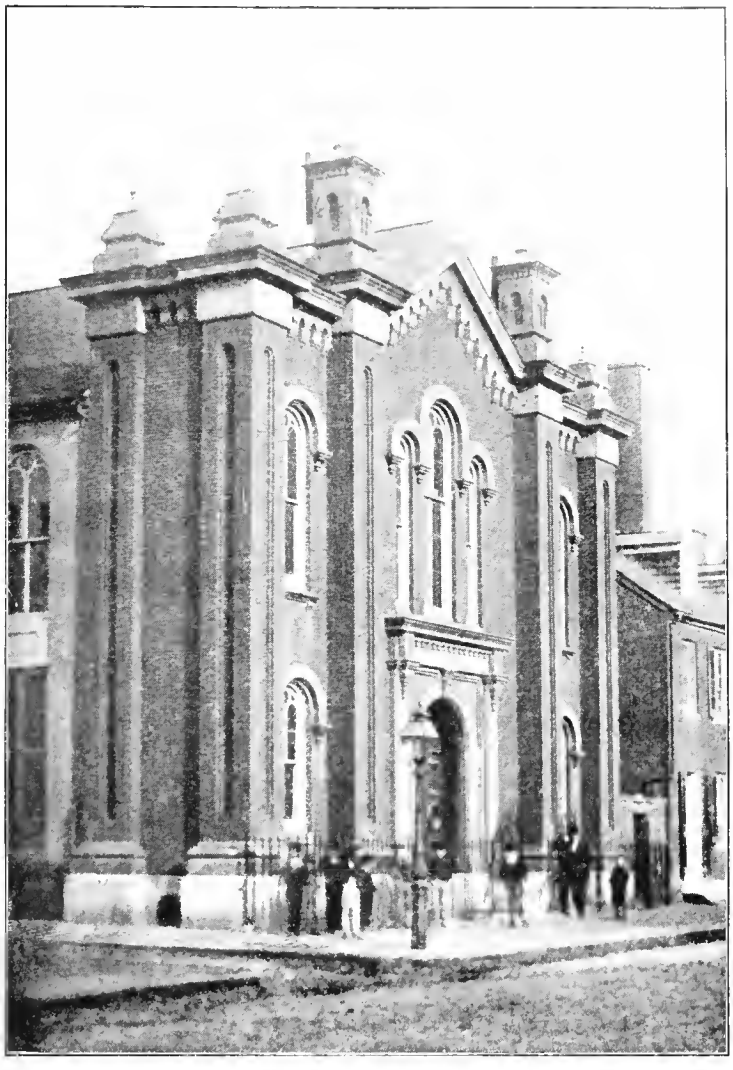


THE OLD EBENEZER CHURCH.
The first church built in Washington, D. C., by the Methodists (1811).

ference, which was held at Baltimore, we had better sketch some of the characters who were rising into prominence and who were recognized as leaders. The secretary of the General Conference of 1800 was Nicholas Snethen, a native of Long Island, where he was born in 1769. Admitted into the Conference in 1794, he became active as an itinerant, a course of life which re-established his health. When O'Kelly published his "Apology," it was Snethen who was chosen to reply to it. A diligent student, and conversant with other languages, modern and ancient, he was for several years a right-hand man to Asbury. From 1800 he was a declared supporter of a delegated General Conference, with representatives from the laity. He was not present at the General Conference of 1808, being then located. Later, while a resident of Georgetown, he was elected chaplain of the House of Representatives, and enjoyed the friendship of the leading statesmen of the day. Twice he offered himself as a candidate for representative in congress, but was on both occasions defeated. In his later years he united with the Methodist Protestant Church, and removed to the state of Indiana, where he settled on the banks of the Wabash. The death of his wife and one of his daughters having broken up his home, he again returned to the East, and was connected with an embryo theological college, and with *The Methodist Protestant* journal. The closing years of his life were mostly spent in or near Cincinnati. He died in 1845, after a long and laborious career as preacher, editor and theological lecturer. While Snethen drifted away from the traditions of Asbury, Joshua Soule, a native of the "Pine-tree State," was destined to carry out the polity of that great leader. Born in 1781, and licensed to preach in 1799, he served as presiding elder of the Maine district, and then moved south to New York. As member of the 1808 General

REV. OLIVER BEALE, OF THE MAINE CONFERENCE.

Conference, he took a leading part in the business. Eight years later he was appointed book agent, and became founder and editor of the *Methodist Magazine*. In the year 1824 he was elected bishop, and thenceforward his personal history is interwoven with that of the Church; and, from 1845, with the history of the southern division.



THE OLD WILKS STREET METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.
Built in 1801, it was the immediate successor of "Strawberry Alley" Church.

Ezekiel Cooper's name has already appeared in this narrative, as the last American to whom Wesley wrote. When a boy he once listened earnestly to a discourse delivered by Freeborn Garrettson to the soldiers of the Revolutionary army, in which his father served as an officer. Entering the ministry in 1785, at the age of twenty-two, he served in New Jersey, in Massachusetts, and in the Middle States. In 1798 he succeeded John Dickins as book agent, and proved himself to be a prudent and skillful business man. In 1808 he again resumed itinerant labors, and was active as an itinerant and a local preacher during a singularly long and vigorous life. A diligent student and a keen observer, he was a wonderful repository of knowledge. At the time of his death he is said to have been the oldest Methodist preacher in the world.

One of the most trusted leaders at that time was Philip Bruce, a Virginian by birth and a Huguenot by descent. Entering the itinerant ministry at the close of the Revolutionary War, he soon won the confidence of his associates and superiors. A man of fine personal appearance and of dignified manners, he possessed a clear intellect and a determined will, and was, moreover, thoroughly devoted to the cause. He never married nor located, and for thirty-seven years continued to occupy positions of great responsibility, involving dangerous and fatiguing duties. From the Ohio river in the West to the waters of the Suwanee in the South he was known and trusted. At the close of his active career, in 1817, Freeborn Garrettson alone surpassed him in

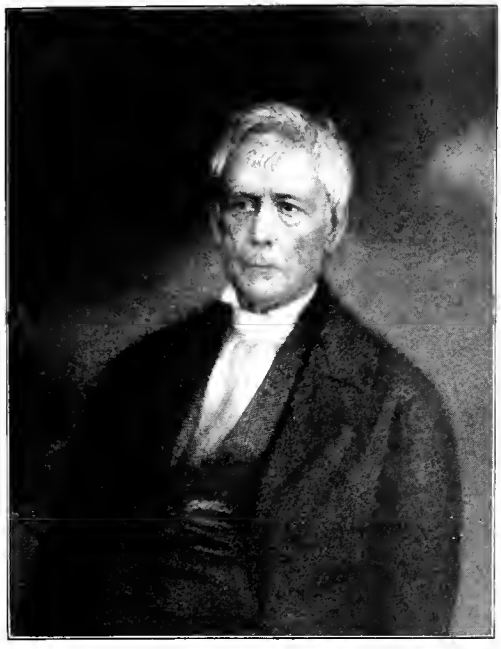
length of service as an itinerant. He survived until 1826, dying in Giles county, Tennessee.

Another prominent figure in Church circles at this time was Alexander McCaine, an Irishman, born in Dublin some years before the American Revolution. Originally designed by his parents for the Roman Catholic priesthood, he emigrated to America, and followed a secular calling. He was converted at Charleston, South Carolina, under the ministry of William Hammett, and began preaching in that city. Asbury was attracted to the man, and took him as his traveling companion; and, forming a high opinion of his literary powers, he engaged him to compile a biblical commentary, which was never completed. At the General Conference of 1820 McCaine acted as secretary. Some years later he took a prominent part in the founding of the Methodist Protestant Church. His "History and Mystery," published in 1827, aroused much wrath among the supporters of episcopacy, and called forth as a rejoinder Emory's "A Defence of Our Fathers;" concerning which more anon.

BISHOP ROBERT R. ROBERTS.

This book of McCaine's deals with the relations which existed between Doctor Coke and Bishop White. The subject caused no little ferment in Methodist circles in the year 1806, through the unwarranted publication of a private letter written by Doctor Coke to that bishop concerning a proposed union of the Methodist Episcopal and Protestant Episcopal Churches. Bishop White had kept the correspondence secret until 1804, when he revealed it to Simon Wilmer, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and John McClaskey, a leading member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A copy came into the hands of Doctor Kemp, of Maryland, and its contents were used in such a manner as to set the countryside in a blaze. A Doctor Kewley, born in Europe and originally educated to be a priest, was converted under McCaine's ministry, and gave up his profession of physician to enter the Methodist Episcopal Church. After serving as an itinerant for several years, he abandoned the Methodist and entered the Protestant Episcopal Church, whose polity he lavishly praised. But its "orders" failed to satisfy him, and at length he returned to the bosom of "Mother Church." In the year 1806 Kewley was carrying on at Easton, Maryland, a hot newspaper controversy with the Methodist preachers of the neighborhood. In the course of the controversy many statements were made derogatory to Coke's straightforwardness and veracity; for, in the celebrated letter to Bishop White, he had, with his usual impulsiveness, made statements which could easily be twisted so as to bear unpleasant constructions. His American friends were much distressed over the matter, and wrote to him, suggesting that he should defend himself.

Another leader at the Baltimore Conference of 1808 was Stephen G. Roszel, who was born in Virginia in the year 1770. From 1789, when he entered the ministry, he enjoyed the intimacy and friendship of Bishop Asbury. His ministry was spent in the neighborhood of Baltimore and Philadelphia; and he became presiding elder of the Baltimore and Potomac districts. He made a repu-



REV. JONATHAN STAMPER, OF THE KENTUCKY CONFERENCE.

tation as a ready and skillful debater.

The Baltimore Conference of 1808 has been described as the most momentous General Conference in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The delegates who composed it numbered seven from New England, nineteen from New York, eleven from the Western States, eleven from South Carolina, thirty-two from Philadelphia, eighteen from Virginia, and thirty-one from Baltimore, one hundred and twenty-nine in all. The date of meeting was the sixth of May, a Friday. The place of meeting seems to have been the Eutaw Street Church, which was just completed; most certainly the preaching took place there. One of the first actions to be taken was in respect to the position of Doctor Coke, who, having heard of the trouble caused by the Kewley "exposures," had written letters in explanation, addressed to the "General American Conference." He intimated his continued willingness to take up his permanent residence in America, so long as he was allowed to exercise equal rights with Asbury—"no new condition," as he remarked. But the general feeling in the Conference was not favorable to any such arrangement; and a discreet and courteous "declined with thanks" was its reply. It was resolved that Doctor Coke's name should be retained on the minutes after the names of the bishops. "Doctor Coke," the resolution stated, "at the request of the British Conference, resides in Europe: he is not to exercise the office of superintendent among us in the United States until he be recalled by a General Conference or by all the Annual Conferences respectively."

The burning question, how best to provide a permanent legislative assembly for the Church, then came up for discusssion. The growing inequality in representation at those "near conventions" which as "General Conferences" exercised supreme control over everything, was causing much dissatisfaction. Preachers who lived near to the place of meeting could flock thither at little or no expense or inconvenience; while those who were at distant stations could only attend under

BISHOP ELIJAH HEDDING.

PORTSMOUTH HARBOR, FROM WHICH COKE SET SAIL ON HIS LAST VOYAGE.

most embarrassing conditions. The result was an uncertainty in the composition of the assemblies which interfered with their representative character, and left many important interests at the mercy of a chance vote, imperiling the safety of creed and discipline.

In the year 1806, Bishop Asbury, who recognized the need of a change, had proposed a conclave of forty-nine, being seven from each Conference, with power to elect one bishop or more, and to provide for a future delegated General Conference; but after receiving considerable support it was overset by the opposition of Virginia. The next action was a memorial originating with the New York Conference, which was favorably received by the New England, the Western, and the South Carolina Conferences. It advocated the principle of an equal representation of delegates from the Annual Conferences, "to form, in future, a delegated General Conference." The endorsement of the three great central Conferences of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Virginia was not, however, obtained for the proposed measure. Possibly the members felt that the existing condition of affairs was too favorable to themselves to be incontinently altered.

The memorial was duly presented to the General Conference, and on the following day Bishop Asbury asked for the mind of the members thereupon. Roszel of the Baltimore Conference, and Burke of the Western, moved for the appointment of a committee to draw up regulations; and the motion was carried. At this point Bishop Asbury interposed with the suggestion that the committee consist of an equal number from each of the Annual Conferences. The suggestion was no doubt made in the interests of the proposed measure, for a miscellaneous committee would almost certainly have given the preponderance of voting power to the central states, which mustered eighty-one votes to forty-eight from the others. The suggestion was adopted without discussion or dissent.

The leading spirits in the committee of fourteen which was then appointed were: Ezekiel Cooper, of New York;

HOME OF DR. LOVICK PIERCE, GREENSBORO, GEORGIA.

Joshua Soule, of New England, and Philip Bruce and Jesse Lee from Virginia. The views of Joshua Soule finally approved themselves to the committee, and were in the main adopted. Cooper, who was Soule's chief opponent, was an ardent advocate of a species of diocesan episcopacy, by which each of the seven Annual Conferences should have a bishop, Asbury controlling all, as a sort of archbishop. Soule, on the other hand, was against altering the *itinerant general superintendency*, and Bruce and Lee finally fell in with this view. The report, when it came before the Conference, had been in committee for ten days.

Before its adoption another attempt was made to have the election of presiding elders entrusted to the Annual Conference. A motion to this effect, with the provisos that the election should be without debate and by ballot, was introduced by Ezekiel Cooper, and called forth a keen debate; but the result was, that in a full vote of one hundred and twenty-eight, it secured the support of only fifty-two members.

When the Conference opened, it seemed likely that either Lee or Cooper would be appointed to fill the vacancy caused by Whatcoat's death. Both of them were leaders in powerful Conferences, and were well known to the Church in general. But a new candidate appeared in the person of McKendree, whose work in the remote West, though highly esteemed there, had hitherto kept him in the background as a Church leader. The sermon, however, which he preached before Conference on the first Sunday morning after it met, proved that he was no mere backwoodsman, but a leader alive to all the issues of the hour. A tall, fine-looking man, with an air of intellect and determination, he made a favorable impression as he entered the pulpit. Like Doctor Chalmers, he began in a somewhat halting fashion, with uncouth sentences and defective utterance. But soon, warming to the subject, he waxed eloquent. Long before he closed, his hearers were spellbound. Many of them declared they had never listened to so powerful or eloquent an address; and it ensured his election four days later. Out of a total vote of one hundred and twenty-eight he obtained five less than the

BISHOP JOSHUA SOULE.

hundred. McKendree, who was just passing his prime, being fifty-one years of age at his election, was the first native American bishop. The ordination took place six days after the election, in the old Light Street Church, and Garrettson, Lee, Bruce, and Ware assisted Bishop Asbury at the ceremony. McKendree's appointment was a distinct victory for what was termed the "high" as opposed to the "popular" view of the episcopacy. In the interval which had elapsed since he forsook O'Kelly and joined himself to Asbury, he had become a stanch and unequivocal supporter of the latter's theories and discipline.

Doctor Coke's letter to McKendree, on hearing of his appointment, is interesting:

TENBY, SOUTH WALES,
October 5, 1808.

TO BISHOP MCKENDREE:

I write to you, my very dear brother and friend, not to congratulate you on your election to the office of a bishop (for I believe you regard not office nor honor any farther than you may serve God thereby), but to express my regard for you, and the pleasure I feel (notwithstanding what I have written above) at your being united to my old and venerable brother, Asbury, in the great work in which he is engaged. I am persuaded God has chosen you to help my dear brother, and that you will go on with him in perfect union in blessing the American Continent under divine grace.

You are mild: you are moderately and properly reserved, and do not aim at an overbearing exercise of power. I have not had a large acquaintance with you, but your person and your voice are fresh to me, as if you were now with me in the same room, and I greatly mistake if I do not taste your spirit. Go on, brother, walking with God and united to Him. Your field of action is great. You have, perhaps, ten thousand pulpits open to you. But the grand point, which must be engraven continually on your forehead, as it were, and on your heart, is the harmony and union of the Methodist Connection in America. God bless you! My dearest wife joins me in love to you. Pray for us.

I am, very dear brother and friend, yours affectionately and faithfully,

T. COKE.

P. S.—Please write to me.

The battle now began on the main question—the Delegated General Conference as outlined in the committee's report. At first it seemed as if the plan would suffer shipwreck. To the surprise and sorrow of Asbury and others anxious for the speedy settlement of so important a matter, the first vote was adverse. As the votes of Philadelphia and Baltimore members had most to do with this rejection, there was much indignation among the members from the more distant Conferences, which had specially petitioned for the plan; and a stampede was averted only by the most judicious management. Hedding from New England, who believed that a general withdrawal at this time would mean the abandonment forever of a General Conference, stepped into the breach. By postponing action over the Sunday, the friends of the measure had time to use their influence with doubtful Middle States voters, and to appeal to their loyalty. When, on the following Monday, the report was again taken up and acted upon, item by item, the plan was substantially adopted. Lee did his best, first, to wreck it, and then to emasculate it; but Soule's adroitness won the day. To him belongs the credit, more than to any other of the Church leaders, of having piloted Methodism through one of its most serious crises. Henceforth its polity rested on a definite and assured basis. Subjoined are the eight rules with the adoption of which began a new era in Methodism:

First.—The General Conference shall be composed of delegates from the Annual Conferences.

Second.—The delegates shall be chosen by ballot, without debate, in the Annual Conferences respectively, in the last meeting of Conference previous to the meeting of the General Conference.

Third.—Each Annual Conference respectively shall have a right to send seven elders, members of their Conference, as delegates to the General Conference.

Fourth.—Each Annual Conference shall have a right to send one delegate, in addition to the seven, for every ten members belonging to such Conference over and above fifty—so that if there be sixty members, they shall send eight; if seventy, they shall send nine; and so on, in proportion.

Fifth.—The General Conference shall meet on the first day of May, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and twelve, and thenceforward on the first day of May, once in four years perpetually, at such place or places as shall be fixed on by the General Conference from time to time.

Sixth.—At all times, when the General Conference is met, it shall take two-thirds of the whole number of delegates to form a quorum.

Seventh.—One of the original superintendents shall preside in the General Conference; but in case no general superintendent be present, the General Conference shall choose a president *pro tem.*

Eighth. — The General Conference shall have full power to make rules, regulations, and canons for our Church, under the following limitations and restrictions, viz.:

The General Conference shall not revoke, alter or change our Articles of Religion, nor establish any new standards of doctrine.

They shall not lessen the number of seven delegates from each Annual Conference, nor allow a greater number from any Annual Conference than is provided in the fourth paragraph of this section.

They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away episcopacy or to destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency.

They shall not revoke or change the General Rules of the United Societies.

They shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers of trial by a committee, and of an appeal; neither shall they do away the privileges of our members of trial before the society, or by a committee [and] of an appeal.

They shall not appropriate the produce of the Book Concern or of the Charter Fund to any purpose other than for the benefit of the traveling, superannuated, supernumerary, and worn-out preachers, their wives, widows and children.

Provided, nevertheless, that upon the joint recommendation of all the Annual Conferences, then a majority of two-thirds of the General Conference succeeding shall suffice to alter any of the above restrictions.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FINAL DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH METHODISM.

IT TOOK a considerable time for the Methodist connexion in Great Britain to adjust itself to the new conditions which resulted from Wesley's death. His overshadowing personality, dominant to the last, was a factor of indefinite value. No other member of the society had the qualifications of a suc cessor; and there existed an evident determination to resist any attempt to continue a one-man control. And yet something had to be done to supply the place he had filled, and furnish a permanent and a continuous authority within the society. Otherwise anarchy would prevail. Indeed, the president of the 1793 Conference made the confession in writing: "At present we really have no government."

The situation was so serious that, before a month had elapsed after Wesley's death, a meeting of nine leaders took place at Halifax in Yorkshire, who discussed the situation and embodied the result of their deliberations in a printed circular letter, addressed "To the Methodist Preachers in General, and to the Conference and Assistants in Particular." After mentioning the plan of electing a successor to Wesley only to reject it, they proceeded to recommend that the vacant places in the Conference should be filled up according to seniority; that a president, secretary and steward should be chosen annually, and that a person should be chosen from year to year to preside at the Irish Conferences. To meet the necessity of intermediate administration, when the Conference was not sitting, they proposed the appointment of different committees, embracing all the circuits in the British Isles, who should manage the affairs of their respective districts during the interval between the Annual Conferences. This letter was known as the "Halifax Circular," and the legislation it outlined seems to have generally commended itself, except in Cornwall, where a meeting at Redruth of the fifty leading laymen proposed changes which would have placed the whole polity of the organization on an entirely new basis. It advocated the principle of popular elec ion from the class upwards.

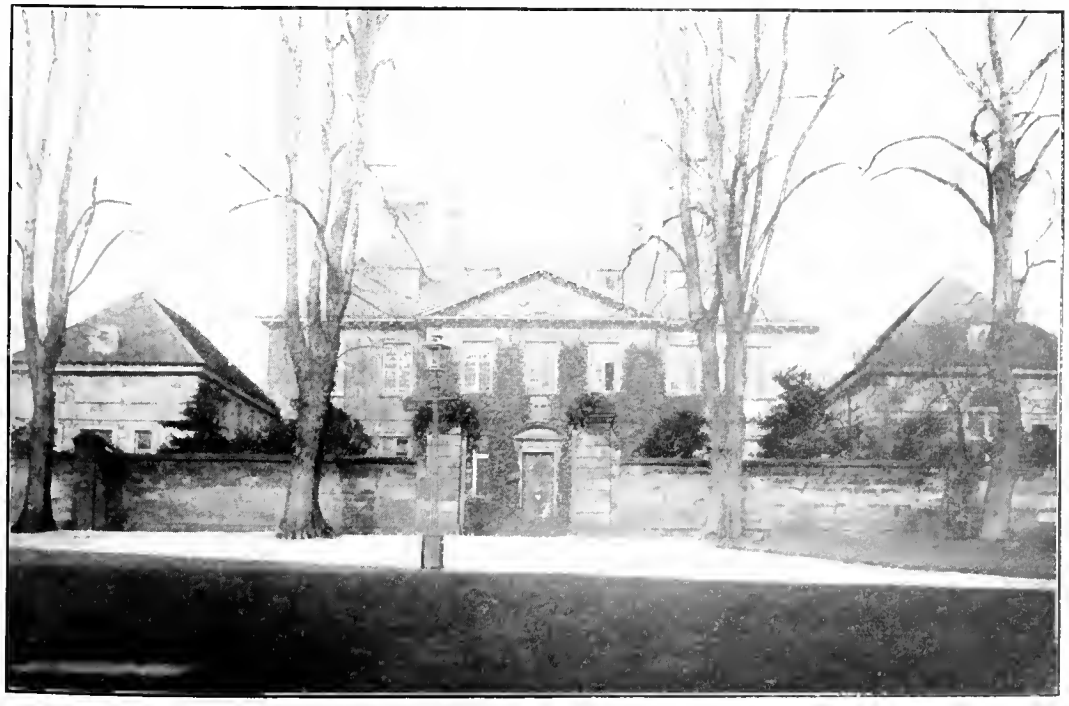
When the Conference of 1791 met, it manifested its acceptance of the views of the Halifax meeting by appointing as its president William Thompson, the assistant at Halifax, and the moving spirit in the deliberations of that informal council. Thompson was an Irishman from the county of Fermanagh in the northwest of the island, and his early years were spent among stanch Presbyterians. It was in the character of a safe man that he was chosen for this signal honor; and it shows the democratic spirit of the Conference, and its determination to assert its supremacy, that Doctors Coke and Mather, both of them "bishops," in a sense, were passed over in his favor. At the time of his election Thompson was in his fifty-eighth year, and had been a Methodist preacher for over a third of a century. He was reputed a master of ecclesiastical polity, and a man of sound, practical judgment; nor did he belie his reputation. The scheme which he and his associates had outlined received general approval and was carried into effect. England was divided, for purposes of administration, into nineteen districts, Scotland into two, and Ireland into six. Power was given to the assistant of a

circuit to summon such of the preachers of his district as were in full connection, for the consideration of any critical case; and they in turn were empowered to appoint a committee, whose decision in the case should be final until the meeting of the next Conference. In the general economy it was decided to follow strictly the plan left by Wesley at his death

Another arrangement of some importance was agreed upon, with respect to the placing of preachers. Provision was made for a delegation of one member from every district in England and Scotland, who should meet three days before the holding of the Annual Conference, and in the same place as the Conference, to draw up a plan for the stationing of preachers. Similarly in Ireland, a representative should be sent from every district to confer with the delegate, two days before the meeting of Conference. This body came to be known as the Stationing Committee.

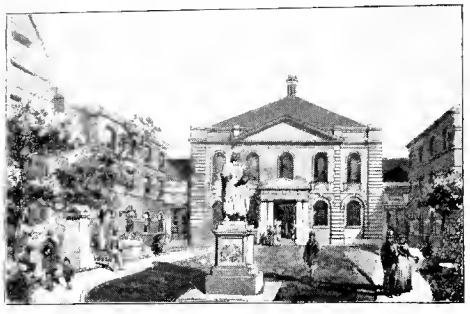
For the next few years, until the celebrated Plan of Pacification was passed by the Conference of 1795, the English society was almost torn asunder by three contending parties. The extreme conservatives, who desired to keep things just as they were in Wesley's time, refused to move one step in the direction of transforming the society into a self-regulating Church. Their strength lay among the trustees of chapels; men of wealth and social standing, who were used to having these places of worship mere annexes to the state churches, and in no way desired to see them become dissenting meeting-houses. The question came to an issue at Bristol, where a large number of the members withdrew from the old Broadmead Chapel, and erected a new and commodious edifice, known as Ebenezer Chapel, where services were held in church hours, and the sacraments were administered.

The extreme popular party, on the other hand, resented the complete control exercised by the Conference of One Hundred, and demanded popular repre-



BISHOP'S PALACE, LICHFIELD

sentation in its most thorough form. The demagogue of this movement was Alexander Kilham, who was finally expelled from the society, and, with five other preachers, formed what was known as



WESLEY'S CHAPEL AS IT NOW APPEARS.

the "New Connexion." Born of humble parentage at Epworth in Lincolnshire, the birthplace of Wesley, he was converted at the age of eighteen, and became a local preacher in his native place. Some time afterward he engaged himself as personal attendant to Wesley's intimate friend, Squire Brackenbury, whom he accompanied to Jersey Our readers will remember that, when Wesley and Coke visited St. Heliers, they found Brackenbury there. During his master's illness Kilham made himself useful by preaching to the soldiers, one of whom, in writing to a friend, described him as "a fine young man." Admitted on trial in the year 1784, he came to be recognized as a preacher of considerable ability, but of extravagant views. Forced by circumstances, before Wesley's death, to register himself as a dissenting minister, he thenceforth adopted an antagonistic attitude to the state church, which placed him out of sympathy with the majority of his brother Methodists. No sooner was Wesley dead than he sent out an anonymous letter calling upon members of the society to revise Mr. Wesley's rules, and expunge any errors they might contain.

For five years Kilham continued to sow recklessly the seeds of revolt throughout the kingdom. Finally, the patience of the Conference being exhausted, and conciliation having proved impossible, he was put on his trial at the Conference which met in London at the close of July, 1796. During the previous year, while serving as superintendent at Alnwick, in Northumberland, he had prepared and published a little work entitled "The Progress of Liberty among the People called 'Methodists.' To which is added, the Outlines of a Constitution. Humbly recommended to the Serious Consideration of the Preachers and the People late in Connexion with Mr. Wesley. By Alexander Kilham, Preacher of the Gospel. 'Prove all things: hold fast that which is good' (2 Thes. v. 22). Alnwick: Printed by J. Catnagh. 1795." The reckless language and general extravagance of this pamphlet called forth strong denunciations from various quarters. From the London preachers came a letter of expostulation, signed, among others, by Dr. Adam Clarke, and addressed to the chairman of the Newcastle district. Kilham immediately retorted with "A Candid Examination of the London Methodistical Bull," which was illustrated with the picture of a bull belching forth flames. The London preachers' letter followed, in a black border, to signify that people mourned over its folly.

The spirit in which Kilham wrote may be guessed at from these eccentricities. The pamphlet contained unsupported charges of incompetence, swindling, and embezzlement brought against the preachers; it declared that only in an absolute monarchy or a papal hierarchy could a system so oppressive as the existing Methodist economy be found; it reverted to the condition of affairs under Wesley, and spoke of the *dark, unfair way* in which many things had then been

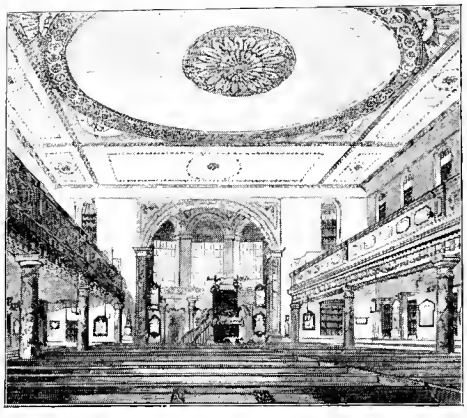
managed; and the language and suggestions used throughout it were such as to shock propriety, and cause grave scandal. For instance, it declared that while all Methodists detested the conduct of persecuting Neros, and all the bloody actions of the great Whore of Babylon, yet they were in a measure treading in their steps!

After an examination which lasted for three days, the Conference came to the unanimous decision that, as Mr. Kilham had published so many particulars highly injurious to the characters of Mr. Wesley and the body of preachers, and had been unable to substantiate a single one of them, it unanimously judged him unfit to continue a member of the Methodist connexion. A week after his expulsion he wrote a letter to the president, in which he seemed to express contrition and a wish to return; but this hope proved illusory, and the spirit of faction still continued to dominate him. Some time afterward he published an address which was signed at Leeds by one hundred and sixty of his supporters, and contained some very reprehensible matter. For instance, he advised the trustees to use their full power to show the preachers how dependent they were. "The preachers being supported by their voluntary subscriptions, if they would not come into their measures, they had the power to withhold support from them. If this method were taken, the body of the preachers would see that their dependence was upon the people, and not upon what is generally called the Conference. They would probably throw off the authority of those who now govern, and would become the people's servants for Christ's sake." Leeds became the center of this agitation, and a paper was established under the name of the *Methodist Monitor*, which kept it aflame.

Meanwhile the busy mind of Doctor Coke devised a way out of the difficulty. It seemed to him that the English Methodists would do well to take a leaf out of the book of their American brethren, and order might then arise out of anarchy. With this end in view, a meeting was arranged at the episcopal city of Lichfield, not because it was a center of influence, but because there was no Methodist community or sentiment in the place. It took place in the beginning of April, 1794, and was attended by several of the leaders, of whom, however, William Thompson was not one. Thomas Pawson, Thomas Taylor, Adam Clarke, Henry Moore, James Rogers, and Samuel Bradburn made up, with Coke and Mather, the select party. As president of the 1793 Conference, Pawson had considerable weight. For forms of church government in themselves he cared but little, so long as the people had the ordinances of God and were saved from the

STATUE OF JOHN WESLEY.
In front of City-road Chapel, London.

evils of division. "I sincerely wish," he wrote, some months before the meeting, "that Doctor Coke and Mr. Mather may be allowed to be what they are—bishops; that they ordain two others,



WESLEY'S CHAPEL.
The interior as it appeared in 1861.

chosen by the Conference; that these four have the government of the connection placed in their hands for one year, each superintending his respective district, being stationed in London, Bristol, Leeds, and Newcastle. And even supposing these four had authority to station the preachers, who would have any cause to fear? We must have ordination among us, at any rate."

Doctor Coke proposed at the meeting that he should confer the office of presbyter on the brethren present who had not been ordained, thus exercising his episcopal functions; and most of the preachers were in favor of the step. But Henry Moore expressed his doubts whether this would not excite unfavorable comment at the Conference; and Mather agreed with his dissent, characterizing any immediate ordination as "unmethodistical and wrong." But the members unanimously agreed to recommend certain measures to the Conference, which provided for the appointment of an "order of superintendents," with elders and deacons. When, however, these resolutions came before the Conference for discussion, they were promptly rejected as tending to create invidious and unhallowed distinctions among brethren. And so ended all hope of bringing English Methodism into harmony with the American polity.

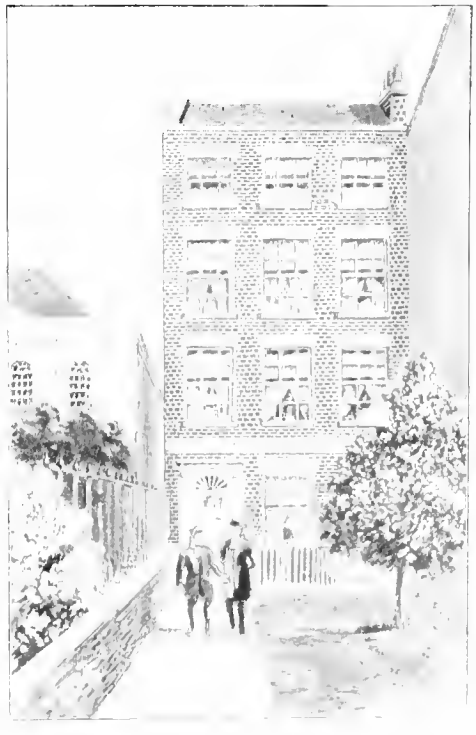
An Irishman had presided in the Conference of 1791; a Scotchman was chosen for his successor. The name of Alexander Mather has already appeared in this narrative in connection with the early economy of the society. It was his test case which established the rule that an itinerant's wife was entitled during his absence to a definite allowance. Mather at the time of his election was in his sixtieth year. Born in the old cathedral city of Brechin, in the east of Scotland, he was brought up in the fear of God, and with a thorough acquaintance with the Catechism and the Scriptures. When a boy of thirteen he was foolish enough to join the Jacobite insurgents who were "out in the Forty-five," and fought at the famous battle of Culloden. His stern father was intensely irritated over the escapade, and for some time refused to receive the willful boy.

His career as a Methodist preacher dated from Easter Day, 1754, when he heard Wesley preach at West Street Chapel, and felt that the whole current of his life was changed. An interview which followed gave Wesley a very favorable idea of Mather's "grit" and capacity; and his services were at once put in requisition. Appointed in August, 1757, to the Epworth circuit, he walked the whole hundred and fifty miles; facing at Boston, with the utmost coolness, an angry mob, who pelted him so severely with stones and dirt that he took a year to recover from his injuries. His subsequent labors in Shropshire and elsewhere increased Wesley's confidence in him, and he came to be known as

"Wesley's right-hand man." At the Manchester Conference of 1787 he, with Rankin and Moore, was privately set apart and ordained by Wesley, Creighton and Peard Dickinson assisting; and afterward he was ordained bishop or superintendent. Mather was less of a disciplinarian than Thompson, and more sympathetic; he was loved for his tenderness of heart and his unselfishness.

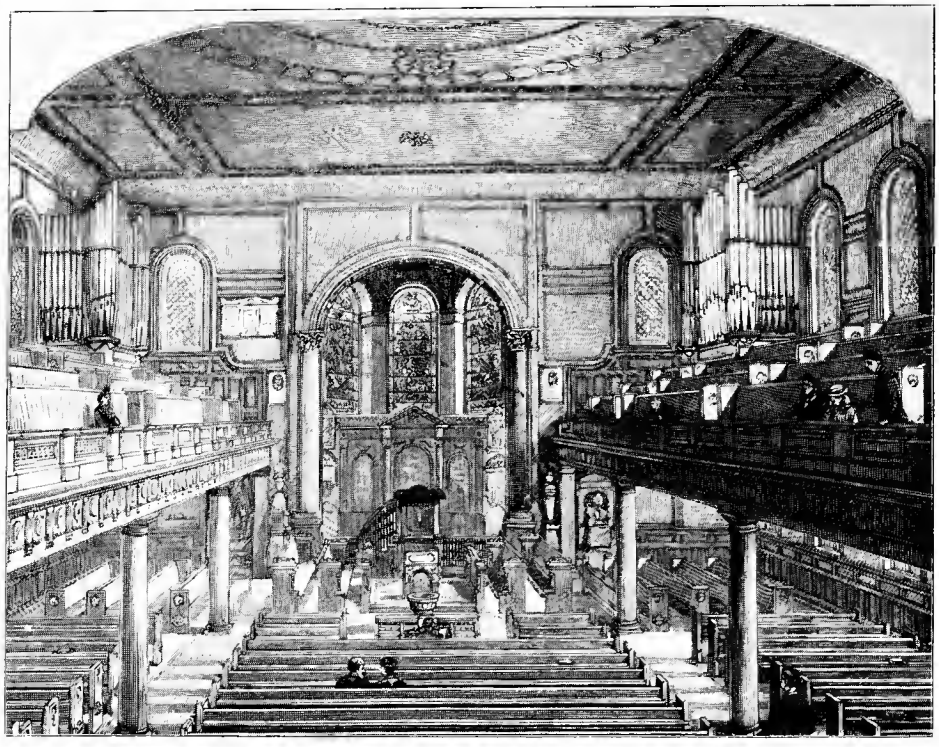
The Conference of 1792, at which he presided, was marked by no striking incident; the spirit of conciliation prevailed. The chief question it had to consider was that of the administration of the sacraments. Petitions and addresses from those favorable and unfavorable to the innovation came pouring in; and it seemed better not to force the issue. The singular method of deciding by lot was employed, resulting in an adverse decision; and so the sacraments were not to be administered during the following year. A regulation was put in force forbidding ordinations without the express sanction of the Conference; and members were also enjoined to refrain, in speech and in writing, from rash or intemperate expressions reflecting upon the national government. It was a period of political unrest, and the Conference was anxious to keep Methodism free from the imputation of sedition.

When the Conference met again in 1793 at Leeds, the Yorkshireman John Pawson was elected president. It was he who, in the preceding Conference, when the debate waxed warm concerning the sacrament, rose to propose a decision of the question for one year, by lot. After a time spent in prayer Adam Clarke drew the lot, and standing on the table amid a hushed assembly, read aloud the words: "You shall not give the sacrament this year." His voice came, says one who was present, like a voice from the clouds. The Leeds Conference did not continue the restriction. Those who were in favor of its removal mustered so strong that a decision was given in their favor, to the effect "that the societies should have the privilege of the Lord's Supper where they unanimously desired it." Pawson, though inferior in administrative caliber to his two predecessors, made an excellent chairman; and his re-election to the same office eight years later is sufficient testimony to his efficiency. Few men were less self-seeking or more amiable. "Pawson," wrote Adam Clarke, "is the best president we have had. He preached last evening a sermon which seemed just to have dropped out of heaven." Pleasant recollections of this Conference seemed to have lingered long among those who attended it.



WESLEY'S HOUSE, LONDON.

Its successor was to meet at a storm center, in the great seaport on the Severn, where the questions of the administration of the sacrament, and of holding service in church hours had



WESLEY'S CHAPEL.
Interior as it now appears.

caused a disruption; and it was very necessary to have a tried man in the president's chair. A north-country man was chosen, the veteran Thomas Hanby, who had served Methodism through storm and sunshine in Yorkshire, in Kent, in Scotland, and throughout the kingdom. At his death, which occurred a year after he quitted the presidency, he was the oldest preacher in the connexion.

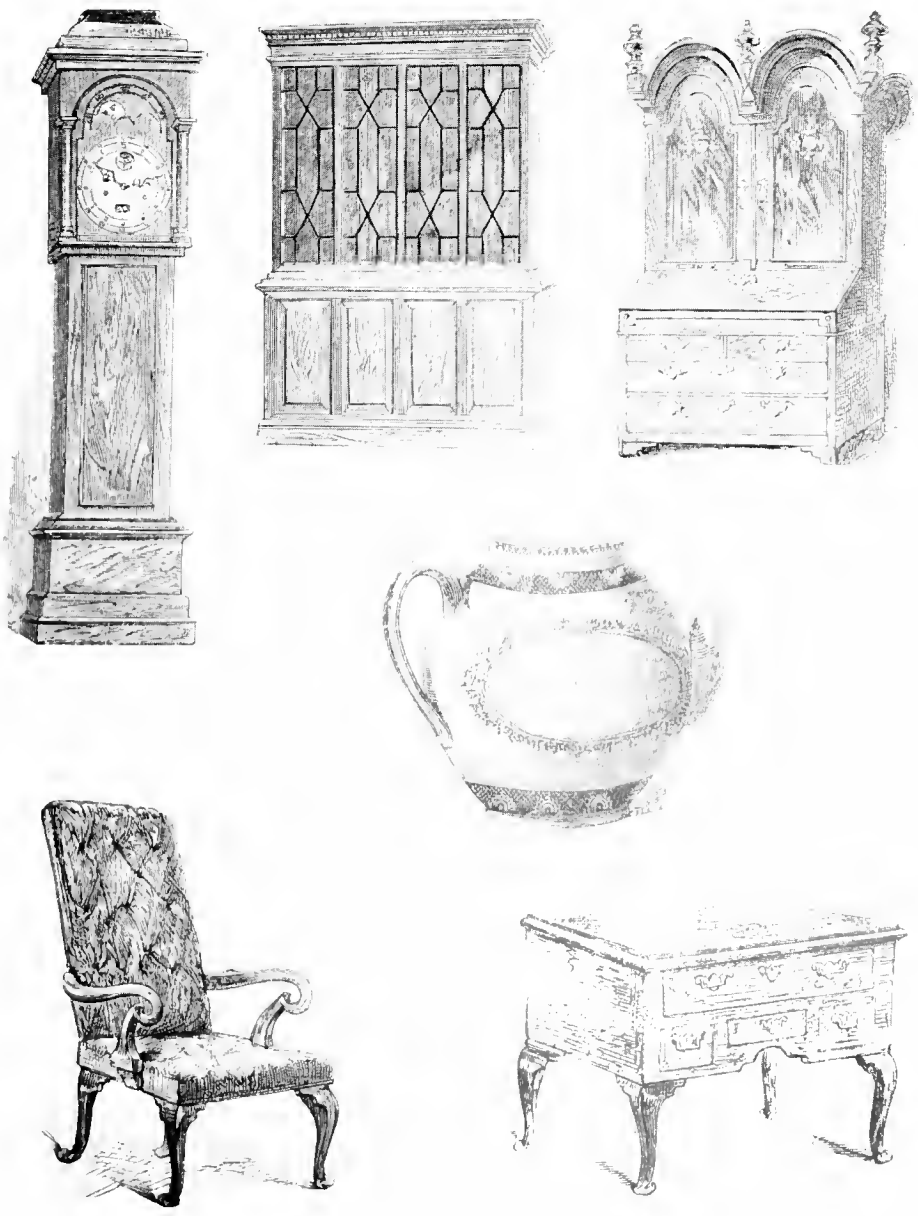
The work effected by this Conference was of a disciplinary character. It re-enacted the rule against ecclesiastical titles, and the wearing of gowns, bands or other clerical dress. Preaching in church hours, except in very special cases, was to be discountenanced; and the privilege of administering the sacraments was to be confined to ninety or more places, definitely mentioned. Moderate men hoped that the conciliatory nature of the measures it passed would allay the existing ferment; but in this expectation they were disappointed. The next Conference was, however, to pass a Plan of Pacification which, with further legislation in 1797, laid the basis of English Methodist polity for a century.

This famous Conference, which met at Manchester, chose for its president Joseph Bradford, a preacher who had committed himself to no party, and whose intimate relations with Wesley endeared him to loyal Methodists. From 1775 until 1780 Bradford was Wesley's faithful and attached traveling companion, and when, in the latter year, he settled in London, he had the great privilege of being associated with the two Wesleys, and with Coke, Boardman, and Atlay. Seven years later he resumed his old capacity of traveling companion, and in 1790 was appointed to the office for the last time. His presence at the last death-bed scene will be recalled by our readers.

The Conference met at a time of great

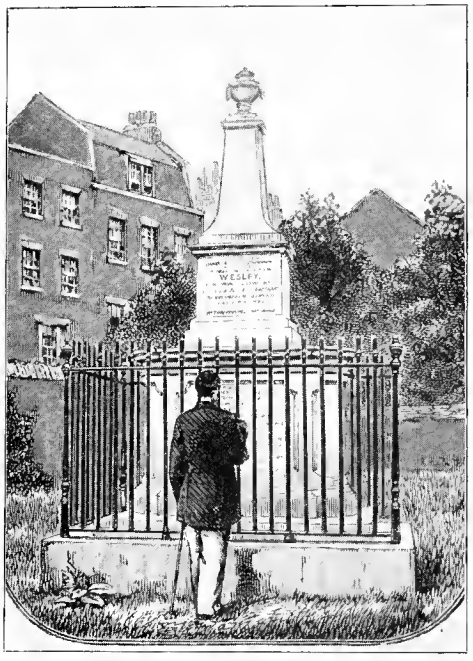
national depression. There was considerable political unrest, caused by the spread of revolutionary doctrines; and a bad harvest, along with serious military reverses, intensified the discontent. It was, therefore, in a serious and chastened mood that the members came together. The principal business was the settlement of the vexed question of the administration of the sacraments; and the Conference chose by ballot a committee of nine to deal with it. They proved to be men singularly well qualified for the task, and representative of the different interests in the connexion. They consisted of the president, three former presidents, Thompson, Pawson and Mather, Doctor Coke, Samuel Bradburn, Joseph Benson, Henry Moore, and Adam Clarke.

The remaining five were all destined to serve as presidents. Bradburn was to



FURNITURE USED BY JOHN WESLEY, NOW IN THE HOUSE IN CITY ROAD, LONDON.

preside in the same town of Manchester four years later. The son of a soldier, he was born in the bay of Gibraltar. When his parents returned to England, they chose to settle down in the old city



WESLEY MONUMENT, CITY-ROAD, LONDON.

of Chester, where the lad became a sincere Christian at an early age. From the year 1774, when he joined the itinerancy, he proved himself to be an efficient worker and an eloquent preacher. "He never trod the pulpit floor," says Mr. Bunting in his father's biography, "but with the assured air of an habitual conqueror. He had a pleasant and commanding person, an easy carriage, a voice exquisitely musical, a ready and retentive memory, and a quick invention; while his style was pure and elegant, and the tone and manner of his preaching, as a rule, very warm and affectionate."

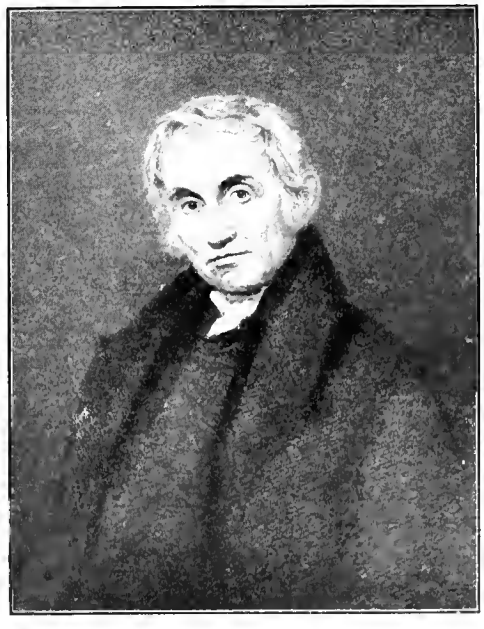
Joseph Benson's name has already entered into the narrative in connection with the revival in Cornwall, where his powers as a preacher were remarkably displayed. Twice was he chosen to serve as president: first in 1798, and again in the year 1810. He became editor of the church *Magazine* in 1803, and for many years devoted a large amount of his spare time to its publication. Six years later, at the instance of the Conference, he began to write his Bible Commentary, which was finished in 1818. "I have generally," he wrote, "been employed on it and the magazines and other publications *from five in the morning, winter as well as summer, to eleven at night*, allowing time only for meals." He survived until 1821, and was buried, like so many of these noble veterans, in the City-road burying-ground.

Henry Moore, who presided at the London Conference of 1804, and whose life of Wesley has made his name familiar to Methodists, was, like the poet, his namesake, a native of Dublin. Born in the year 1751 of well-to-do parents, he was early left fatherless, and had in consequence to abandon his intention of following a scholastic career. Until the age of nineteen he served unwillingly as a wood-carver, and then he determined to seek his fortune in London. Here he gave up his ambition to become a literary man, and spent his spare hours in worldly pleasures. It was after his return to Ireland that he came under Methodist influences, through the preaching of Bradburn and others. Thereafter he labored successfully on the Londonderry circuit, where he enjoyed the friendship of the devout and learned Alexander Knox. He married a Coleraine girl, Nancy Young, with Wesley's cordial approval, for she was a suitable helpmeet. After the year 1784 he was stationed in London, with the whole city as his circuit; and was constantly with Wesley, "traveling with him what might be called his home circuit, the counties of Norfolk, Kent, Oxford, etc.,

during the winter, and was never absent from him in those excursions, night or day." He survived until 1844, becoming the Nestor of English Methodism.

The personalities of the others are already known to our readers. It is not surprising that a series of resolutions drawn up by so capable a committee should have commended itself to the body to which it was submitted. The Plan of Pacification which they offered was adopted by the Conference almost without any alteration. The following is a summary of its chief provisions: It recognized the rightful authority of the Conference to appoint preachers to the chapels, and forbade trustees to interfere either by refusing to receive preachers so appointed or by expelling them. If, however, a majority of trustees or of the stewards and leaders of any society, had reason to believe that any preacher appointed for their circuit was immoral in conduct, or heretical, or incapable, or insubordinate, they had power to summon the preachers of the district, and all the trustees, stewards and leaders thereof; and where a majority of such a meeting found the accused person guilty, he was forthwith to be suspended from his duties and his place was to be supplied by the district committee. All preachers so accused were required to submit to such a trial, on pain of suspension; but, on the other hand, where trustees of a chapel chose to expel a preacher on their own authority, the preachers appointed to that circuit were forbidden to preach in the chapel until the next Conference. Where such summary expulsion was resorted to by trustees, the chairman of the district was empowered to call a meeting to discuss the advisability of providing a new chapel; and, if the meeting approved, to proceed at once with its erection. The other rules dealt with matters that have no permanent interest.

The additional regulations passed in the year 1797, when Doctor Coke was president, are more varied in their nature. It was provided that the Conference should henceforth publish itemized accounts of the yearly collection and the Kingswood School. Where extra allowances were granted to preachers, such bills were to be submitted to the quarterly meetings of the circuit, and verified by the signature of the circuit steward. Formerly these accounts were taken by the preacher to the district meeting; and it was believed that extravagant demands were often made and granted. It was also enacted that no leader or steward should be appointed or removed from office without the consent of the leaders' meeting, and that the local preachers' meeting should also be consulted before any person was placed on the local



SAMUEL DREW, M. A.
Author of the celebrated book on the Immortality of the Soul, and of a Life of Doctor Coke.

preachers' list. Two rules that had already been put in force—one providing against intrusion of preachers from one circuit into another, the other prohibiting the holding of irregular meetings to

JOHN WESLEY.
First President of the British Conference.

consider the condition of the society—were dwelt upon at length, and their reasonableness was shown.

The whole effect of this legislation was to preserve to the Conference its supreme position as the fountain of law, and to safeguard the rights and independence of the preachers. At the same time it allowed the district meeting to exercise, during the period when the Conference was not sitting, that effective supervision which was necessary for continuous discipline. The opinion held in some quarters, that these district meetings were intended only for the trial of accused preachers, was a mistaken one. Their jurisdiction covered all appeals whatsoever during the interval between Conferences. This was shown by the special proviso made when Doctor Coke was appointed to preside at the Irish Conference. The intention was not that he should succeed Wesley as a general supervisor, to whom complaints of any kind might with propriety be addressed. He was merely a chairman and intermediary; and all such business which the circuit assistants could not determine was to be left to the committees of districts. To quote Dr. George Smith, the historian of Wesleyan Methodism: "Wesleyan Methodist polity, therefore, as established by preceding enactment and usage, and modified and settled by the Plan of Pacification and the regulations of 1797, left the United Societies a connexion, under the government of the Conference as supreme, with district committees in possession of all necessary power for efficient superintendence in all the intervals of Conference; all this authority being confined within certain prescribed limits by various powers conferred on local meetings, principally composed of the laity."

The element of "paternalism," therefore, so conspicuous in the Methodism of Wesley's day, did not survive its founder. In England, after Wesley's death, there was no concentration of power in the hands of any leader or small band of leaders; but the principle of local autonomy was fully established. In the United States the development was altogether different. Francis Asbury was as essentially a personal ruler as Wesley had been. He arranged the work and appointed the men for it without consulting any one. The presiding elders

PRESIDENTS OF THE BRITISH CONFERENCE FROM WESLEY'S DEATH UNTIL 1813.

1. William Thompson.
2. Alexander Mather.
3. John Pawson.
4. Thomas Hanby.
5. Joseph Bradford.
6. Thomas Taylor.
7. Thomas Coke.
8. Joseph Benson.
9. Samuel Bradburn.
10. James Wood.
11. Joseph Taylor, 1st.
12. Henry Moore.
13. Adam Clarke.
14. John Barber.
15. Charles Atmore.
16. Joseph Entwisle.
17. Walter Griffith.

whom he chose ruled in his absence as vicars-general, executing his commands without question and expecting the same compliance from their subordinates. In succeeding him, McKendree modified his methods somewhat, and took the Conference more into his counsels. That was a significant act, when Asbury, after McKendree introduced the innovation of an episcopal address in the Conference of 1812, begged for an explanation. "You have done to-day what I never did," he remarked, "and I want to know why." To which the younger bishop calmly replied: "You are my father, and do not need these rules. I am a son, and do." Whereat the old man sat down with a smile on his face.

There is a restfulness in authoritative rule which gives it unfailing advantage over the uncertain and unsettling method of constant popular election. In the United States so many were the claims of the state and nation upon a citizen's time and energy that he might well desire a peaceful administration within the Church as a relief from the political turmoil outside. In England, on the contrary, with overshadowing authority in Church and State, individual initiative and assertiveness found a natural vent in "meetings" and "committees." The preachers there remained essentially preachers or exhorters, accustomed to the atmosphere of discussion and edification; while in America the type became, in many of its characteristics, an administrative one—the man who manages and controls, as representing an unquestioned central authority.

From the time that Doctor Coke was first appointed to preside at the Irish Conference until his death, he was closely associated with Irish Methodism; and the work that he did in the Green Isle was such as to earn him the lasting gratitude of the Methodists there. He was zealous in traveling, that he might understand the needs of the local societies, and he was generous in his private gifts to struggling preachers and stations. At the close of his long connection with Irish Methodism he had the satisfaction of seeing the number of circuits more than trebled, and the membership quadrupled. In the year 1804 there was founded in Dublin a Female Orphan School, through the generosity of Mr. S. Walker, which continues its beneficent work at the present day. The Sunday-school movement was also warmly taken up by preachers and members, so that in 1806 there were two hundred and four schools, with an attendance of over twelve thousand scholars. In the first six years of the century the general mission staff was increased from three to ten, and a network of organization was formed which attended to the needs of the remotest districts.

It was in the year 1805 that Doctor Coke met the lady who became his wife. While visiting Bristol on one of his begging excursions, he was strongly advised by Mr. Pawson to visit a Miss Penelope Smith, who was staying at the Hot-wells for the benefit of her health, and was reputed at once wealthy and liberal. Her home was at Bradford in Wiltshire, a place where Methodism had early taken root. When Coke, accompanied by Pawson, visited her and made his request, she at once subscribed one hundred guineas, to be paid when he should call on her at her home. The visit to Bradford resulted in a doubling of the very handsome subscription, and the ripening of their acquaintance into a warm attachment. Before the year was out Miss Smith became the doctor's wife, and changed her very secluded life for one of wider interests. Despite her feeble health, she accompanied him everywhere.

In his life of Doctor Coke, Mr. Drew

PRESIDENTS OF THE BRITISH CONFERENCE, 1814-1841.

18. Richard Reece.
19. John Gaulter.
20. Jonathan Edmondson.
21. John Crowther.
22. Jabez Bunting.
23. George Marsden.
24. Robert Newton.
25. Richard Watson.
26. John Stephens.
27. James Townley.
28. George Morley.
29. Richard Treffry.
30. Joseph Taylor, 2d.
31. Edmund Grindrod.
32. Thomas Jackson.
33. Theophilus Lessey.
34. James Dixon.

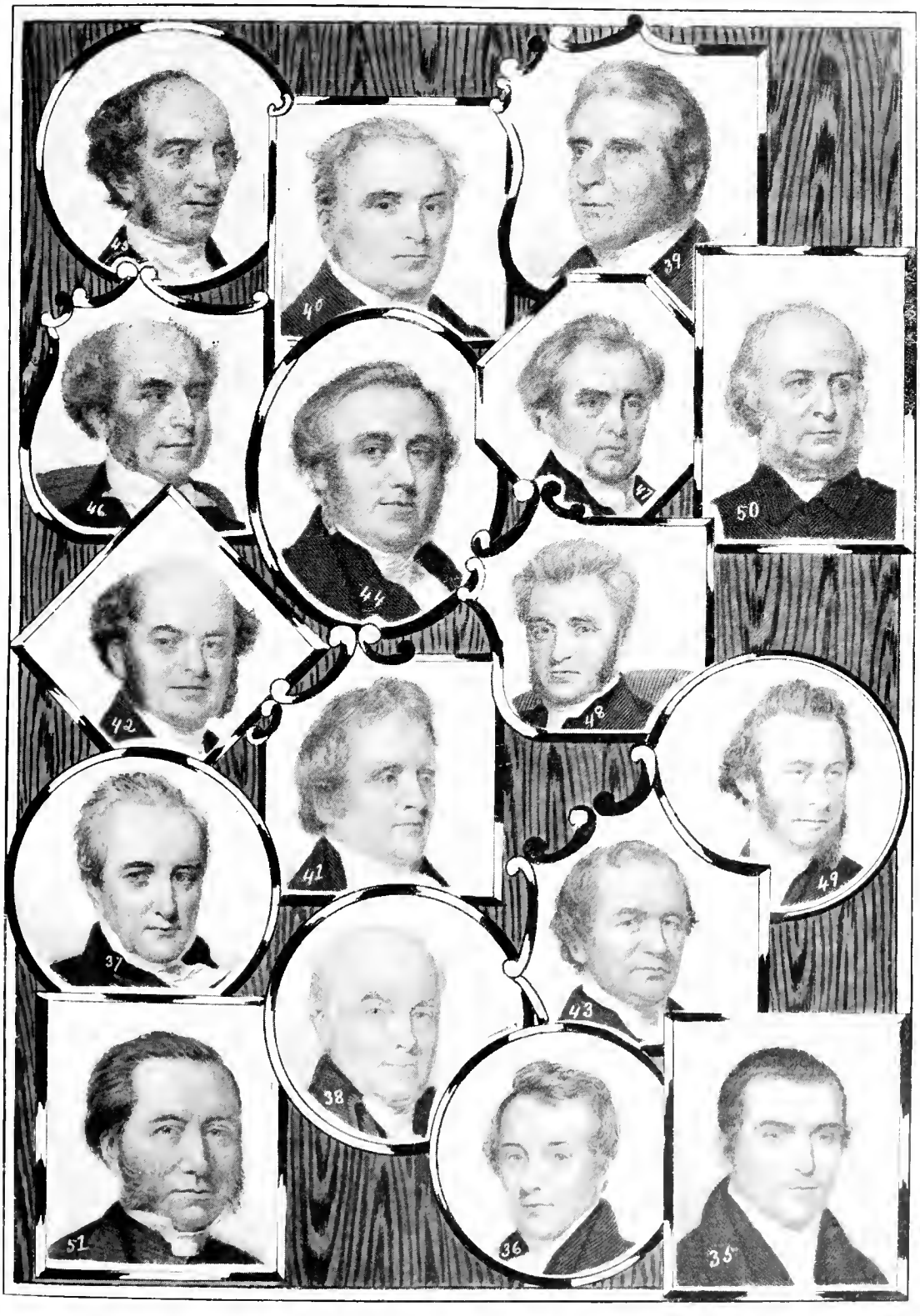
gives an interesting account of their mode of life: "To furnish her with every accommodation while traveling, Doctor Coke purchased a plain carriage, in which, without servants, and with hired horses, they traveled from place to place by such easy stages as her health would allow. But as they had no certain dwelling-place, they were compelled to carry with them a greater quantity of books, papers, and wearing-apparel than might have been necessary in any other situation in life. This was sometimes an inconveniency to their friends, at whose homes they occasionally lodged, and an incumbrance to themselves, which many could discover, but none could prevent. Thus, happy in accommodating themselves to each other's wants and wishes, several years passed away in the autumn of life in works of charity, and in deeds of benevolence, which gave new charms to their connubial felicity." Mrs. Coke died in the year 1811, leaving a fragrant memory behind her.

In the year 1811 Doctor Coke declined to preside at the Irish Conference, and his place was supplied by Dr. Adam Clarke. Although the latter was a native of Ireland, he was not very warmly welcomed. Coke had endeared himself personally to the societies there, and the Commentary which he had published was highly esteemed. Shortly before this time, the first portion of Dr. Adam Clarke's Bible Commentary—which was to excite considerable criticism when it came to deal with the divinity of Christ—had made its appearance; and the references it contained to Doctor Coke's work were not very complimentary. In characterizing the doctor's work as little more than a reprint of Doctor Dodd's, its author was considered guilty of unnecessary harshness; and the slur was resented. The storm that was raised almost induced Doctor Clarke to forego his visit; but he was finally persuaded to go. His visit was productive of much good in relieving the urgent distress of the Irish preachers. With his brother-in-law, Mr. Butterworth, he exerted himself to raise a subscription in the capital and throughout the country to ameliorate their condition; and he was successful in other ways in grappling with the problems that were then presenting themselves.

Of Coke's Commentary it may indeed be said that it is not an original work, and that its author never professed that it had this character. "I have only been like the bee," he said, "which culls honey from every flower." The Commentary by Doctor Dodd, from which it was largely drawn, had conspicuous excellences; and Doctor Coke, in preparing his work for Methodist readers, made use of the best material he could find, animating the whole with his own spirit of devotion and practical piety.

The career of Doctor Coke was now drawing to a close. In January of the year 1811 he lost his first wife, and was left restless and disconsolate; at the close of the year he married again. His second wife, a Miss Ann Londale, of Liverpool, highly esteemed in Methodist circles for her works of charity, but of precarious health, died a year after their marriage; and she was buried beside his first wife in the family vault at Brecon. It was his desire that his remains should be placed there, in whatever corner of the globe he chanced to die; but the circumstances of his death made this impossible.

In June, 1813, we find him writing to a friend from the preaching-house, Dublin: "I am now dead to Europe, and alive for India. God himself has said to me: 'Go to Ceylon.' I am as much convinced of the will of God in this respect



PRESIDENTS OF THE BRITISH CONFERENCE, 1842-1863.

35. John Hannah.
36. John Scott.
37. Jacob Stanley.
38. William Atherton.
39. Samuel Jackson.
40. John Beecham.
41. John Lomas.
42. John Farrar.
43. Isaac Keeling.
44. Robert Young.
45. Francis A. West.
46. John Bowers.
47. Samuel D. Waddy.
48. William W. Stamp.
49. John Rattenbury.
50. Charles Prest.
51. George Osborn.

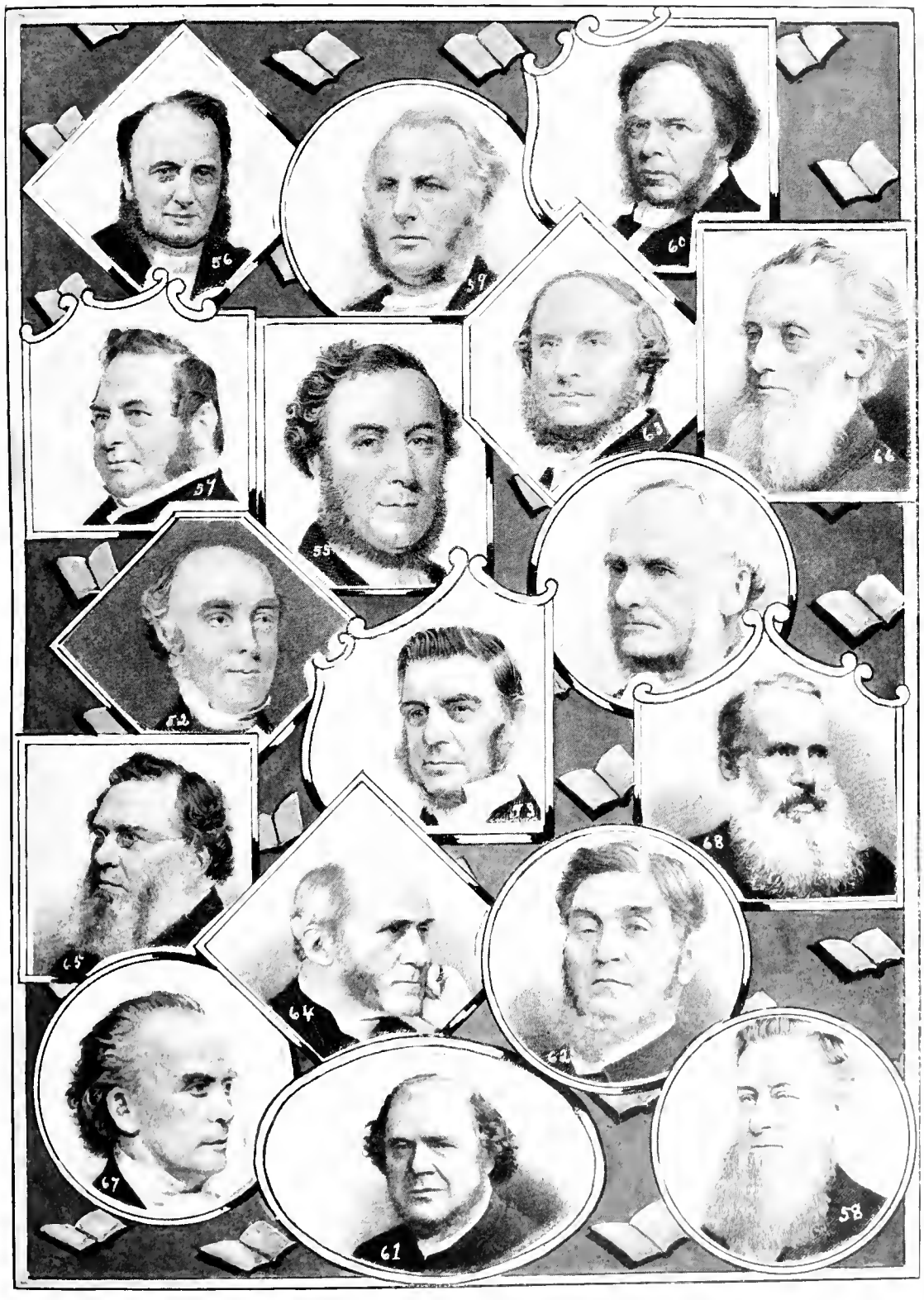
as that I breathe; so fully convinced, that methinks I had rather be set naked on the coast of Ceylon, without clothes, and without a friend, than not go there. The Portuguese language is much spoken all round the coast of Ceylon, and all along the coast of India. According to Doctor Buchanan there are five hundred thousand Christians (nominal Christians at least) in Ceylon: and there are now only two ministers to take care of them. I am learning the Portuguese language continually, and am perfectly certain I shall conquer it before I land in Ceylon. The fleets sail in October and January. If the Conference employ me to raise the money for the outset, I shall not be able to sail till January. I shall bear my own expenses, of course. I'll request you to speak to the preachers to see whether a preacher or two can be procured who will consent to travel with me."

The Conference which met that year in Liverpool, although it had to meet a deficit, and knew that the departure of Doctor Coke would mean the loss of its best "beggar," consented to his sailing for Asia, with seven volunteers. One of these was to remain at the Cape of Good Hope, three were to settle in Ceylon, and one was to proceed to Java, then in the possession of Great Britain; while the other two should travel with Doctor Coke wherever he might consider it best to labor. Doctor Coke generously offered to meet out of his own private fortune the whole expense of the outfit, up to six thousand pounds. On the last day of December, 1813, the missionary band left the harbor of Portsmouth. Doctor Coke, with Mr. and Mrs. Harvard, and Mr. Clough, were on board the "Cabalva;" the others were on the "Lady Melville."

The first break among them occurred in February, when the body of Mrs. Ault, wife of one of the two married men, was committed to the deep. On the 20th of April they passed the Cape of Good Hope, but only the commodore visited Table Bay, carrying letters with him to be dispatched home. After entering the Indian ocean they met stormy weather, and several deaths occurred among the sailors. Up to this time Doctor Coke had been in good health and spirits; but on the first of May he complained of indisposition. Two days later, when his servant knocked at his cabin door, there was no response; and on entering he found the lifeless body of his master stretched on the floor. From the placidity of the countenance, it appeared that his death was a painless one. He was in his sixty-sixth year.

He was buried at sea on the day of his death, in lat. 2 deg. 29 min. south, and long. 59 deg. 29 min. east of London. The desire often expressed by the doctor, that his remains should be conveyed to England if he died abroad, was duly communicated to the captain; but he declared that it was a "moral impossibility" to carry out such a wish. The service, which took place at five o'clock in the evening, was conducted with great solemnity. So ended a singularly useful and noble career.

A number of others who were trusted lieutenants and friends of Wesley passed away in the next few years. Mrs. Fletcher's thirty years of widowhood came to an end in 1815, when death called her away. If the saying is true, that "they mourn the dead who live as they desire," then Mary Fletcher truly mourned her husband; for these years of widowhood, spent in the parish where he had labored, were devoted to a continuation of the work that had lain so near his heart. The vicar who succeeded Mr. Fletcher was non-resident, and she rented the vicarage from him;



PRESIDENTS OF THE BRITISH CONFERENCE, 1864–1882.

52. William L. Thornton.
53. William Shaw.
54. William Arthur.
55. John Bedford.
56. Samuel Romilly Hall.
57. Frederick J. Jobson.
58. John H. James.
59. Luke H. Wiseman.
60. George T. Perks.
61. W. Morley Punshon.
62. Gervase Smith.
63. Alexander M'Aulay.
64. William B. Pope.
65. James H. Rigg.
66. Benjamin Gregory.
67. Ebenezer E. Jenkins.
68. Charles Garrett.

and in the appointment of curates her wishes were for long deferred to. She used her wealth to promote every good work within the bounds of the parish, spending little or nothing upon herself. For many years she had for companion an adopted daughter, Sally Lawrence, who, however, was cut off by consumption in the year 1800; but a Miss Tooth took her place and proved a worthy and devoted companion. Until the very year of her death nothing was done to disturb the friendly relations between the church people and the Methodists at Madeley. But in 1815 a new curate arrived, who believed it best for the church people and the people called Methodists to move in distinct lines. In this way Mrs. Fletcher and her people were, to use her own words, "pushed out;" and it proved a severe trial.

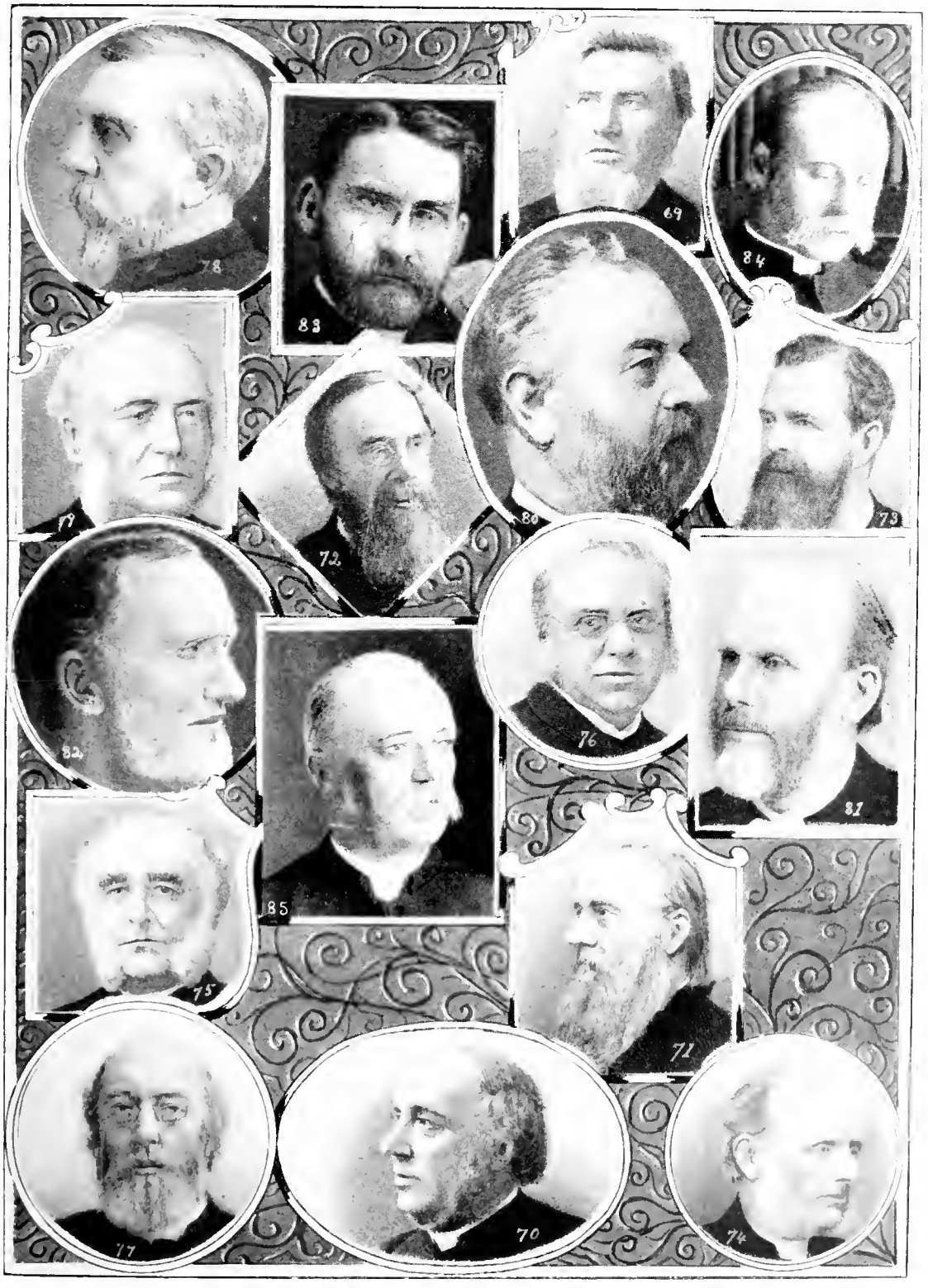
Another "devout woman" passed away in the same year, and was buried in the City-road Chapel burying-ground. This was Lady Mary Fitzgerald, a daughter of Lord John Hervey, the courtier of George the Second's reign, whose Memoirs reflect so little credit upon his heart, and whom Pope has pilloried in his satires:

Beauty that shocks you, parts that none will trust,
Wit that can creep, and pride that licks the dust.

His sons followed in their father's footsteps. Frederick, who entered the Church, and became Bishop of Derry, was a disgrace to the cloth, and lived out the remainder of an unhonored life at Naples. Mary Hervey, married to an Irish gentleman of wealth and family, had to apply for a separation because of his outrageous conduct; and the two sons born of the marriage were no comfort or credit to her. Brilliantly endowed, they could not control their passions, and both appeared as culprits in the courts; the younger ended his life on the gallows for the brutal murder of his coachman. To this sorely lacerated spirit the friendship and company of Wesley and of the Fletchers came as a soothing balm; and Lady Mary Fitzgerald became noted for the purity and fervor of her piety. She held an office at court, as lady of the bed-chamber to the Princess Amelia Sophia; but her heart was not in these worldly scenes. The physician who attended her in her last moments described her as "an incarnate angel."

The year 1816 saw the veteran Thomas Taylor pass away, after fifty years of service in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. Readers will remember how hard he found the task of planting a society among the grim Presbyterians of Glasgow. In the year 1796 he was chosen president of the Conference, and in this capacity had to pronounce the sentence of expulsion on Mr. Kilham. Again, in 1809, he was selected for the same high office, but on this occasion all was pleasant and harmonious. He died in harness. On October 13, 1816, he preached twice at Bolton in Lancashire; and, at the evening service, gave emphatic utterance to the remark: "I should like to die like an old soldier, sword in hand." He preached but once again, and that was on the following evening. When his host came to rouse him on the Tuesday morning, he found the aged man lying half-undressed by the bedside, in his last sleep. The poem of Montgomery's that is so widely known, beginning "Servant of God, well done!" was suggested by the dramatic circumstances of Taylor's death.

James Montgomery, a Moravian by upbringing and Scotch by birth, removed to Yorkshire, and spent there the most of his life. His associations with Methodism were naturally very close, and all



PRESIDENTS OF THE BRITISH CONFERENCE, 1883–1900.

69. Thomas M'Cullagh.
70. Frederic Greeves.
71. Richard Roberts.
72. Robert Newton Young.
73. John Walton.
74. Joseph Bush.
75. Charles H. Kelly.
76. William F. Moulton.
77. T. B. Stephenson.
78. Henry J. Pope.
79. Walford Green
80. David J. Waller.
81. Marshall Randles.
82. W. L. Watkinson.
83. Hugh Price Hughes.
84. Fred W. MacDonald.
85. Thomas Allen.

PRESIDENTS OF THE BRITISH WESLEYAN CONFERENCE, FROM 1791 TO 1900, SUCCESSORS OF JOHN WESLEY.

Date of Conference	Where Held	President	From What Circuit	Other Presidencies	Entered Ministry	Died
1791	Manchester	Thompson, William	Wakefield		1757	1799
1792	London	Mather, Alexander	Hull		1757	1800
1793	Leeds	Pawson, John	Liverpool	1801	1762	1806
1794	Bristol	Hanby, Thomas	Leeds		1754	1797
1795	Manchester	Bradford, Joseph	Bristol	1803	1770	1808
1796	London	Taylor, Thomas	Oldham	1809	1761	1816
1797	Leeds	Coke, Thos., LL. D.		1805	1776	1814
1798	Bristol	Benson, Joseph	Hull	1810	1771	1821
1799	Manchester	Bradburn, Samuel	Manchester		1774	1816
1800	London	Wood, James	London	1808	1773	1840
1801	Leeds	Pawson, John	Birstal	1793		
1802	Bristol	Taylor, Joseph, 1st	Burslem		1777	1830
1803	Manchester	Bradford, Joseph	Plymouth Dock	1795		
1804	London	Moore, Henry	Birmingham	1823	1779	1844
1805	Sheffield	Coke, Thos., LL. D.		1797		
1806	Leeds	Clarke, Adam, M. A., LL. D.	London	1814, 1822	1782	1832
1807	Liverpool	Barber, John	Sheffield	1815	1781	1816
1808	Bristol	Wood, James	Bristol	1800		
1809	Manchester	Taylor, Thomas	Wakefield	1796		
1810	London	Benson, Joseph	London	1798		
1811	Sheffield	Atmore, Charles	Hull		1781	1826
1812	Leeds	Entwisle, Joseph	Bristol	1825	1787	1841
1813	Liverpool	Griffith, Walter	Rochester		1784	1825
1814	Bristol	Clarke, Adam, M. A., LL. D.	London, East	1806, 1822		
1815	Manchester	Barber, John	Bristol	1807		
1816	London	Reece, Richard	Manchester	1835	1787	1850
1817	Sheffield	Gaulter, John	Rochester		1785	1839
1818	Leeds	Edmondson, Jonathan, M. A.	Birmingham		1786	1842
1819	Bristol	Crowther, John	Burslem		1784	1824
1820	Liverpool	Bunting, Jabez, A. M., D. D.	London, East	1828, 1836, 1844	1799	1858
1821	Manchester	Marsden, George	Leeds	1831	1793	1858
1822	London	Clarke, A., LL. D., F. S. A.	Salford, East	1806, 1814		
1823	Sheffield	Moore, Henry	London, North	1804		
1824	Leeds	Newton, Robert, D. D.	Salford	1832, 1840, 1848	1799	1854
1825	Bristol	Entwisle, Joseph	Birmingham	1812		
1826	Liverpool	Watson, Richard	London, North		1796	1833
1827	Manchester	Stephens, John	London, North		1792	1841
1828	London	Bunting, Jabez, A. M., D. D.	2d Manchester	1820, 1836, 1844		
1829	Sheffield	Townley, James, D. D.	London		1796	1833
1830	Leeds	Morley, George	Deptford		1792	1843
1831	Bristol	Marsden, George	2d London	1821		
1832	Liverpool	Newton, Robert, D. D.	3d Manchester	1824, 1840, 1848		
1833	Manchester	Treffry, Richard	Bristol, South		1792	1842
1834	London	Taylor, Joseph, 2d	1st London		1803	1845
1835	Sheffield	Reece, Richard	3d London	1816		
1836	Birmingham	Bunting, Jabez, A. M., D. D.	London	1820, 1828, 1844		
1837	Leeds	Grindrod, Edmund	1st London		1806	1842

PRESIDENTS OF THE BRITISH WESLEYAN CONFERENCE, FROM 1791 TO 1900, SUCCESSORS OF JOHN WESLEY.—CONTINUED.

Date of Conference	Where Held	President	From What Circuit	Other Presidencies	Entered Ministry	Died
1838	Bristol	Jackson, Thomas	London	1849	1804	1873
1839	Liverpool	Lessey, Theophilus	6th London		1808	1841
1840	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Newton, Robert, D. D.	2d Leeds	1824, 1832, 1848		
1841	Manchester	Dixon, James, D. D.	3d Manchester		1812	1871
1842	London	Hannah, John, M. A., D. D.	Didsbury	1851	1814	1867
1843	Sheffield	Scott, John	1st London	1852	1811	1868
1844	Birmingham	Bunting, Jabez, A. M., D. D.	London	1820, 1828, 1836		
1845	Leeds	Stanley, Jacob	4th London		1797	1850
1846	Bristol	Atherton, William	6th London		1797	1850
1847	Liverpool	Jackson, Samuel	8th London		1806	1861
1848	Hull	Newton, Robert, D. D.	Stockport, North	1822, 1832, 1840		
1849	Manchester	Jackson, Thomas	Richmond	1838	1804	1873
1850	London	Beecham, John, D. D.	London		1815	1856
1851	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Hannah, John, M. A., D. D.	Didsbury	1842	1814	1867
1852	Sheffield	Scott, John	London	1843	1811	1868
1853	Bradford	Lomas, John	5th Manchester		1820	1877
1854	Birmingham	Farrar, John	Richmond	1870	1822	
1855	Leeds	Keeling, Isaac	8th London		1811	1869
1856	Bristol	Young, Robert	1st London		1820	1865
1857	Liverpool	West, Francis A.	9th London		1822	1869
1858	Hull	Bowers, John	Didsbury		1813	1866
1859	Manchester	Waddy. Samuel D., D. D.	Sheffield		1825	1876
1860	London	Stamp, Wm. Wood, D. D.	London		1823	1877
1861	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Rattenbury, John	London		1828	1879
1862	Camborne	Prest, Charles	London		1829	1875
1863	Sheffield	Osborn, George, D. D.	London		1829	
1864	Bradford	Thornton, Wm. L., M. A.	London		1830	1865
1865	Birmingham	Shaw, William	London		1820	1872
1866	Leeds	Arthur, William, M. A.	London		1838	
1867	Bristol	Bedford, John	Manchester		1831	1879
1868	Liverpool	Hall, Samuel Romilly.	Manchester		1836	1876
1869	Hull	Jobson, Frederick J., D. D.	London		1834	1881
1870	Burslem	Farrar, John	Leeds	1854	1822	
1871	Manchester	James, John H., D. D.	London		1836	
1872	London	Wiseman, Luke H., M. A.	Mission House		1840	1875
1873	Newcastle	Perks, George T., M. A.	Mission House		1840	1877
1874	Camborne	Punshon, W. Morley, LL. D.	London		1845	1881
1875	Sheffield	Smith, Gervase, D. D.	London		1844	1882
1876	Nottingham	M'Aulay, Alexander	London		1840	
1877	Bristol	Pope, William Burt, D. D.	Didsbury		1841	
1878	Bradford	Rigg, James H., D. D.	London		1845	
1879	Birmingham	Gregory, Benjamin, D. D.	Editor London		1840	
1880	London	Jenkins, Ebenezer E., M. A.	Mission Society		1845	
1881	Liverpool	Osborn, George, D. D.	Theological In.	1863	1829	
1882	Leeds	Garrett, Charles	Liverpool Mission		1849	
1883	Hull	M'Cullagh, Thomas	Liverpool		1845	
1884	Burslem	Greeves, Frederic, D. D.	London		1855	
1885	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Roberts, Richard	London		1845	
1886	London	Young, R. Newton, D. D.	London		1854	
1887	Manchester	Walton, John, M. A.			1846	
1888	Camborne	Bush, Joseph			1852	

PRESIDENTS OF THE BRITISH WESLEYAN CONFERENCE, FROM 1791 TO 1900, SUCCESSORS OF JOHN WESLEY.—CONCLUDED.

Date of Conference	WHERE HELD	PRESIDENT	FROM WHAT CIRCUIT	OTHER PRESIDENCIES	Entered Ministry	Died
1889	Sheffield	Kelly, Charles Henry, D. D.			1857	
1890	Bristol	Moulton, William F., D. D.	Leys School		1858	1898
1891	Nottingham	Stephenson, T. B., D.D., LL. D.			1860	
1892	Bradford	Rigg, James H., D. D.		1878	1845	
1893	Cardiff	Pope, Henry J., D. D.			1858	
1894	Birmingham	Green, Walford			1858	
1895	Plymouth	Waller, David J., D. D.			1857	
1896	Liverpool	Randles, Marshall, D. D.			1852	
1897	Leeds	Watkinson, W. L.	Editor		1858	
1898	Hull	Hughes, Hugh Price, M. A.	Editor		1867	
1899	London	MacDonald, F. W.	Missionary Room			
1900	Burslem	Allen, Thomas, D. D.	Handsworth Col.		1859	

the circumstances of Taylor's life and death were immediately familiar to him.

DEATH OF A VETERAN.

Servant of God, well done!
Rest from thy loved employ:
The battle fought, the victory won,
Enter thy Master's joy!
The voice at midnight came;
He started up to hear;
A mortal arrow pierced his frame;
He fell, but felt no fear.

At midnight came the cry,
"To meet thy God prepare!"
He woke, and caught his Captain's eye;
Then, strong in faith and prayer,
His spirit with a bound
Left its encumbering clay:
His tent, at sunrise, on the ground
A darkened ruin lay.

The pains of death are past,
Labor and sorrow cease,
And life's long warfare closed at last,
His soul is found in peace.
Soldier of Christ, well done!
Praise be thy new employ;
And, while eternal ages run,
Rest in thy Saviour's joy.

In the chapter dealing with the camp-meeting, an account has been given of the rise and progress of the people called Primitive Methodists. These English Primitive Methodists must not be confounded with the Irish organization of the same name, which separated several years later from the regular societies, and from a totally different cause. The leading spirit of this later secession was the Rev. Adam Averell, or Averill, frequently mentioned by Lorenzo Dow in his Journal as having assisted him at mission meetings. Mr. Averell was a priest in deacon's orders of the English Church, and had attached himself to Mr. Wesley, laboring without stipend, as he was possessed of some private means.

The struggle over the administration of the sacraments, which nearly "rent in twain" the English societies during the four years following Wesley's death, was delayed for a score of years in the more conservative religious atmosphere of the sister isle. At length, in the year 1814, it had become a burning question. Petitions were received at the Conference of that year from several societies praying that the ordinances might be administered within their own places of worship; and a motion that was submitted favorable to these petitions was carried by a majority of ten. Next day, however, the minority succeeded in carrying an amendment, by which the operation of this vote was suspended for one year. The results were deplorable. Two sep-

RUTHIN CASTLE, WALES.

arate camps were formed within the pale of the societies, and this policy of supposed conciliation proved a veritable fanning of the flame of faction. In the Conference of 1815 the conservative party presented a long "Remonstrance from the Dublin Leaders;" and the result of the whole discussion was a resolution to the effect that "an affectionate letter be sent to the petitioners, saying that Mr. Averell will meet their wants as far as possible." Mr. Averell had inherited all the churchly ideas of Charles Wesley, and was sternly opposed to the trans-

RUTHIN, WALES.
Where the great Centenary gathering of Welsh Methodism was held in July, 1900

formation of the United Societies into a separate church. He considered that the aim of Methodism was not to create a new sect, but to act as an aid and stimulus to existing Protestant churches.

The legislation of 1815 gave so much umbrage that some of the leading preachers in the Church neglected the prohibition and administered the sacraments; among them the excellent Matthew Lanktree, one of the pillars of Irish Methodism. When Mr. Averell, anxious to preserve discipline, wrote to the superintendent of Lanktree's district, demanding his suspension, the superintendent refused to bring him to trial. At the next Conference, Dr. Adam Clarke presiding, eight preachers were arraigned for insubordination, and were censured and disciplined. But the temper of the meeting began to change; and a vote favorable to those who petitioned for the sacraments was passed by a majority of nearly three to one. The final outcome was a secession of the conservatives. What was called the Clones Conference met in the year 1818, on the invitation of Mr. Averell, and framed the "General Principles of the Primitive Methodists," in which they declared themselves not to be a church, but merely a society. Thereafter, for sixty years, the stream of Irish Methodism flowed on in two distinct currents. Eight years after the disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Episcopal Church by Mr. Gladstone's government, the two bodies, having framed a basis of union, came together into one church.

The Welsh Methodists took measures to consolidate into a church early in the century. In the year 1800 they published "The Order and Form of Church Government," and ten years later they began to ordain their ministers. Calvinist in creed, they leaned more to the Presbyterian form of church government, and their constitution finally became a modified Presbyterianism. In July of 1900 the centenary of the Welsh Wesleyan Church was celebrated in the quaint old town of Ruthin, and as many as ten thousand Methodists are computed to have taken part in the celebration. The two missionaries, Owen Davies and John Hughes, who labored a hundred years ago, are represented to-day by one hundred and forty preachers of the gospel, and the places of worship have grown to four hundred. The meeting was the largest and most representative that Welsh Wesleyanism has ever seen.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CIRCUIT-RIDER BUSY AT WORK.

THE period of McKendree's greatest vigor and activity as a bishop was marked by an extraordinary flow of emigration westward. The new state of Ohio had early in the century made exhausting drafts upon the population of the Atlantic states, and now the rich lands of Indiana, Illinois and Missouri were tempting the hardy sons of the soil to press still further inland. It was a wise step, therefore, in the new superintendent to make himself personally acquainted with territory that promised so soon to be dotted with hamlets, with villages, and with busy towns.

The route he chose lay through West Virginia and eastern Tennessee. He then crossed through a portion of Illinois, and came to the "Father of Waters" some miles above its junction with the muddy Missouri. Entering the state of Missouri, he met there his old friend, Jesse Walker, with whom he held a camp-meeting on the twenty-eighth day of July. It was this Jesse Walker who organized the first Methodist class in St. Louis, now a great stronghold of Methodism.

What troubled the good bishop most in his travels was the bad water and the plague of flies. As he and his companions proceeded on their way, the people of the various settlements would come out to meet them. At one place about thirty of the neighbors fell in with them, and, placing the best singers in front, formed a joyous cavalcade which sang God's praises like pilgrims of old.

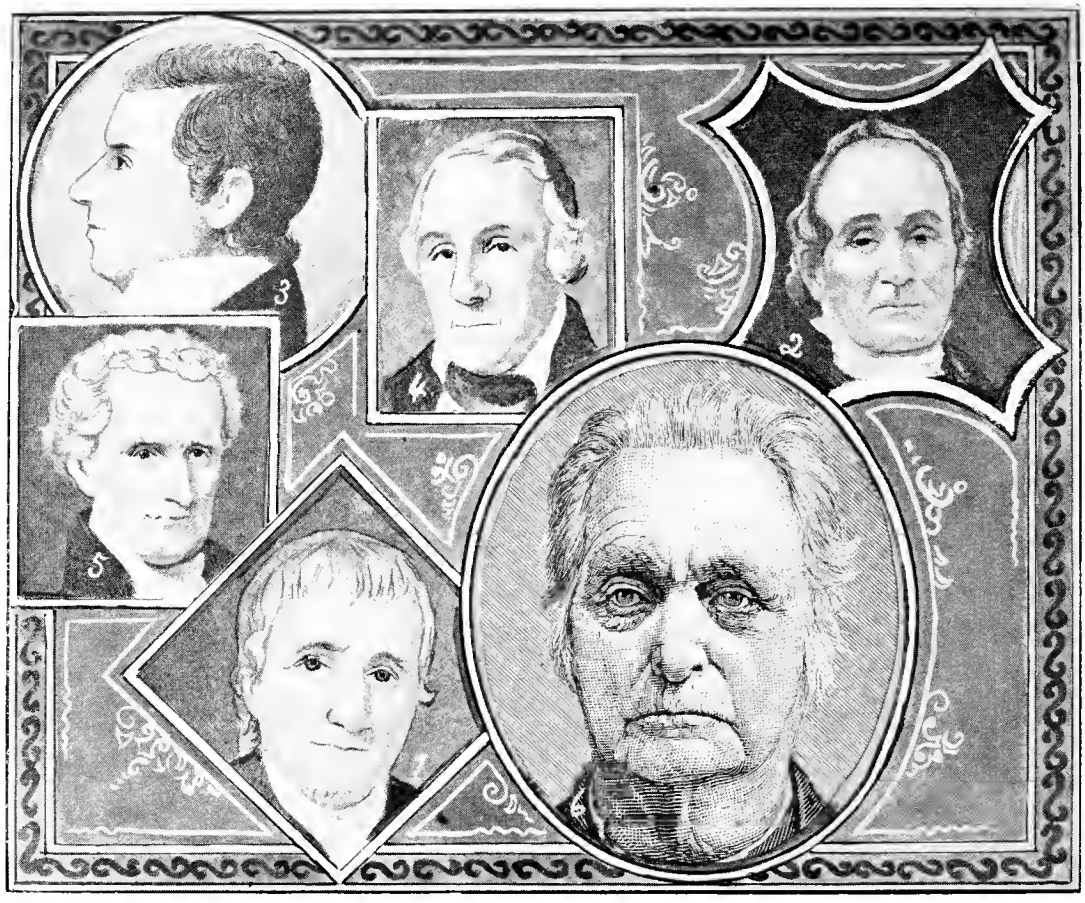
Crossing the Missouri, McKendree again turned eastward, and came to St. Louis early in August, where he ferried across the Mississippi. Five days later he reached Big Spring, where he had been present the year before at a large camp-meeting. The people were overjoyed to see him, and many conversions followed.

These were four months of hardship and exposure, during which he had ridden fifteen hundred miles through territory that was in great part mere wilderness, without roads, bridges or ferries. Many nights he had to sleep under the canopy of heaven. No wonder that he should eventually fall sick, and have perforce to rest. This first extensive frontier visitation made by a Methodist bishop produced an excellent effect on the membership in general. It was evident that he was no haughty ecclesiastic, but a hard-working, humble-minded, yet withal dignified and able Christian pastor, whose meat and drink it was to win souls for the Master.

The most recent historian of this period of American history, in the fifth volume of his History[1] has two interesting paragraphs bearing witness to the lasting influence which Methodist preachers exercised on the expanding West during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Professor McMaster evidently regards them as the *typical evangelists* of the era:

"His (the circuit-rider's) vocation was rarely a matter of accident or choice. He had been called to it by the voice of the Lord God of Israel. Judged by his own estimate of himself, he was a brand snatched from the burning. He had committed no particular sin; he had broken no commandment; yet he had in his own eyes begun life a sinner, and had long refused to listen to the voice of the Lord pleading with him. But at last he

[1] McMaster's "History of the People of the United States," Vol. v., Chap. xliv., p. 159. (1900.)



EDWARD TIFFIN AND OTHER METHODISTS OF NOTE IN THE EARLIER PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

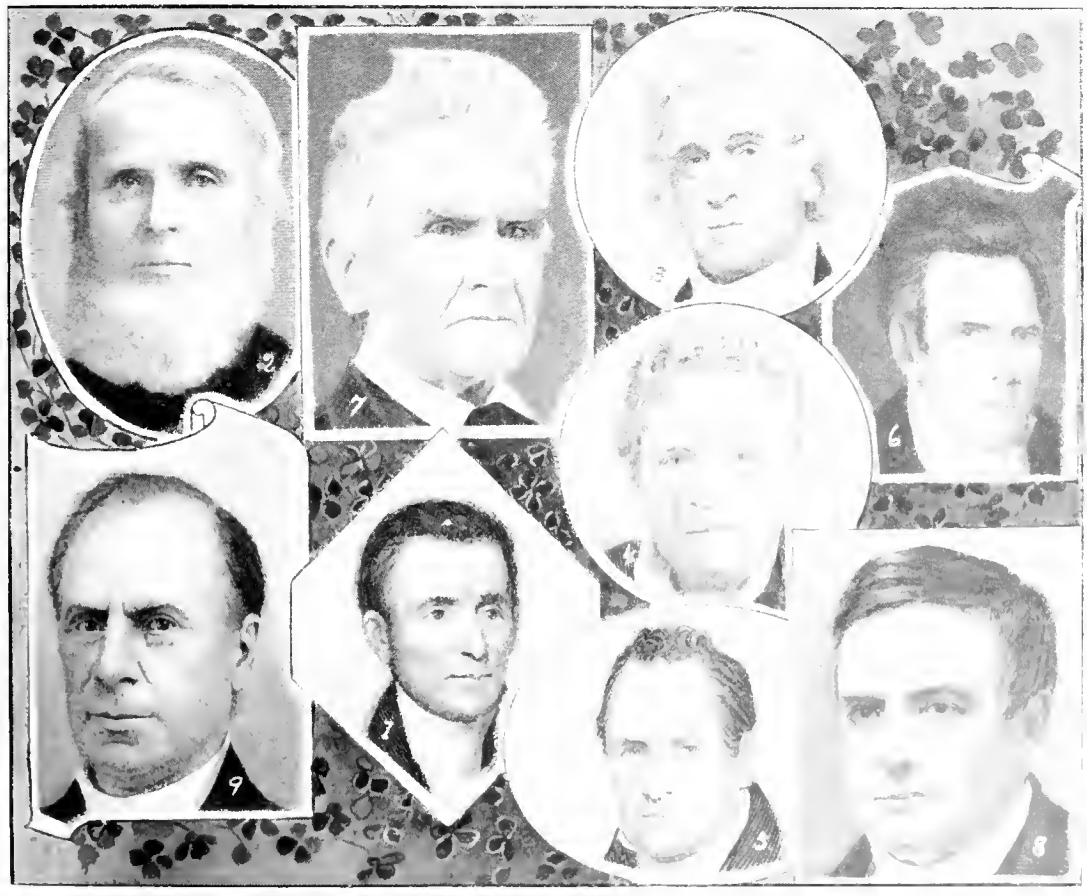
1. HENRY SMITH; born, 1769, in Frederick City, Maryland; entered the itineracy in 1793; one of the founders of Methodism in Ohio; died about 1836. 2. JACOB YOUNG; born in Virginia; joined the itineracy in 1808; labored in Ohio from 1811 to 1849. 3. EDWARD TIFFIN; first governor of Ohio; a Methodist preacher; born in England, 1766; died, 1829. 4. WILLIAM BURKE; born in Virginia, 1770; converted, 1790; licensed to preach, 1791; died, 1855. 5. JOHN COLLINS; born in New Jersey, 1769; removed to Clermont county, Ohio, 1803; died, 1845. 6. ALFRED BRUNSON; a pioneer preacher in Ohio and one of the founders of Methodism in the Northwest Territory; presiding elder, chaplain of Ohio legislature, and missionary to the Indians.

had come to his senses, and, after a spiritual experience as terrible as that of Bunyan, had passed safely through the Dark Valley and had reached the House Beautiful. Thenceforth he regarded himself as an instrument of God for saving the souls of men, and went to his work sustained by a faith that never wavered and animated by a zeal that never flagged.

"For the work which lay before him he needed little other equipment. There were, he readily admitted, many paths to grace; but the safest and the surest was that pointed out by John Wesley, to whom he looked up as the greatest teacher the world had seen since the advent of Christ. For education, for book-learning he had no inclination. He knew the Bible as he knew his own name, accepted the good book with child-like credulity, and expounded its teachings with the utmost literalness, in the plainest words and with an intensity of manner that carried conviction and aroused repentance in the rudest frontiersman. This, with a good constitution, a horse and a pair of saddle-bags, was equipment enough. What he should eat or wherewith he should be clothed

concerned him not. "*The Lord will provide*" was his comfortable belief, and experience justified his faith. His circuit was of such an extent that he was constantly on the route; but it mattered not. Devoted to his calling, he rode his circuit in spite of every obstacle man or nature could put in his way. No settlement was so remote, no rain was so drenching, no river so swollen, no cold so bitter, as to deter him in his work, or to prevent him from keeping an engagement to preach to a handful of frontiersmen. Over such men his influence was boundless. We read in the accounts of camp-meetings of great crowds of the plainest and roughest of men held spell-bound by his rude oratory, or thrown prostrate with an excitement which did not by any means pass away with the occasion. It is not too much to say that the religious life of the Middle West to-day bears distinct traces of the efforts of the Methodist itinerants in the early years of the century."

It was to meet a body of such men that McKendree pushed on to Liberty Hill, Tennessee, where the Western Con-



NATHAN BANGS AND OTHER METHODISTS OF NOTE IN THE EARLIER PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1. S. LUCKEY; born in New York, 1791; some time editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, New York; died, 1869. 2. J. F. WRIGHT; born in North Carolina, 1795; joined the Virginia Conference, 1815; book agent at Cincinnati, Ohio, 1832. 3. NATHAN BANGS; born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1778; converted, 1800; joined the New York Conference, 1802. 4. JOSEPH TRAVIS; born in Maryland, 1786; joined the traveling connection, 1805; preacher and teacher in South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana Conferences; died in Mississippi, 1858. 5. M. RICHARDSON, of the New York Conference. 6. ROBERT HOPKINS, of the Pittsburgh Conference. 7. MICHAEL MARLAY; born, 1797, in Berkeley county, Virginia; converted, 1809; settled in Ohio, 1818; joined the traveling connection, 1831. 8. L. SWORMSTEDT; born in Maryland, 1798; joined the Ohio Conference, 1818; principal agent Cincinnati Book Concern, 1844 to 1860; died, 1863. 9. ZECHARIAH PADDOCK; born in New York state, 1798; licensed to preach, 1818.

ference was to open its sessions on the first day of October. Asbury, who had been traveling in Ohio, joined him on the twenty-fourth of September, and together they passed through Nashville. The Conference was the first at which McKendree presided; and he proved himself an able occupant of the chair. In the wide field under the supervision of this Conference, some fifty-five preachers had been employed during the year. The reports brought in were very encouraging—of opening prospects, of religious revivals, and of growing spirituality. There was

FIRST METHODIST CHURCH—ALSO THE FIRST PROTESTANT CHURCH—BUILT IN MICHIGAN.

Erected in 1818, six miles from Detroit. In 1851, James Shaw, presiding elder of the Detroit district, Elijah H. Pilcher, pastor of the Woodward Avenue Church, George Taylor, of Congress Street, and Lorenzo Price, of Lafayette Street Church, in that city, went out to the old church and carried off all the timber sufficiently sound. They had it made into canes, which were sold at the succeeding Annual Conference and the proceeds were given to the Missionary Society.

an increase of two thousand members, and a call for eighty preachers.

For seven days, in the woods at Liberty Hill, the Conference lasted, and then the two bishops again mounted the saddle and were off for a tour in the South. The companionship of so congenial an associate as McKendree must have helped to ease Asbury's heavy burden in this last period of his active life. In an entry made at Augusta, Georgia, in Christmas week of 1808, there are some interesting details of their manner of traveling. "We are riding," writes Asbury, "in a poor thirty-dollar chaise, in partnership, two bishops of us, but it must be confessed it tallies well with the weight of our purses; what bishops! well: but we hear great news, and we have great times, and each Western, Southern, and the Virginia Conference will have one thousand souls truly converted to God."

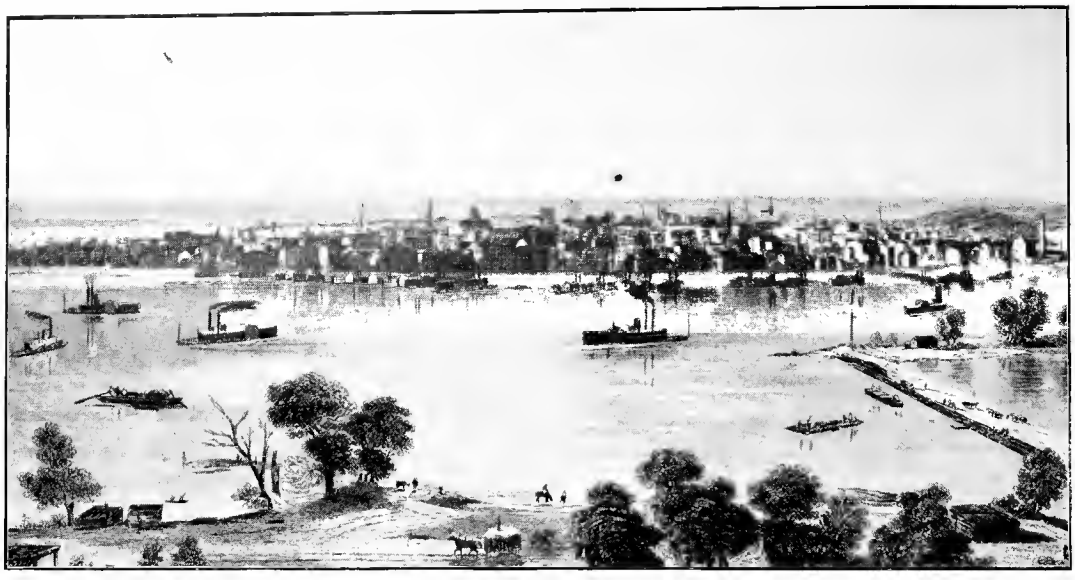
The two bishops attended in company all the Annual Conferences, but between times they separated, and took different routes, so that they might cover more ground and exercise a completer supervision over the work. This seems to have been Asbury's proposition, and not wholly congenial to McKendree, who enjoyed the companionship and advice of his veteran colleague. He records his disappointment in his Journal, in an entry dated June 5, 1809: "We met (at Boston), but what was my disappointment when, before I was seated, the old gentleman, in a very pleasing mood, presented me with a new plan, which directed us to different routes. Accordingly, after a few hours, we parted." Boehm, who accompanied Asbury, was very useful in preaching in German to settlers of his own race, many of whom had listened to no preaching whatever since they left the Fatherland, and now joined in the service with visible signs of emotion.

The fact that he was becoming old was borne in upon Asbury at the Philadelphia Conference, which he attended in the spring of 1809. He preached in historic St. George's from the text: *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts: Consider your ways.* (Haggai i. 7.) The sermon he delivered before the Conference three days later carried back the memories of some of the hearers thirty-eight years;

FORDING THE WABASH.

for, in the year 1771, he had preached in the same place upon the same subject. The atmosphere of Philadelphia was not congenial to Asbury; it was too coldly critical, being a center of Presbyterianism, for which he had no love. He found a tone of political partisanship present among the members which was little to his mind; and matrimony too popular among the itinerant preachers. Six out of the twelve preachers who had no stations were married, and this, with a widow's maintenance added, greatly increased expenses. "I never," he remarks in an entry made at the first stopping-place east of Philadelphia, "I never wish to meet the Conference in Philadelphia again."

Next year, when he visited Massachusetts, we find him again recording his impatience at the eagerness of the preachers to get married. "Our preachers," he states, "get wives and a home, and run to their *dears* almost every night: how can they, by personal observation, know the state of the families it is a part of their duty to watch over for good?" It was on this tour that he first read the recently published History of Methodism by Jesse Lee, which he characterized as more satisfactory than he had expected. "He has not," adds the



ST. LOUIS AS IT APPEARED ABOUT 1850.

bishop, "always presented me under the most favorable aspect; but we are all liable to mistakes, and I am unmoved by his." One correction he wanted to make, connected with the work he had done during his enforced seclusion in Delaware, when the Revolutionary War was at its height. This had not been, as Lee asserted, a period of inactivity; on the contrary, he believed it to be the most active and useful part of his life. During these years eighteen hundred members were added to the society, and a broad foundation was laid for the later wonderful success of Methodism in these quarters.

Peter Cartwright was a circuit-rider after McKendree's own heart. Around his name linger many racy stories, two of which we may quote. They are taken from Milburn's "The Lance, Cross, and Canoe:"

"In one of his early circuits, at a quarterly meeting, his presiding elder, the renowned William McKendree, asked the customary question: 'Are there any complaints against the preacher?'

"An old brother arose, and hitching up his nether garments, which had no support but his hips, and expectorating a mouthful of tobacco juice into the fireplace, said: 'Brother McKendree, that young preacher of ourn won't do for the work; he's not fitten.'

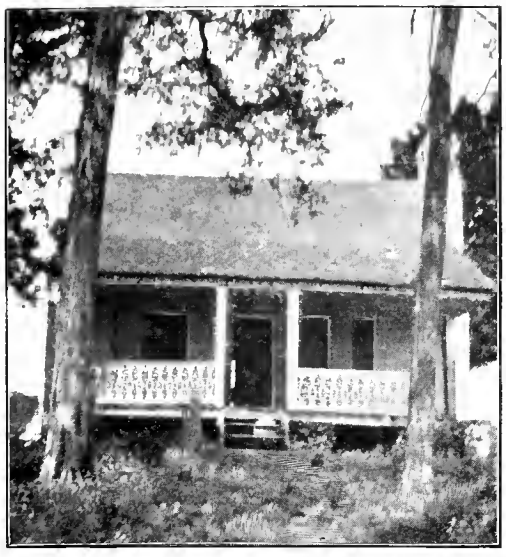
"The young preacher flushed and grew pale by turns, his heart beating violently.

"The elder said: 'Brother, what's the matter with Cartwright?'

"'He's given up to the pomps and vanities of this wicked world. Brother McKendree, I reckon you and the other brethren will hardly believe me when I tell you that young man is such a slave of fashion that he wears gallusses' (*i. e.*, suspenders).

"That night Cartwright was much comforted, on going to bed in the same room with him, to find that Brother McKendree also wore 'gallusses.'

"He once rode to a ferry upon the Sangamon river; the country about was rather thickly settled, and he found a crowd of people at the ferry, which was a gathering-place for discussing politics. The ferryman, a herculean fellow, was holding forth at the top of his voice about an old renegade, one Peter Cartwright,



HOME OF THE REV. GREEN HILL,
Situated about twelve miles from Nashville, Tennessee. An Annual Conference was held at Liberty Hill in 1808, the business of which was transacted at this house. McKendree presided, though Asbury was present.

prefixing a good many adjectives to his name, and declaring that if he ever came that way he would drown him in the river.

"Cartwright, who was unknown to any one present, now coming up, said: 'I want you to put me across.'

"'You can wait till I am ready,' said the ferryman.

"Cartwright knew it was of no use to complain; and the ferryman, when he had got through with his speech, signified his readiness to take him over. The preacher rode his horse into the boat, and the ferryman commenced to push across. All Cartwright wanted was fair play; he wished to make a public exhibition of this man, and, moreover, was glad of an opportunity to state his principles. About half way over, therefore, throwing his bridle over the stake on one side of the boat, he told the ferryman to lay down his pole.

"'What's the matter?' asked the man.

"'Well,' said he, 'you have just been using my name improperly, and saying that if ever I came this way you would drown me in the river. I'm going to give you a chance.'

"'Are you Peter Cartwright?'

"'Yes.'

"And the ferryman, nothing loth, pulled in his pole, and at it they went. They grappled in a minute, and Cartwright, being very agile as well as athletic, succeeded in catching him by the nape of the neck and the slack of his breeches, whirled him over and soused him in the tide, while the companions of the vanquished ferryman looked on, the distance insuring fair play. Cartwright plunged him under again, and raising him said: 'I baptize thee in the name of the devil, whose child thou art.' He thus immersed him thrice, and then drawing him up again, inquired: 'Did you ever pray?'

"'No,' answered the ferryman, strangling and coughing in a pitiful manner.

"'Then it's time you did,' said Cartwright; 'I'll teach you; say: "Our Father who art in Heaven."'

"'I won't,' said the ferryman.

"Down he went again. Then lifting him out: 'Will you pray now?'

"The poor ferryman, nearly choked to death, wanted to gain time, and to

WANDA CHURCH, ILLINOIS, ON THE SITE OF THE OLD SALEM CAMP-GROUND.

consider. 'Let me breathe and think,' he said.

"'No,' answered the relentless preacher, 'I won't; I'll make you,' and he immersed him again. At length he drew him out, and asked a third time: 'Will you pray now?'

"'I will do anything,' was the broken-spirited answer.

"So Cartwright made him repeat the Lord's Prayer.

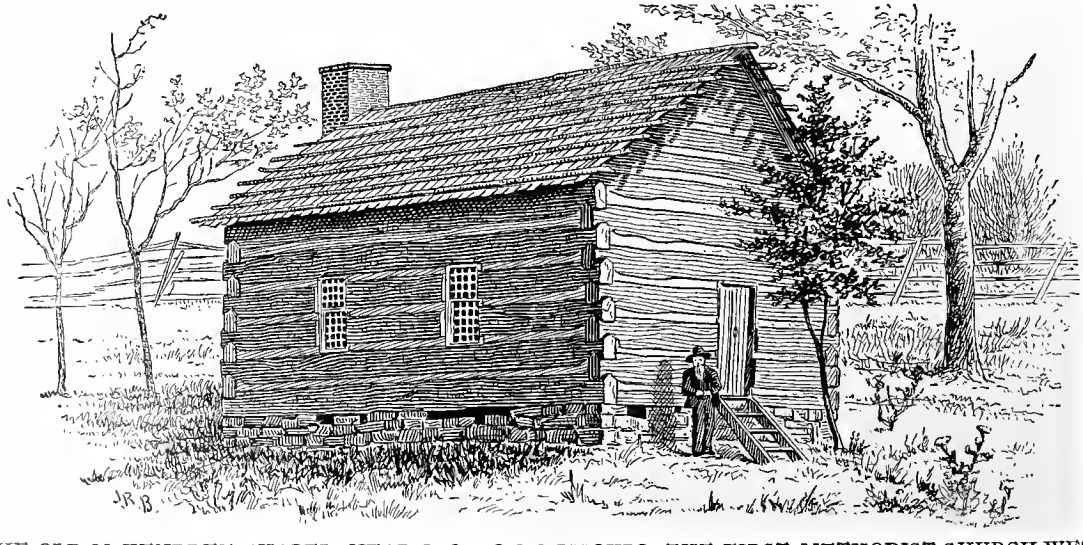
"'Now, let me up,' demanded the unwilling convert.

"'No,' said Cartwright, 'not yet. Make me three promises: that you will repeat that prayer every morning and night; that you will put every Methodist minister across this ferry free of expense; and that you will go to hear every one that preaches within five miles, henceforth.'

"Cartwright raised him from the water and laid him in the bottom of the boat, seized the pole, pushed the boat to the shore, and went on his way. The ferryman kept his promise, brought forth fruits meet for repentance, and in time joined the Church and became a useful member."

BISHOP ENOCH GEORGE.

In these closing years of Bishop Asbury's life there are many references to the work in Ohio, into which emigrants from the older states were then pouring. In the year 1809 the two bishops visited the state, in order to be present at the annual Western Conference, to be held at Cincinnati. "Our route through the prairies," remarks Asbury, "the weeds as high as our heads on horseback, showed us on Monday almost every desirable comfort but pure water. On Thursday we came down Little and Great Miami; the rich lands of these rivers are occupied by New-Lights, Shakers, Methodists—and sinners, to be sure. Here (at Little Miami) are folks from most of the Eastern states: they have good land, and this rarely makes people any better." In this dis-



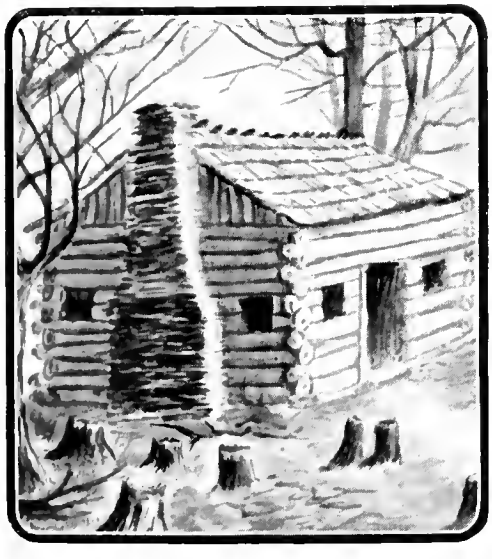
THE OLD McKENDREE CHAPEL, NEAR JACKSON, MISSOURI—THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

The chapel is in a good state of preservation. Four Annual Conferences were held here—in 1819, 1821, 1826 and 1831. The bishops presiding were George, Roberts (twice) and Soule.

trict seventeen camp-meetings had been held during the year; and the bishop realized the important influence these exercised in the gathering in of members. Cincinnati pleased him; he calls it in his Journal "fair Cincinnati." In the following year, when he returned to these parts, the beauty of the scenery made a particular impression upon him. "On Wednesday I preached in a school-house on a bluff opposite Blennerhassett's Island. Colonel Putnam, son of the renowned general of that name, invited me to the house of Waldo, grandson of the old chief. I had a very interesting interview with several Revolutionary officers, emigrants to the country, from good old Massachusetts. Thursday we took our departure from the banks of the *beautiful river* (the Ohio)—beautiful indeed! How rich the hanging scenery of its wood-crowned hills!"

RESIDENCE OF "FATHER" WRIGHT, NEAR EDWARDSVILLE, ILLINOIS.

In 1817, the first Illinois Conference, Bishop Roberts presiding, was held in this house. The engraving is from a recent photograph.



BETHEL MEETING-HOUSE.

This represents the first Methodist church edifice erected in Illinois Territory. It was built in 1805 and stood about two miles south of Edwardsville in what was known as "the old Goshen settlement."

The year 1812 is memorable in the history of Ohio Methodism. On the first day of October there met at Chillicothe the first session of the Ohio Conference. Hitherto there had been a joint Ohio and Tennessee Conference, but the rapid increase of the work made a separation necessary. The Western Conference, formed by Bishop Asbury in 1796, and embracing all the territory west of the Alleghany mountains, included in 1805 twenty-six circuits, five districts, and thirty-seven preachers. Five years later Ohio alone contained almost as many circuits and preachers. When organized in 1812, it contained six districts—Ohio, Muskingum, Scioto, Miami, Kentucky, and Salt River—and was thus by no means coterminous with the state.

The first governor of Ohio was a Methodist local preacher, and a resident of Chillicothe. Dr. Edward Tiffin was born in the ancient city of Carlisle, in England, ten years before the Declaration of Independence. When about eighteen

MA-NUNCUE (1) AND "BETWEEN-THE-LOGS" (2).
Two Indian chiefs of the Wyandot tribe, who were licensed preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

years of age, having then begun the study of medicine, he removed with his parents to Virginia, where he finished his medical training and began to practice. The preacher who effected a change in the doctor's life was the Rev. Thomas Scott, then serving on the Berkeley circuit; a very young man, still in his teens, whose extreme youthfulness attracted attention. After preaching to a lay gathering in a grove near the town of Charleston, Scott invited all who were in earnest about their souls to meet him at the house of his host, a Mr. Anderson. A number came, among them Edward Tiffin, evidently in great anguish of spirit. The result was the formation of a vigorous society in the place, and the immediate entrance of Doctor Tiffin into the ranks of the local preachers. So eager was he to preach that he did not even wait for a license. And yet the responsibility often weighed upon him so heavily as to throw him into an agony of indecision.

Two years later, in the year 1792, Doctor Tiffin was ordained a deacon by Bishop Asbury, who conceived a warm attachment for the young physician. After four years he followed the westward drift that was so marked a feature of the period, and settled in the village of Chillicothe, then newly laid out by General Nathaniel Massie on the banks of the Scioto river. It was still only partially cleared of forest. At the upper end of the town, on a four-acre lot, the doctor erected the first house in the place that boasted a shingle roof.

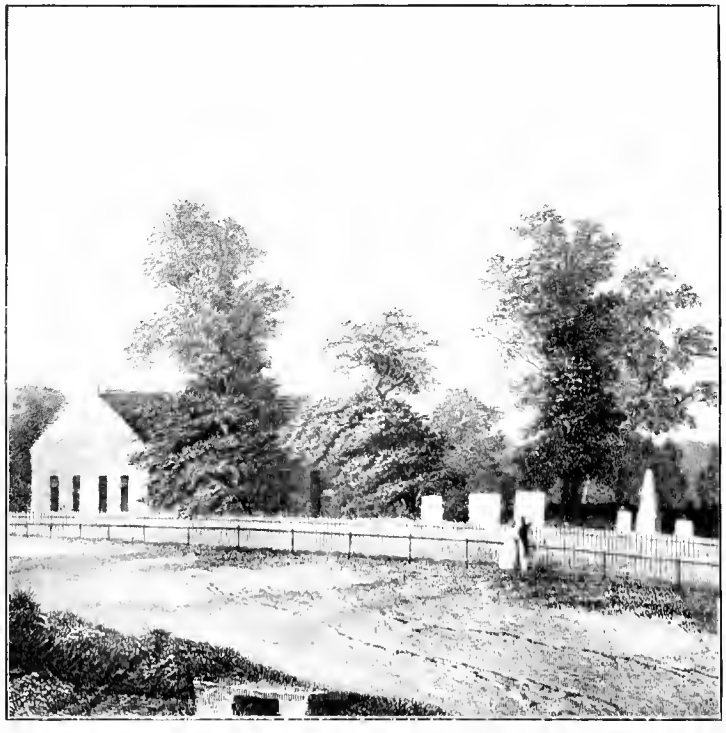
A recent writer has painted for us with a master's hand the type of a whole-souled, godly country physician. The good *Doctor William McClure* of Ian Maclaren's "Auld Licht Idylls" had an American prototype in Doctor Tiffin.

REV. FRANCIS McCORMICK,
Founder of the Methodist Church in the Northwestern Territory. Born in Frederick county, Virginia, in 1764; began to preach in Bourbon county, Kentucky, in 1795. Founded McCormick Settlement, near Cincinnati, Ohio.

Prompt in responding to all calls for medical aid even when he knew that the patient was unable to pay him a fee, he faced wind and weather, heat and floods, by night and by day; and missed no opportunity of mingling spiritual help with the professional aid that he afforded. Many a sufferer's moments of agony were relieved by his fervent prayers by the bedside.

Before any of the itinerants had visited the district, he had organized a society at Deer Creek, about twelve miles north of Chillicothe, and ministered to it on Sundays. In all his Christian labors he was aided and encouraged by his excellent wife, a sister of Thomas Worthington, who also became a governor of Ohio. In religious services in Chillicothe itself—excepting family devotions in his own house—the doctor, for reasons that were satisfactory to himself and his intimate friends, took no part whatever.

In the year 1802 there was held a convention for the purpose of adopting a constitution and forming a state government for Ohio. To this convention Doctor Tiffin came as one of the delegates from Ross county; and received the signal honor of being chosen its president. The meeting spent thirty days in the performance of its arduous and important business, and framed a constitution which lasted for nearly half a century, and is remembered in educational annals as containing the first provision in the new West for a system of public schools. That the president had discharged his duties to the satisfaction of all concerned was shown by his unanimous election in the following year to the governorship. Two years later he was re-elected to this responsible office; and it was during this second term of office that he had to deal with Aaron Burr's conspiracy. The rendezvous of the twelve boats that were to convey the expedition to the South was at Blennerhassett's Island on the Ohio river, the very attractive residence of Harman Blennerhassett. The prompt measures taken by the state authorities



THE GRAVE OF FRANCIS McCORMICK, NEAR MILFORD, OHIO.

frustrated the designs of the conspirators, and Burr became a fugitive. President Jefferson sent to Governor Tiffin, on February 2, 1807, a letter thanking him and the legislature of Ohio for their prompt action in crushing the enterprise.

From the governor's chair Doctor Tiffin went up to the senate, succeeding his brother-in-law, Thomas Worthington; and later was appointed surveyor-general of the United States. His death occurred in the year 1829. During his

GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT.

The parents of General Grant were active members of the Methodist Church at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio. It was not until near the close of his life, however, that he received Christian baptism, which was administered by his pastor and friend, the Rev. Dr. J. P. (afterward Bishop) Newman.

lifetime he never ceased from preaching, and three of his sermons, delivered in the year 1817, find a place in Gaddis' "Ohio Conference Offering." At quarterly and camp-meetings in his neighborhood he was always assigned one or more of the chief appointments. Such men as Tiffin, faithful and accomplished citizens, helped to build up society in Ohio, and to give the state that prominent position in the Union of which its inhabitants may well be proud.

There are various interesting references to Doctor Tiffin in Asbury's Journal. The bishop visited Deer Creek in the autumn of 1809, and preached in the barn of Mr. White Brown. A recent camp-meeting had added seventy to the

JULIA DENT GRANT.

society membership, and he was greatly encouraged with the prospects. "O what a charming view," he continues, "presents itself from Doctor Tiffin's house!—but these long talks about land and politics suit me not; I take little interest in either subject: O Lord, give me souls, and keep me holy!" Next year he again visited Chillicothe, and was happy to find the doctor "no longer in public life, but a private citizen, respectable and respected, and the work of God revived in his soul." Being asked to furnish an inscription for the tombstone of Doctor Tiffin's wife, Mary Worthington, he chose the text from Luke x. 42: *Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken from her.*

The fact that Ohio should have had for its first governor a Christian and a Methodist of the high stamp of Doctor Tiffin was significant. There have been four Methodist presidents of the United States. Three of them have been reared in Ohio, and the fourth in Tennessee, the state that was originally joined with Ohio to form a single Conference. The three Ohioans on the list are Ulysses S. Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes, and William McKinley; and the fourth is James K. Polk, of Tennessee. The union of sound religion with ardent patriotism has been the main-spring of the greatness of Ohio, in many ways the representative American state of the second half of the nineteenth century. It has

produced not only famous men but famous books. If one were asked to mention the two most representative works in American fiction, he might well name Mrs. H. B. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and W D. Howells' "A Modern Instance." They stand in the front rank of really interpretative work that is racy of the soil.

The first Methodist church in Ohio is supposed to have been in Adams county, to the south of Chillicothe, at Scioto

REV. J. H. LINN, D. D., OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, WHO OFFICIATED AT THE MARRIAGE OF MISS JULIA DENT AND CAPTAIN U. S. GRANT.

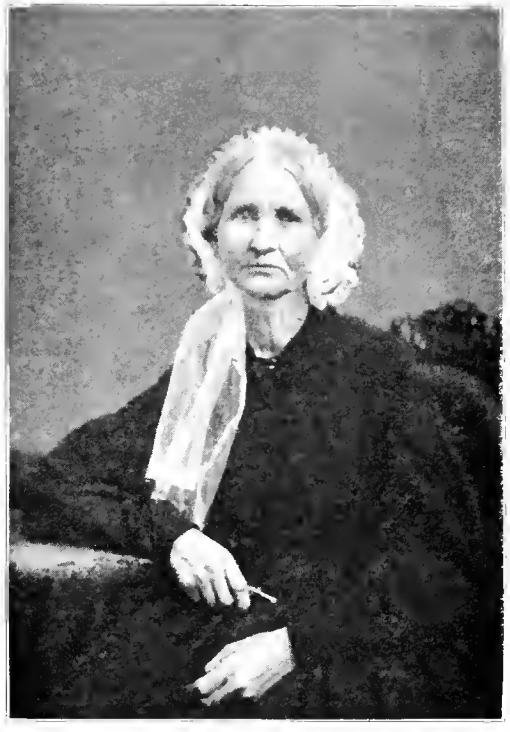
Brush creek. At the time it was built—the last year of the eighteenth century—the custom was to have a "free house" for the use of believers of any sect. The Rev. W Smith, one of the early itinerants serving under the Western Conference, in making a tour through these parts, came early in October, 1799, to Scioto Brush creek. A society had already formed itself there, and during the winter he labored to build it up. In the following summer, finding their number too large for a private house, they set themselves to construct a log house as a place of worship. Some surprise was expressed that they did not throw the place open to the other denominations; but no other sect was at the time showing any signs whatever of Christian activity. The building is described as being twenty-four feet square, with a very small door on either side, and of scored logs. In the adjoining burying-ground many of the early settlers lie interred. After twenty years of service, it gave place to a more convenient structure.

These days of western expansion, when the emigrants were so largely composed of Christian people who longed to hear the gospel preached, were long recalled with fervor. "I will here say," says the Rev. John Meek, a pioneer Ohio itinerant, in a letter full of reminiscences, "those were the happiest days of my life—log cabins to preach in, puncheon floors to sleep on, long rides, corn-bread and milk to eat, a constant succession of kind friends to make welcome, and the love of God in the soul, a house high up in heaven in prospect, and the blessed promise of 'Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world,' gave the mind a most pleasing variety, and caused our time to move on most agreeably." These puncheon floors, it may be remarked in explanation, were made of slabs with the bark unremoved, the rough convex side being placed downward.

One of the very first log meeting-houses in the Northwest was called Holmes' meeting-house, and stood on Indian Short creek, in West Wheeling circuit. It was erected in the year 1803, and soon afterward became the center of perhaps the greatest revival ever witnessed in these parts. In the following year a log meeting-house was begun, but never finished, at Thomas Odle's, a local preacher, who lived at Eagle creek

in Scioto circuit. The old Hopewell log meeting-house, in the Miami circuit, around which so many memories cling, and which was supposed by many to have been the earliest, was antedated by several others. This structure stood in Clermont county, east of Cincinnati, a district in which many Maryland and Virginia families had settled. Its size was large for these days, and it accordingly attracted a good deal of notice. The dedication services were attended by McKendree and by William Burke, then presiding elder of the Ohio district.

A veteran Ohio Methodist associated with these days, and long sharing with William Burke the honor of being the oldest preachers in the West, was Thomas Scott. Like Edward Tiffin, to whom he was the means of conversion, he showed his powers in the practical walks of life, being a gifted lawyer. Judge Scott, as he was universally called, was a native of Maryland, where he was born in the year 1772. He came of stanch Protestant Irish stock, the family having emigrated to Pennsylvania at the close of the seventeenth century. At the early age of fourteen he joined the Methodist Church, and was admitted on trial as an itinerant before he was seventeen years of age. It was while serving on the Berkeley circuit that one of his sermons made so deep an impression on Tiffin. At the age of twenty-one, having been ordained elder by Bishop Asbury, he was appointed to the Ohio circuit, where the field of work was extensive, and attended by many dangers from hostile Indians. A great reader, Mr. Scott used to sit on the top of the boat which carried him up and down the great streams of the West, and lose himself in the pages of some congenial piece of literature; oblivious of the fact that on the banks lurked unfriendly savages who might easily have picked him off. Happily no harm came to him.



HANNAH SIMPSON GRANT, MOTHER OF GENERAL GRANT; BORN NOVEMBER 23, 1798.

JESSE ROOT GRANT, FATHER OF GENERAL GRANT, AT 69 YEARS OF AGE. HE WAS BORN IN 1794.

Having married a congenial helpmeet, he located in Kentucky and began the study of law. This was interrupted by the necessity of supporting himself, and he began business as a tailor. Finally he drifted to Chillicothe, where resided his old friend Edward Tiffin, who was ready

OLD SCHOOL-HOUSE, GEORGETOWN, OHIO, WHERE GENERAL GRANT WAS A PUPIL.

and able to give him a helping hand. He finally became secretary of the state senate, and, in 1809, one of the judges of the supreme court. For five years he was chief judge of that court, but, the salary being small, he resigned his seat and returned to his law practice. The earnings of a western lawyer at that time were insignificant. "Trials in those days," says McMaster, "were held in somebody's log cabin or in the bar-room of a tavern, and when the jury retired to deliberate, it was to the shade of some near-by tree or to a log especially prepared for them. Judge and bar rode the circuit together, and a lawyer was fortunate if at the end of his ride his daily earnings amounted to what would now be the wages of an unskilled laborer." It accrued to the benefit of the state that so earnest a Christian should have served it in these important capacities; but Judge Scott's was one of those cases regretted by Asbury, where the responsibilities of a married man drove him from the ranks of the itineracy into a secular calling, and the organization suffered. Judge Scott confessed that this was his experience. "Had the Church at that period," he states, "been able to support myself and family, I would have spent my whole life in the ministry. But the Church was then too poor to do it."

One of the preachers admitted on trial at the Liberty Hill Conference was William Winans, a native of western Pennsylvania. He was appointed shortly afterward to the Vincennes circuit, where he had charge of the stations on the Wabash and White rivers, extending from the Indiana line to the Ohio river. It was in the autumn of the year 1810, while Winans was stationed at Vincennes, that the historic interview took place between General Harrison and the Indian chief Tecumseh, who was to play so prominent a part in the early scenes of the war of 1812–14, and to die on the battlefield of the Thames river. General Harrison was then governor of the territory, and the object of the interview, which took place at the governor's residence, was to reconsider a treaty by which the Miami Indians had ceded to the government certain lands on the Wabash. At a certain stage of the discussion it seemed as if blood were about to be shed; and Winans, fearing for the lives of the governor's family, secured a musket and posted himself as guard at the door of his house. The later history of this undaunted man is associated with the state of Mississippi. He attained to prominence in church councils, where he

GENERAL GRANT'S LOG CABIN.

Built in 1854 of logs hewn by Ulysses S. Grant, and originally located on the Dent farm, about ten miles southwest of the city of St. Louis. It is now the property of Mr. Edward Joy and has been removed by the owner to Old Orchard Park, a suburb of St. Louis. It was for several years the home of the Grant family.

was known as a powerful debater; and in the great controversy of 1844 he made a telling speech.

William Winans was one of the most notable and picturesque figures of American Methodism. Like Cartwright and Finley, he was a child of the wilderness, and his ministry was for the most part spent among the frontier settlements of the West and South. He was left an orphan at an early age, but his mother was a woman of exceptional capacity and of rare devotion. She taught him to read, and wrought wonders in the intellectual and spiritual life of the child, aided by the only text-books the mountain home afforded—the Bible and "Pilgrim's Progress." The passion for reading and study never forsook him, and he became a man of broad culture, of great eloquence, and a master of assemblies.

In the year 1802 Nathan Bangs went to labor on the north shore of Lake Ontario; and other American itinerants followed, who vied with each other in promoting God's cause in these wilds. In the year 1811, Asbury crossed the St Lawrence for the first time, making this détour on his way to a meeting of the Genesee Conference at Lyons. Forty years had elapsed since he was last under the British flag, and he felt in crossing the line how close had become the ties which bound him to the American people. Passing through Cornwall, he traveled up the left bank of the river to Kingston, picking up on the way details regarding the Palatine Germans who had emigrated thither from New York. The country pleased him; it seemed "a land that God the Lord had blessed." After a Sunday spent at Kingston, "with its garrison and great guns," he took the packet for Sackett's Harbor, a place to be made famous in the annals of the ensuing war.

This Genesee Conference, which he went to preside over, was created by the bishops in the interval between the 1808 and 1812 General Conferences; an act which was well within their powers, but which was regarded by some of the anti-paternalists as a stretch of authority. The Conference as then constituted included a portion of northern Pennsylvania and all the state of New York lying west of the Troy Conference; and it extended into Upper and Lower Canada as well as into the territory of Maine. This Conference had been pushing its work actively in Upper Canada. When, next year, the war broke out, there were in the province thirteen preachers and two thousand six hundred members. As soon as war was declared, the American preachers were withdrawn, and several of British nationality located; while the membership of the societies suffered from the military calls upon the able-bodied men.

THE GRANT HOMESTEAD AT GEORGETOWN, OHIO.

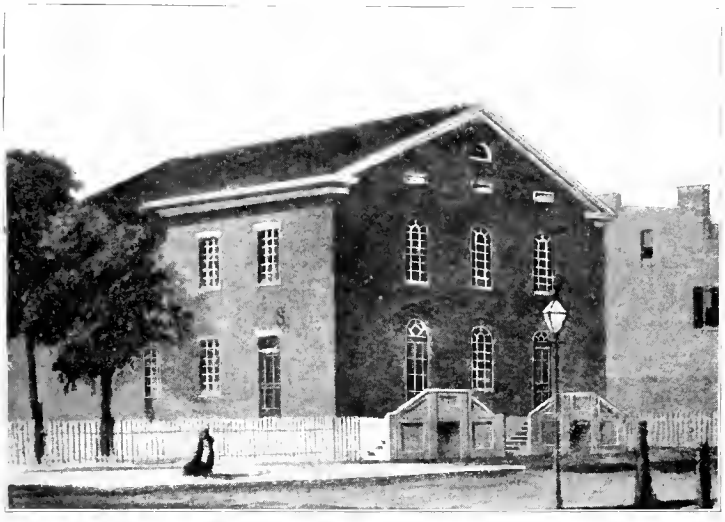
"WHITE HAVEN," NEAR ST. LOUIS, THE RESIDENCE OF COLONEL FREDERICK DENT, WHERE MISS JULIA DENT FIRST MET LIEUT. ULYSSES S. GRANT.

In 1815 the Genesee Conference, having resolved to resume the work, determined to avoid any cause of offense. It sent, wherever possible, itinerants of British birth, who were enjoined not to interfere with politics. But the causes of possible friction were too many to allow of very easy adjustment. The English Conference in this very year sent out representatives, one of whom, when he came to Montreal, expected to use the Methodist chapel there. As this building belonged to the American General Conference, a dispute arose which finally split the society; and it was one of the last acts of Bishop Asbury to write to the Missionary Committee in London with a view to effecting an amicable understanding. The General Conference, which met at Baltimore in 1816, considered the matter, and received a friendly deputation from the English Methodists; but the division continued. A missionary war ensued, which was finally brought to an end by a compromise. The American itinerants were allowed to work in Upper Canada, while the district of Lower Canada, extending from Duffin's creek eastward to Quebec, was left to British missionaries.

The first delegated General Conference, and the last General Conference which Asbury was to attend, met in John Street Church, New York, on the first of May, 1812. Ninety delegates from eight Conferences took their seats; some of them, from the New England Conference, being alternate or reserve delegates, who were, by a majority vote, allowed to represent the absent principals—a precedent

thereby established. The action of the bishops in establishing the Genesee Annual Conference was, after some discussion, ratified; but no Conference has since been organized in the same fashion.

A new feature was introduced into the business of the Conference by the action of the presiding bishop, McKendree, who presented a formal episcopal address. The action was in harmony with his conception of his duties, which differed somewhat from that of his senior colleague. Indeed, Asbury showed himself restive at the innovation, and rose to ask for an explanation. McKendree in his address invited inspection of his methods of administration, and professed his readiness to answer inquiries, and to receive information and advice such as would assist him in perfecting future operations. Before he presented the address to the Conference, he had submitted it to a committee of the most respected members, including several who differed from him in their views of church administration, and had accepted an amendment that was offered.



FOURTH STREET METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, ST. LOUIS, ATTENDED BY THE GRANT FAMILY.

Several important motions were introduced, only to be defeated. Such was Jesse Lee's motion, providing for the election to the General Conference by seniority, and for a change in the ratio of representation from five to six. The party which persistently advocated the election of presiding elders by the Conferences again failed to carry their point. Both of the bishops were firmly opposed to such an elective system. And yet McKendree's relation to the presiding elders was distinctly closer and more intimate than Asbury's. In the matter of stationing the preachers, Asbury preferred to trust entirely to his own judgment and to accept the entire responsibility. McKendree, on the other hand, preferred to have the advice of the presiding elders, and formed a "cabinet" which assisted him in making these appointments; a practice which, though it is not sanctioned by any article in the Discipline, has since become the universal usage.

JOHN WRENSHALL, GRANDFATHER OF MRS. JULIA D. GRANT.
Founder of Methodism in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

The Conference showed some anxiety to learn whether Asbury would accept

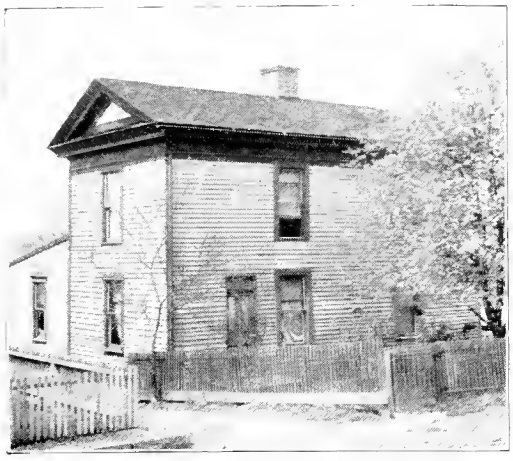
COLONEL FREDERICK DENT, FATHER OF JULIA DENT GRANT.

an invitation sent him by the British Conference to visit England; and it was relieved when he handed them the following note:

My dear Brethren.—Whatever I may have thought or spoken in former times upon strengthening the Episcopacy, I am not at liberty to say to you at this time, Do this or that. I am bound in duty to serve the Connection with all my power of body and mind, as long and as largely as I can; and, while I am persuaded that my services are needed and acceptable to give up all thoughts of visits out of the American continent, I feel myself indispensably bound to the Conference and my colleague never to leave them or forsake them upon the above conditions. F. ASBURY.

The closing days of the good bishop's career were cast in a time when war was raging on the northern frontier and on the Atlantic coast; but in the record of his travels this feature of the national life at the time hardly presents itself. Some of the aspects of New England life jarred upon him. The sight of a handsome church built from the proceeds of a lottery shocked him not a little. Many of the customs that were then condoned or approved have since been frowned upon. Drinking to excess was not then regarded with the repulsion that it now excites. Indeed, the first quarter of the century remains in the national annals a period disgraced by heavy drinking. To Asbury the drinking of intoxicants seemed the prime curse of the country, and he always spoke plainly and resolutely against it. He feared that it might prove the ruin of all that was excellent in morals and government in the United States. The drunkenness that he witnessed on the highway was a painful spectacle. As he traversed on the Cumberland road to attend a Conference at Tomlinson's, he noted the "strange medley of preachers, drovers, beasts on four legs, and beasts made by whisky on two, traveling on the turnpike at one time." Tomlinson was an innkeeper who was

BISHOP SIMPSON'S MOTHER.



THE SIMPSON HOME, CADIZ, OHIO.

sing all his influence against the trade ı liquid fire.

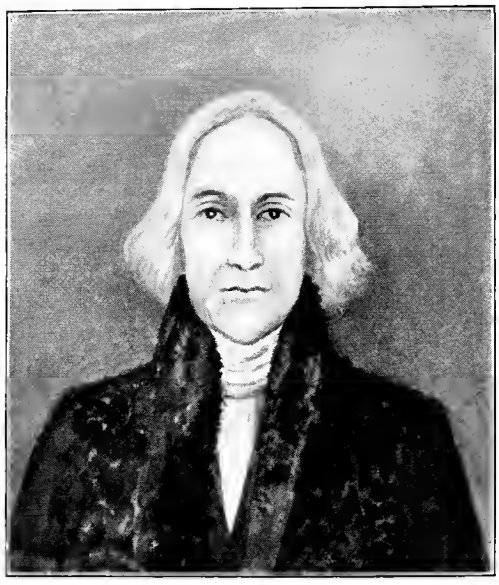
The good bishop retained some of the rejudices of his early years in his dis-ke of anything pretentious in church rchitecture. Pews and steeples and ven church bells were not to his mind, s representing a social exclusiveness in ′orship, and needless expenditure on ′hat is external, unessential, or obtru-ıve. He preached at Lynn in the new hapel, the same week that war was de-lared against Great Britain. "The hapel," he remarked, "saving the pews nd the steeple, is beautiful." In a later ntry occurs the sentence: "Oh, vain teeple houses, bells (organs by-and-by)! hese things are against me and contrary ɔ the simplicity of Christ."

The old man, white-haired and rever-nd in aspect, as he moved about the ountry lost no opportunity of address-ng all and sundry whom he met respect-ng the state of their souls; and was list ned to everywhere with respect. He arried with him religious tracts and opies of the holy Scriptures, and these ıe distributed broadcast. Wherever he topped, at inn or private house, he ɔrayed with the inmates; and he was aithful in attending the bedside of the ick and the dying. His constant theme —one that found a place in every ser-mon—was the need of sanctification.

During the last few years of his life he was more or less of an invalid; and, had he been content to seek rest and to recuperate, he might have survived many years longer. But no sooner was he on his feet again than he resumed the fatiguing duties of the itineracy. His faithful companion in these days of weakness was John Wesley Bond, a young Maryland preacher, who was deeply attached to the bishop. In the year 1814 he had to lament the loss of his old and dear friend Otterbein, whose funeral sermon he preached at Baltimore. "Forty years," he said, "have I known the retiring modesty of this man of God, towering majestic above his fellows in learning, wisdom, and grace, and yet seeking to be known only of God and the people of God."

His last official tour was made in that expanding West, of which he had formed

BISHOP SIMPSON'S UNCLE MATTHEW.

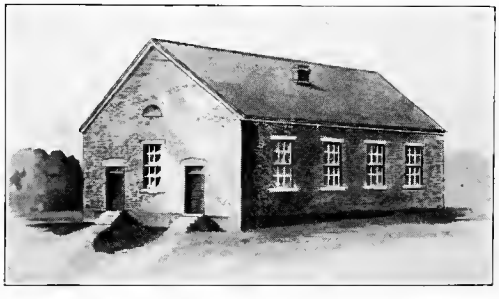


REV. JAMES JENKINS,
Of the South Carolina Conference; born in Marion county, South Carolina; entered the ministry in 1792; died in 1847.

such high hopes. The Ohio Conference was to be held in September, 1815, at Cincinnati, and he arranged to meet McKendree there, who had gone north to preside at the Genesee Conference. It was at this time that he stated to his colleague that "the western part of the empire would be the glory of America for the poor and pious." He expected henceforth to be present only at every alternate Conference. Proceeding to the Tennessee Conference, which met soon after in Wilson county, he spoke less hopefully of his future labors. "My eyes," he declared, "fail; I will resign the stations to Bishop McKendree; I will take away my feet. It is my fifty-fifth year of ministry, and forty-fifth of labor in America. My mind enjoys great peace and divine consolation; my health is better, but whether health, life, or death, good is the will of the Lord. I will trust Him and will praise Him. He is the strength of my heart and my portion forever. Glory! Glory! Glory!"

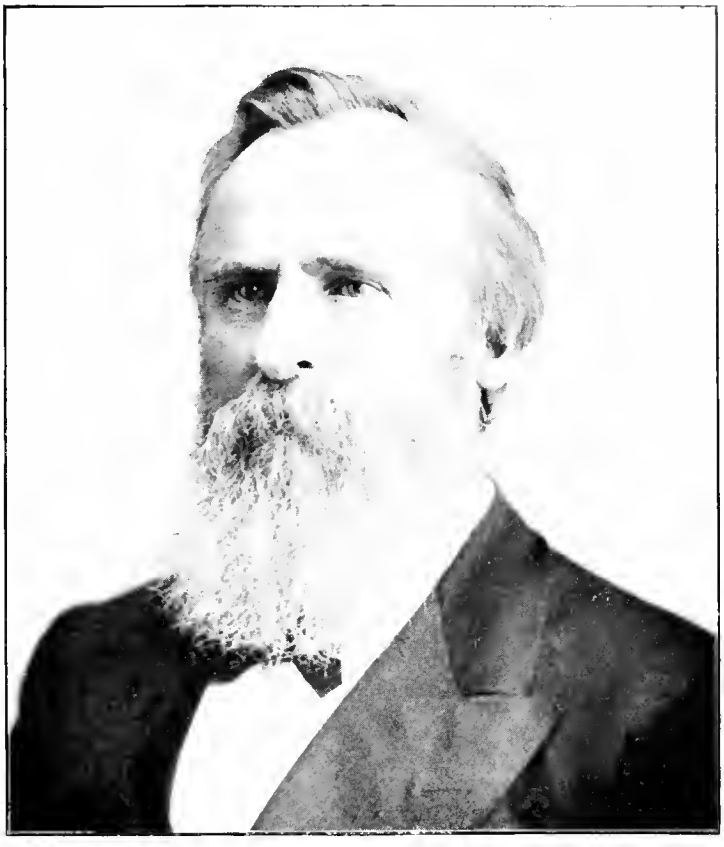
His Journal comes to an abrupt end on Thursday, December 7, 1815, when he was traveling in South Carolina. It covers his career from August 7, 1771, a period of forty-four years and four months. It could hardly be expected that this Journal should possess the varied interest of Wesley's Journal; for Asbury was not a man endowed with the multitudinous gifts of that great apostle. But it is even circumscribed where we might have expected fuller details. None of his contemporaries are sympathetically dealt with. When, for instance, McKendree preaches, the mere fact of his having preached is recorded, and nothing more; and many of the small details of sickness, with the moralizing platitudes, hardly help us to realize better the man and his work. But we may well be thankful that he has left behind him this quotidian record of one of the most intense and most useful lives that Christian saint ever lived. To his organizing talent and faculty for choosing and for ruling men is to be mainly ascribed the astonishing growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Beginning with a feeble company of four preachers and three hundred members, it expanded in his lifetime until it could boast seven hundred itinerants, two thousand local preachers, and over two hundred thousand members.

A few words about his position in respect to negro slavery. Toward the close of his life he saw the prospect of emancipation grow definitely remote. Economic and other causes were bringing



OLD METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, NEW ATHENS, OHIO,
Where Bishop Simpson preached his first sermon.

about the intensifying of what he could not but regard as a great evil. The year 1808, when the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church was placed on a final and secure basis, is usually given as the date when slavery took on a new lease of life, and, instead of contracting its area, began to spread like a great tree. Asbury shunned politics; and his practical sense told him that his Church would but diminish its usefulness and contract its field of operations by any definite anti-slavery legislation. About this time, therefore, we find him declaring for a neutral policy, by which, through gaining the confidence of the owners, free access to the slaves might be obtained. He recognized in this the only practicable method of evangelizing the degraded African population. He strove, and successfully, to win the friendship of the southern planters, who showed him much hospitality; and he was welcomed everywhere by the negroes as a loved friend and teacher.



PRESIDENT RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.
He was actively engaged in Church work while a student at Gambier, Ohio, and was connected with the Methodist Church during the greater part of his life, as trustee.

In his last appearance at an Annual Conference—at Lebanon, Tennessee, on September 24, 1815—he preached a memorial sermon on Doctor Coke, whom he had frequently made the subject of his discourse since the sad news arrived of his colleague's death. With this Conference ends his official career. His last sermon was preached on March 24, 1816, at Richmond, Virginia. Consumption, aggravated by a severe attack of influenza, had so weakened him that he was unable, even when supported, to walk into the church; and he was carried in his friends' arms. The text he chose was from Romans ix. 28: *For he will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness, because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth.*

Weak as he was, he continued on his way, and on the twenty-ninth of the month reached the house of Mr. Arnold, in Spottsylvania, eighteen miles from the town of Fredericksburg. Two days later he died, having for some time been speechless; but even then he continued to express by gestures his peace of mind and joyful hope of a blessed immortality. To his "son John," as he called Mr. Bond, we owe the particulars of his last moments.

His body was interred in the family burial-ground of the Arnold family. But,

a few weeks later, at the request of the society in Baltimore and of the General Conference, then in session, it was conveyed to that city and re-interred with solemn rites. The procession started from the Light-street Conference room on the tenth of May, the double coffin being borne by twelve pall-bearers. All who attended were on foot, as was customary in those days of simple manners. At the head came Bishop McKendree and the Rev. William Black, who was general superintendent of the Canada work of the British Wesleyan Conference and represented the brethren of British nationality. The governor of the state, the Protestant Episcopal bishop, and many representatives from the other churches were present, as well as all the leading citizens of Baltimore; and the

PRESIDENT WILLIAM McKINLEY.
Active member of the Methodist Church in Canton, Ohio.

vhole concourse must have numbered wenty thousand people. The distance to he Eutaw Street Church, where a crypt ıad been prepared under the pulpit for he reception of the remains, was over a ıile. Here Bishop McKendree, before he coffin was lowered, gave a short ad-.ress, dwelling on the chief points in the haracter and career of the dead man.)n the following Sabbath, funeral ser-ıons were preached in the eight or nine Methodist chapels in the city.

The crypt in the Eutaw Street Church vas not, however, destined to be the)ermanent resting-place of Bishop As-)ury's earthly remains. Thirty-eight 'ears later, after the beautiful Mount)livet Cemetery had been opened in the vest end of the city of Baltimore, it was lecided that his remains should be re-ıoved thither, and there they now lie. Not far off is the grave of his old friend ınd co-laborer, Jesse Lee, who survived ıim but a few months.

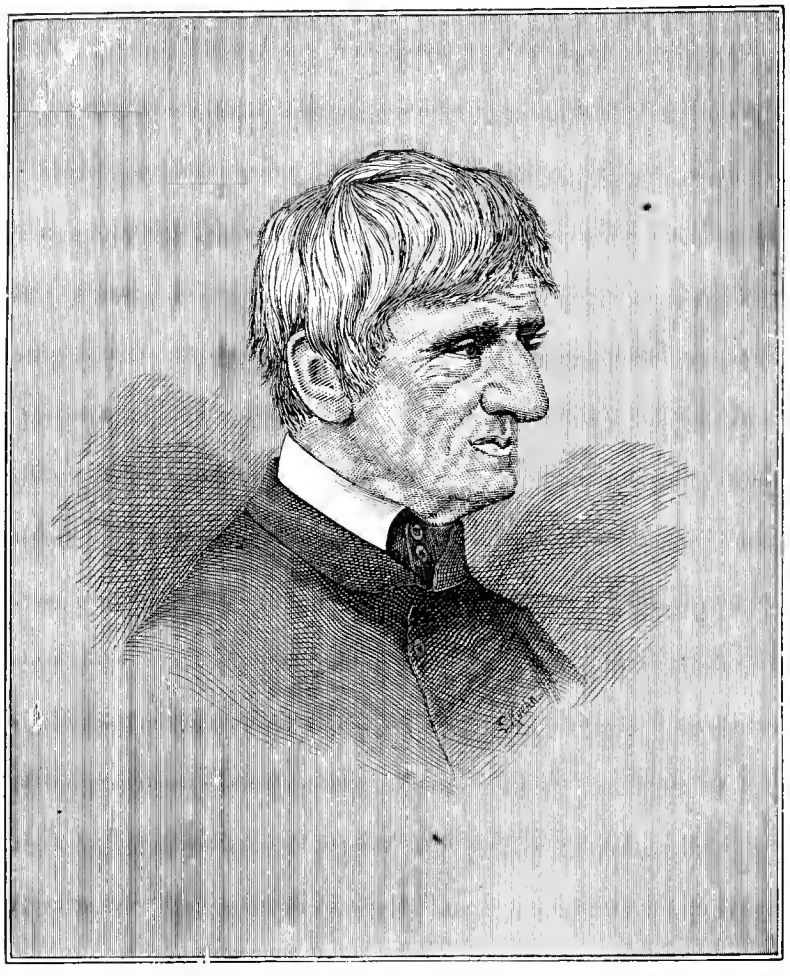
This second delegated General Con-erence, which met at Baltimore on the ırst of May, 1816, contained sixteen ıore members than the previous Confer-

REV. ELISHA W. BOWMAN.
A pioneer preacher in the Northwest Territory.

REV. JAMES DANNELLY,
Of the South Carolina Conference; born in Columbia county, Georgia, in 1786; began to preach in 1815; died in 1855. Noted for his keen reproofs of sin.

ence, the total attendance being one hundred and six. The recent death of that prince in Israel, Francis Asbury, naturally cast a gloom over the proceedings. An address which had been prepared by the deceased bishop was read by the secretary. Bishop McKendree was at this time in feeble health, and his episcopal address was presented by Thomas Logan Douglass. A few days later, when he spoke for twenty minutes at the Asbury funeral service, his voice was so faint that few of the audience were able to follow the drift of his remarks.

A motion which had been defeated four years before was passed at this Conference. It related to the trade in spirituous liquors, and was to the effect that no preacher should distill or retail them without forfeiting his license. Two new Conferences were added, the Missouri and the Mississippi, both of them regions which Asbury had never reached. The Conference refused to be drawn into any drastic legislation respecting slavery, which seemed to the members an evil



REV. JAMES AXLEY,
A pioneer preacher of great influence in the West and in Tennessee.

beyond remedy; but it passed an enactment excluding henceforth from official station in the Church any slave-holder, where the laws of the state in which he lived admitted of emancipation, and allowed the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.

Immediate steps were taken to fill the vacancy in the episcopal bench. Two new appointments were made, that of Enoch George and of Robert Richford Roberts. Enoch George, who was to serve as bishop for thirteen years, and whose remains were to find a resting-place in the same cemetery that contains Asbury's, was at this time close upon fifty years of age. Born in Dinwiddie county, Virginia, where that stout evangelical, the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, was a strong religious force, he yet came under no direct religious influence until his father removed to a different part of the state. It was the preaching of the same John Easter who was the means of awakening McKendree, that brought George within the Christian fold, and made him a zealous worker Though a very diffident man, he yet felt the call to preach too strong to be resisted. The first field to which he was assigned lay in that part of North Carolina where the Catawba and Broad rivers have their source. Here he found the hindrances so annoying that he requested Bishop Asbury to remove him elsewhere; but the bishop thought it good for him to be inured to hardships in his youth. His duties as a presiding elder began in 1790, and were from time to time interrupted by ill-health. For four years preceding his appointment as bishop he had been presiding elder of the Potomac district, and had won golden opinions by his moderation, sincere piety, and dignity of deportment.

Roberts, who was of mixed Welsh and Irish descent, and came from Strawbridge county in Maryland, was ten years the junior of George. At the early age of fourteen he became active in Christian endeavor, but it was not until the year 1801 that he mustered up sufficient courage to preach his maiden sermon.

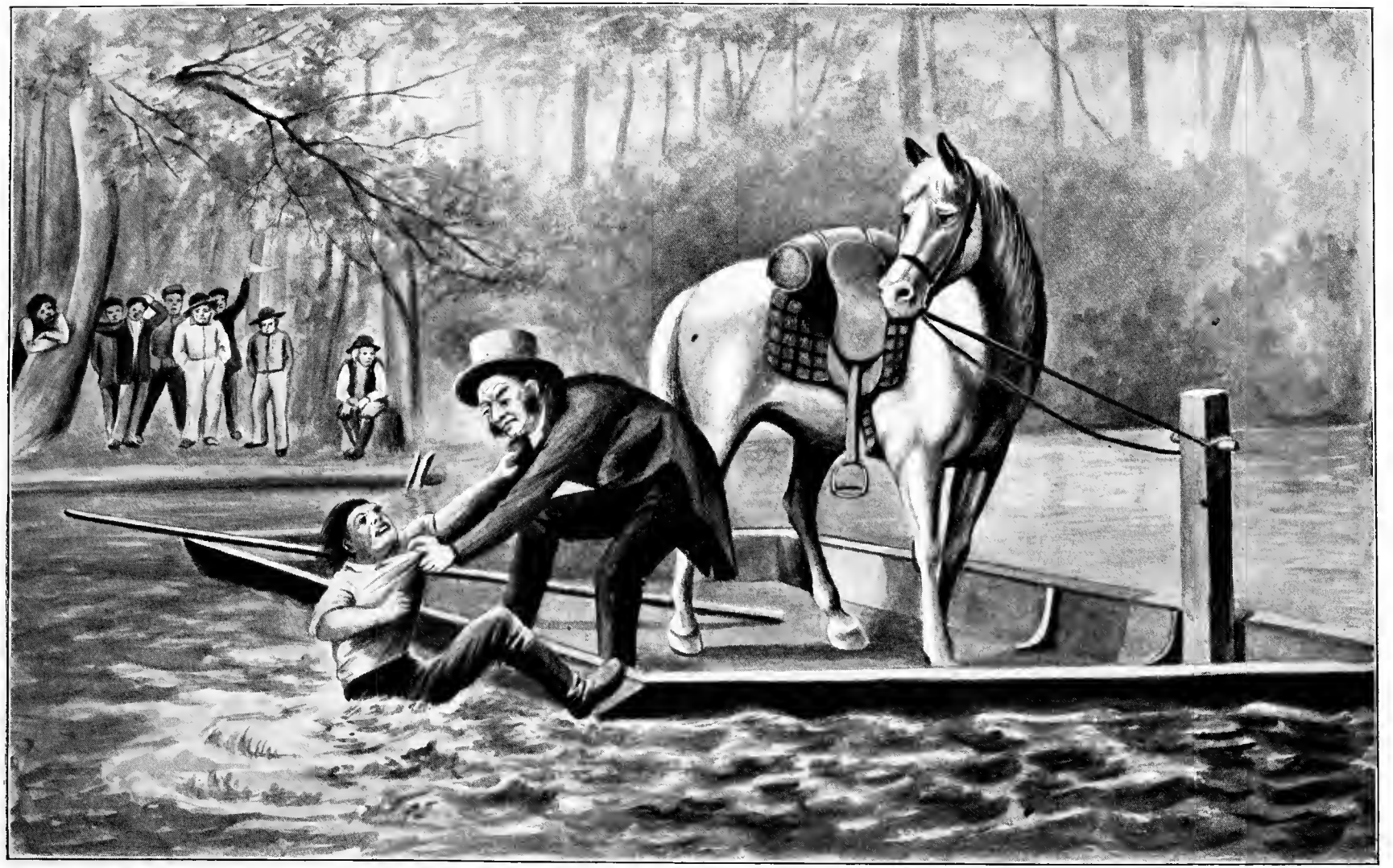
His first circuits were in western Pennsylvania, in Maryland, and in Ohio; and it was with considerable reluctance that he obeyed Asbury's summons to fill a city pulpit in Baltimore. He was afterward a pastor in Alexandria, Viginia, where he formed the acquaintance of President Madison and his wife, at whose house he was accustomed to visit and to conduct family worship. At the time of his appointment to the episcopate he was presiding elder of Schuylkill district, Philadelphia. His predecessors in the office had all been bachelors; he was the first married man to take up the duties of the office. Roberts possessed a strong intellect, and was at once firm and conciliatory in disposition; and his simplicity of manner and directness of address gave him great influence.

Bishop Paine, who first met Roberts at the Tennessee Conference of 1817, gives an interesting account of the impression he received. He describes him as holding an immense audience spell-bound for more than an hour. "His whole person," he continues, "indicated him to be one of nature's noblemen. His features were large, benignant, and intellectual. His head was of an uncommon size, his forehead high and massive, his eyes blue or hazel-colored, his manner of address always easy and graceful, his voice a deep bass, but soft and musical; there was nothing constrained or unnatural in its modulation, but it was an earnest and animated conversational tone."

Physically, Bishop Roberts was not an ideal circuit-rider; for his great weight made it often a difficult matter for him to secure a suitable mount; and frequently he proved too heavy a load for the horse or vehicle that was provided. Consequently it but too often happened that the Conferences, after waiting to the last possible minute, had to proceed without him. His first visitation was to the remote Mississippi Conference. It was a sickly season in these regions, and both the bishop and his companion fell ill,

REV. CHAUNCEY HOBART,

One of the pioneers in the Northwest Territory.



REV. PETER CARTWRIGHT DUCKING THE FERRYMAN.

and arrived at their destination in a feeble condition.

The beginnings of Methodism in the Southwest may be traced to Methodist families who emigrated from the Carolinas and from Georgia. One of the most popular preachers in the original Natchez circuit was a son of one of these immigrants, lovingly known as "Little Tommie Owens." In the year 1809 there came two vigorous preachers, Samuel Sellers and Miles Harper, who did yeoman's work for the cause. The founder of the city of Vicksburg, Newit Vick, a Virginian, was heartily in sympathy with Methodist endeavor. As early as the year 1807, he had subscribed one hundred and fifty dollars toward the erection of a church building at Natchez. A South Carolinian, Matthew Bowman, who settled in Amite county in the year 1810, was a zealous local preacher and gathered a society together, which built the famous Midway Church. Doctor Tooley, a physician from North Carolina, who became a resident of Natchez in the following year, was for many long years a pillar in the church there.

It was at Newit Vick's house, near Spring Hill, that the first Conference met. Bishops Asbury and McKendree intended to visit this district, with a view to forming a Conference; but the hostile disposition of the Indians, and the situation of the country, combined with Asbury's feeble health, prevented them from carrying out their intentions. The minutes of this 1813 Conference, which consisted of ten members and lasted for ten days, were sent on to the Tennessee Conference, to be incorporated in the minutes of that body. The appointments it made extended from Louisiana to Alabama, and included that of Winans, secretary of the Conference, to the New Orleans station. It was an unpropitious season for him to begin the work, for war was hovering round the city; never, even under the best conditions, a very promising field. A Dutchman, named Jacob Knobb, who lived in a brick house in Bienville between Chartres and Royal streets, proved a stanch friend, and rented Winans the ground floor to serve as a chapel on Sundays and a school on week-days. The war, however, finally put a stop to the work, and Winans left for good in the fall of 1814, to join the Conference which met in November on Pearl river. The fire was meanwhile kept burning by a humble disciple, Theresa Canu, a native of San Domingo, who had become a Methodist during a short stay in Carolina. Her house was for many years a conventicle center in this stronghold of Romanism.

CHAPTER XXIII.

UNREST AND SECESSIONS.

WHEN Asbury and McKendree visited New York in the year 1809, they noted with interest the new application of steam to navigation. It was followed by the construction of the Erie and other canals, and by great activity in internal development. Other applications of equal or greater importance were on the eve of being made. Finally the advent of the locomotive may be said to have changed the whole face of American civilization.

A wonderful increase in immigration followed the construction of steamboats. The great Mississippi, from being a lonely river haunted by savages, became in McKendree's lifetime a smoky highway of commerce, bringing in great floating caravans the peasantry of Europe to settle in what had been esteemed an alkaline desert. Memphis and St. Louis, which had hitherto been severed by a journey of many weeks from New York and Philadelphia, were now brought within the short and definite limit of a coasting voyage.

But the locomotive, when it came a dozen years later, effected a still more remarkable alteration. Swifter and more direct than the steamboat, it caused to spring up in its train a long chain of settlements which bound East to West. To the United States, among the nations of the world, it was specially given to work out the destiny of the locomotive. Leaving for a time to Great Britain the supremacy of the seas, she bent almost her whole energies to the settling of these rich, alluvial lands of the West. The process is brilliantiy described by the Kansas poet, "Ironquill:"

Into loam the sand is melted,
And the blue-grass takes the loam
Round about the prairie home;
And the locomotives roam
Over landscapes iron-belted.

Cities grow where stunted birches
Hugged the shallow water-line;
And the deepening rivers twine
Past the factory and the mine,
Orchard slopes and schools and churches.

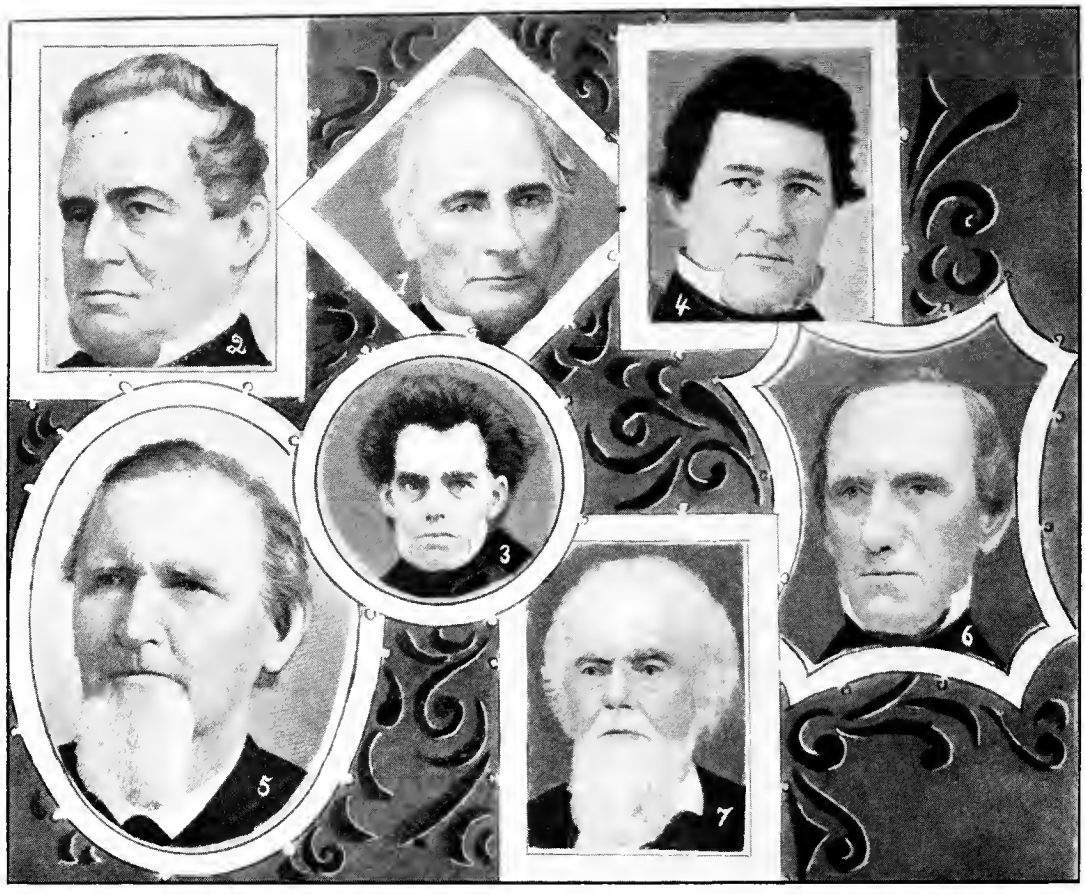
In order to keep pace with this extraordinarily rapid industrial development, there was necessary a church organization which was alert, mobile, and aggressive. Such was the organization carried to perfection by Asbury, and bequeathed by him to McKendree. At an early period in the history of the organization it was still possible for the bishops to know the personal traits of every one of the preachers whom they had to station, and Asbury was particularly noted for the sure and certain estimate he formed of his preachers. At one time in his career we have seen that McKendree was in favor of the elective system of appointing presiding elders; but experience showed him the wisdom of retaining in episcopal hands the final selection of these officers. Of the two new bishops, one at least had also belonged to the party in the Church which was anxious for a change in the system of appointment. Neither of them, however, had a very keen or immediate interest in questions of ecclesiastical law and organization. The matter was finally brought to an issue in the General Conference of 1820, by the election as bishop of the ecclesiastical leader who, in 1808, had given the constitution of the Church its final shape. It was the determined attitude of McKendree and Soule that finally secured a victory for the episcopate.

The third delegated Conference met at Baltimore on the first day of May, 1820, and was composed of eighty-nine delegates, from eleven Conferences. McKendree, who opened the Conference and submitted his address, did not continue to act as presiding officer, as his health was unequal to the strain; but he was at hand to assist his colleagues. The secretary, Alexander McCaine, was not a member of the Conference; but there was a precedent for this. The first George, who is, indeed, supposed to have been its author, or, at least, its inspirer. This measure provided for the nomination by the bishops of thrice the number of presiding elders required, and from this list the Annual Conferences were empowered to elect by ballot without debate. In addition it declared that the presiding elders should be made the advisory council of the bishop or president of the Conference in stationing the preachers.

WESTERN WILDS.

twelve days were taken up with the transaction of various matters; and on the thirteenth the Conference proceeded to elect an additional bishop. The first ballot gave Joshua Soule forty-seven votes out of a total of eighty-eight, and he was declared duly elected. But, before he could be solemnly set apart for the office, a measure was passed by the Conference which greatly limited the episcopal powers. As a conciliatory measure it had the approval of Bishop

As soon as the measure was passed, the bishop-elect, Joshua Soule, left the assembly and prepared a letter of resignation. He had, he said, been chosen when the constitution and government of the Methodist Church was unimpaired; but the measure just passed had sanctioned so serious a transfer of executive power from the episcopacy to the several Annual Conferences, that he could not, consistently with his convictions of propriety and obligation, enter the work of



WELLINGTON H. COLLINS AND OTHER NOTED MEN IN THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

1. E. G. WOOD, D. D., of the Southeast Indiana Conference; born 1806. 2. JAMES FLOY, D. D.; born in New York City, 1806; joined New York Conference in 1835. 3. J. V. WATSON, D. D.; born in London, 1814; removed when quite young with his parents to Indiana; joined Missouri Conference, 1852; established *Michigan* and *Northwestern Christian Advocates;* died, 1856. 4. WELLINGTON H. COLLINS, of the Detroit Conference; born in New York state, 1816; died in Detroit, 1858. 5. JOHN L. SMITH, D. D., of Northwest Conference. 6. HON. JOSEPH A. WRIGHT, United States Minister at Berlin; born in Pennsylvania, 1810; moved to Indiana and became its governor. 7. LUTHER LEE, D. D.; born in New York State, 1800; joined the Genesee Conference, 1827; received into the Detroit Conference, 1867.

an itinerant general superintendent. His action caused no little surprise and even consternation, and he was asked to reconsider his decision; but finally it was felt that his mind was made up and that nothing further could be done. A motion to proceed again to the election of a superintendent was lost; and the three bishops undertook to carry on the work during the ensuing quadrennium. A breathing-space of four years was thus allowed.

The real question at issue was the constitutionality of the measure which so displeased Soule. McKendree was at one with him in considering the measure unconstitutional; and, if it was so, there evidently existed a gap in the church constitution. An effort was made to have this omission rectified, but the Church seemed reluctant to meddle with the matter, and half of a century elapsed before the required amendment was passed and became law. A resolution which was passed in the 1820 General Conference, recommending that the Annual Conferences should so change the existing constitution that, if a majority of the bishops decided that any measure was unconstitutional, they might within three days report it as such to the General Conference, and insist upon a majority of two-

thirds for its final passage, was not concurred in by the Annual Conferences; nor did a similar effort made four years later succeed any better. The division of 1844 meant, as we shall see, a limitation, in the northern body, of the episcopal prerogatives, making such legislative action superfluous. In the southern body, however, it left matters in respect to this question as they had been a quarter of a century before. Accordingly, in 1870, the following amendment to the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was carried by a vote that was practically unanimous, both in the Annual Conferences and in the General Conference: "When any rule or regulation is adopted by the General Conference which, in the opinion of the bishops, is unconstitutional, the bishops may present to the Conference which passed said rule or regulation their objections thereto, and if the General Conference shall, by a two-thirds vote, adhere to its action on said rule or regulation, it shall then take the course prescribed for altering a Restrictive Rule."

This is the third instance in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church when what had seemed a solid majority in favor of a certain change found itself at the close of a General Conference powerless to act through the skillful tactics and judicious management of the seeming minority. It was so in 1792, in 1808, and again in 1820.

A question which was destined to become more and more insistent came up for the second time at the General Conference—the question of lay representation. At the previous Conference of 1814 a petition had been presented from the local ministers and preachers asking for representation; to which the Conference had sent an unfavorable reply, ably drawn up by John Emory. A concession was now made to their claims by the creation of "District Conferences," which were to be composed of all the local preachers in a presiding elder's district who had been licensed for two years. The powers of supervision formerly vested in the Quarterly Conference were to be transferred to this body. The concession was more nominal than real. After lingering on for about ten years these District Conferences died of inanition.

The personality of John Emory, afterward to be a bishop in the Church, now claims attention. John Emory was at this time in his early forties. Born in Queen Anne county, Maryland, toward the close of the eighteenth century, of a good family, he was destined by his father for the legal profession, and enjoyed the advantage of an academic training. His mother, a devout woman, had early devoted him, in her heart, to the work of the ministry; and he had frequent opportunities of meeting, under the family roof, the preachers who were entertained by his parents. He grew up a lovable, well-conducted, conscientious youth. It was in 1806, when he was only seventeen years of age, that he came under special religious influences, and joined the Methodist Church—much to the chagrin of his father, who, though a good Methodist, refused for long to go to hear his son preach. Less of a sturdy itinerant than of a scholar and man of affairs, Emory was of great service to the Conferences as a powerful debater and adviser.

In 1817 he first entered the arena of religious controversy as an opponent of Bishop White, who had published a pamphlet entitled "Objections against the position of a personal assurance of the pardon of sin by a direct communication of the holy Spirit." Emory wrote first "A Reply," and again "A Further Reply," both of which were noticed by the bishop. At this time he belonged to the

party which favored an elective presiding eldership, and had much to do with the resolutions which drew down the disapproval of McKendree and Soule. The difficulties with Canadian Methodists, which came up for treatment at the 1820 Conference, led to the appointment of Emory as a representative to the British Conference. He carried with him a fraternal letter, and so discharged the duties devolving upon him as to win general approval.

Hitherto the educational ventures of the Church had been far from successful. That the question of education was a

OLD UNION CHURCH, BULLOCK COUNTY, GEORGIA.
Organized 1790.

pressing one at this time is acknowledged by historians. The splendid public school system, which is now the boast of the United States, dates no further back than the year 1825. Before that time matters were in a deplorable condition, except in the older and more settled states. In the year 1822 the Ohio and Kentucky Conferences were successful in obtaining control of an academy that had been in operation for some years at Augusta, Kentucky. The Rev. John P. Finley—son of the veteran Robert W Finley, who, after a long career of usefulness in the Presbyterian and Methodist churches and noble experiences in frontier work, died in 1840 at the age of ninety—was appointed its principal, a position he held for three years. His brother, James Bradley Finley, preacher and educator, has given us, in his "Sketches of Western Methodism," one of the best books of its kind ever written. For over twenty years Augusta College had a vigorous life, and turned out many useful and able men.

To return to church politics. Although Bishop McKendree deemed that the proposed change in the method of electing presiding elders was not conducive to the best interests of the Church, yet he took the necessary measures in referring it to the Annual Conferences, with the view of removing the constitutional disability, if the change was generally desired. The result of this appeal was significant, in the clear-cut territorial division of sentiment which it disclosed It showed the Northeast arrayed in opposition to the Southwest on a purely constitutional question. The six Conferences of Virginia, Mississippi, Tennessee, Missouri, Kentucky, and Ohio pronounced the changes unconstitutional, but recommended that the resolutions should be adopted, if the due formalities were observed; while that of South Carolina did not make this recommendation. The five Conferences of New England, New York, Genesee, Philadelphia, and Baltimore saw no reason why a majority of the General Conference should not be able to decide the matter, and refused to act on the bishop's address. Persistent and bitter attacks were made upon Bishop McKendree for his alleged refusal to submit to the au-

thority of the General Conference; and the minds of many were inflamed by the supposed attempt to fasten an episcopal despotism on the Church. A sufficient reply to these polemics was to be found in the perfect willingness of the bishop to submit to the change, provided the Church deliberately demanded it; but he was naturally adverse to any change which should place the constitution at the mercy of a chance majority of the General Conference. From this time forward there appears a lack of sympathy between Bishop McKendree and Bishop George, who was evidently with the other party. The divergence of opinion extended to their views regarding the policy of the Church in general.

The next General Conference, which met at Baltimore in May, 1824, was opened as usual by the senior bishop, but he forthwith resigned the chair to Bishop George. An excellent secretary was found in John Emory, who was elected in his absence. One hundred and twenty delegates appeared from the twelve Conferences; sixty-seven of them from the Conferences which had refused to act on the senior bishop's address. When, on May 22d, the "suspended resolutions," as they were termed, dealing with the election of presiding elders, came up for discussion, it was moved that, as a majority of the Conferences had pronounced them unconstitutional, they should not be carried into effect. This motion was voted upon, with the result that sixty-three voted in its favor, and sixty-one against it. The strict constructionists were thus victorious by the narrow majority of two votes. Six days later, however, the opposite party returned again to the attack, and secured the passing of a motion by which the suspended resolutions were to be considered as unfinished business for the next General Conference to deal with.

The most important act of this assembly was the election of two new bishops. On this occasion Nathan Bangs, who at the previous General Conference had almost divided the votes with Joshua Soule, received but one vote. Soule, Hedding, Beauchamp, and Emory were the favorites; and the second balloting gave Soule the necessary number for election. When it came to the third balloting, Emory withdrew his name, and left the field to Hedding and Beauchamp. The result proved favorable to Hedding, who accordingly was declared duly elected. It was with some hesitation he accepted the office, and some days later he asked to be allowed to resign on the plea of indifferent qualifications and feeble health; but, by a unanimous resolution, the Conference refused to act upon his request.

William Beauchamp, who came so near being enrolled among the bishops, was the son of a Methodist preacher, and had been for thirty-six years a member of the Church. He was a native of Kent county, Delaware, and had itinerated in New England and in New York state, and proved remarkably successful in building up societies. For a considerable time he was settled in Virginia, where he married; and in 1815 he removed to Chillicothe, in Ohio, where he acted as editor of the *Western Christian Monitor*, a paper which takes precedence, in time of publication, of either the *Advocates* or the *Methodist Magazine*. Here his eloquence procured for him the title of the "Demosthenes of the West." When, in the following year, the General Conference decided to establish a monthly magazine, he resolved to retire from the editorship of this paper, and in 1817 he moved westward to Mount Carmel, Illinois. In this place he founded a settlement, of which he was general director—in secular as in spiritual matters. Resum-

ing his place as an itinerant, he labored for one year in St. Louis, and in 1823 became presiding elder of the Indiana district; and next year he attended the General Conference of 1824 as one of the three delegates from the Missouri Conference. Six months later he succumbed to disease of the liver, at the comparatively early age of fifty-two. A work which he published, entitled "The Truth of the Christian Religion," was highly esteemed.

Elijah Hedding, who was elected to the office, had a long career of usefulness before him. Although he was a New Yorker by birth, all his associations were with New England. In his early years he enjoyed the invaluable blessing of a pious mother's instruction. In the year 1790, when he was ten years old, his parents removed to Vermont, where, some years later, the family was brought into close relations with a pious Methodist and his wife, somewhat advanced in years, who came from Connecticut. The meetings held under the roof of this couple exercised a great influence on young Hedding. He was especially indebted to the aged lady; and also to the religious books, including Wesley's works and Baxter's "Saints' Rest," which they had gathered together. In 1798 he entered the Methodist Church as a probationer; but it was not until the following year that he found complete peace of mind. In his first circuit it was his fortune to succeed Lorenzo Dow, who had impetuously gone off on a visit to Ireland. From this Vermont circuit he was transferred to Plattsburg, in the northern part of New York state. Here he underwent many hardships, swimming streams, traversing forests, and sleeping during the wintriest weather in rough and poorly furnished log cabins. As a colleague he had a zealous Irishman named Henry Ryan, who was determined, if possible, to "drive the devil out of the land." To add to their other difficulties and sufferings, the irreligious among the settlers hooted at them, and even resorted to bodily violence. Hedding's labors were not without immediate and visible results. Revivals followed in the wake of his preaching; and one which occurred at Lynn, when he was ordained elder by Bishop Asbury, was long remembered in the neighborhood. Hundreds gathered to witness the extraordinary manifestations which resulted from an address he delivered at a public service in the neighboring woods; and even after he retired to rest he was summoned to comfort broken-hearted sinners whose consciences had been awakened.

REV. JOSEPH J. CLINTON,
Bishop of the African Zion Methodist Episcopal Church. Born in Philadelphia in 1823; elected bishop in 1856.

The years which Hedding spent at this time in Vermont were marked by an astonishing efflux of the population westward. What Ohio gained, Vermont lost; to such an extent, that, on the Vershire circuit where he was serving, not a single local preacher, trustee or steward was left. This loss of officers threw upon him a vast amount of extra

responsibility and labor. With the men went also the funds; so that at the close of one year when he footed up receipts for salary, there remained to him, over and above traveling expenses, less than five dollars.

Ten years later, during the period that immediately followed the War of 1812–14, he was stationed in Boston. Readers of history are aware that the war had a disastrous effect on business, and ruined thousands of New Englanders. Methodism in Boston scarcely survived the financial crisis. All the fiscal plans of the trustees were frustrated, and they found themselves face to face with a deficit of eighteen thousand dollars. Unless this sum should be raised within a specified time, their two meeting-houses would be forfeited. By extraordinary exertions, and the shrewd advice and active aid of Colonel Amos Binney, the sum was raised, and the two houses of worship were saved to the Church.

At the time of his election to the episcopate, Hedding was again in Boston. The exposures to which he had been subjected during the early years of his itineracy left their mark upon him, in an enfeebled constitution; and for long he suffered from pulmonary and rheumatic troubles. Bishop Hedding was essentially a Northerner. During his long episcopate, he made but one visit, in 1831, to the South. With southern ways he had but little sympathy; and injudicious remarks he made in regard to slavery tended to limit his influence. Indeed, with the election of Hedding, there began a tendency in the bishops to be diocesan, in the place of being, in the completest sense, "general superintendents." Against this tendency Bishop McKendree battled zealously, but with only partial success.

The number of bishops being now increased to five, it was essential that they should co-operate harmoniously. The number of the Annual Conferences had been, by the action of the General Conference, increased to seventeen. Before it adjourned, the Conference recommended that the general superintendents should, at every session of the General Conference, and also in the intervals of the sessions, meet in council to form a plan of traveling through their charges, and to discuss matters connected with the general interests of the Church. This advisory action on the part of the Conference seems to have been the origin of what is known as the "Bishops' Meeting." The Conference evidently regarded the superintendency as joint, itinerant, and general; and a proposal to divide the Church into episcopal districts for the intervening four years was declared unconstitutional.

The following year, 1825, seems to have passed without any meeting of the college of bishops; but in April, 1826, four of them came together in the "Quaker City," where Bishops George and Hedding were presiding at the Annual Conference. They met in the room of Bishop McKendree, who had arrived from the South, with Soule, to attend the meeting; Bishop Roberts was absent. A matter they had to settle was the election of a representative to the British Conference—an appointment which they had been authorized to make by a resolution of the General Conference. The individual fixed upon by Roberts and Soule was William Capers, whom McKendree now nominated. George and Hedding, however, objected to Capers, because he was a slave-owner, and desired either to postpone the election, or to have Wilbur Fisk or Ezekiel Cooper sent in his place.

At this time Capers was a great power in the South. Born in South Carolina

BISHOPS OF THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

1. Richard Allen.
2. Morris Brown.
3. Edward Waters.
4. William Paul Quinn.
5. Willis Nazery.
6. D. Alexander Payne.
7. Alexander W. Wayman.
8. Jabez Pitt Campbell.
9. James A. Shorter.
10. Thomas M. D. Ward.
11. John M. Brown.
12. Henry McNeal Turner.
13. William F. Dickerson.
14. Richard H. Cain.
15. Richard R. Disney.
16. Wesley J. Gaines.
17. Benjamin W. Arnett.
18. Benjamin T. Tanner.
19. Abraham Grant.

BISHOPS OF THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

	NAME	BORN	PLACE OF BIRTH	ELECTED BISHOP	WHERE ELECTED	DIED
1	Richard Allen	1760	Philadelphia, Pa.	1818	Philadelphia, Pa	1831
2	Morris Brown	1770	Charleston, S. C.	1828	Philadelphia, Pa.	1849
3	Edward Waters		West River, Md.	1832	Philadelphia, Pa.	1847
4	William Paul Quinn	1795	Calcutta, India	1844		1873
5	Willis Nazery	1808	Isle of Wight Co., Va.	1852	New York City	1875
6	D. Alexander Payne	1811	Charleston, S. C.	1852	New York City	
7	Alexander W. Wayman	1821	Caroline Co , Md.	1864	Philadelphia, Pa.	
8	Jabez Pitt Campbell	1815	State of Delaware	1864	Philadelphia, Pa.	
9	James A. Shorter	1817	Washington, D. C.	1868	Washington, D. C.	
10	Thomas M. D. Ward	1823	Hanover, Pa.	1868	Washington, D. C.	
11	John M. Brown	1817	Odessa, Del.	1868	Washington, D. C.	
12	Henry M. Turner	1833	Newberry, S. C.	1880	St. Louis, Mo.	
13	William F. Dickerson	1845	Woodbury, N. J.	1880	St. Louis, Mo.	1884
14	Richard H. Cain	1825	Greenbrier Co., W Va.	1880	St. Louis, Mo.	
15	Richard R. Disney	1833	North East, Md.		Chatham, Ont.	
16	Wesley J. Gaines	1840	Wilkes Co., Ga.	1888	Indianapolis, Ind.	
17	B. W Arnett	1838	Brownsville, Pa.	1888	Indianapolis, Ind.	
18	B. T. Tanner.	1835	Pittsburgh, Pa.	1888	Indianapolis, Ind.	
19	Abraham Grant	1848	Lake City, Fla.	1888	Indianapolis, Ind.	

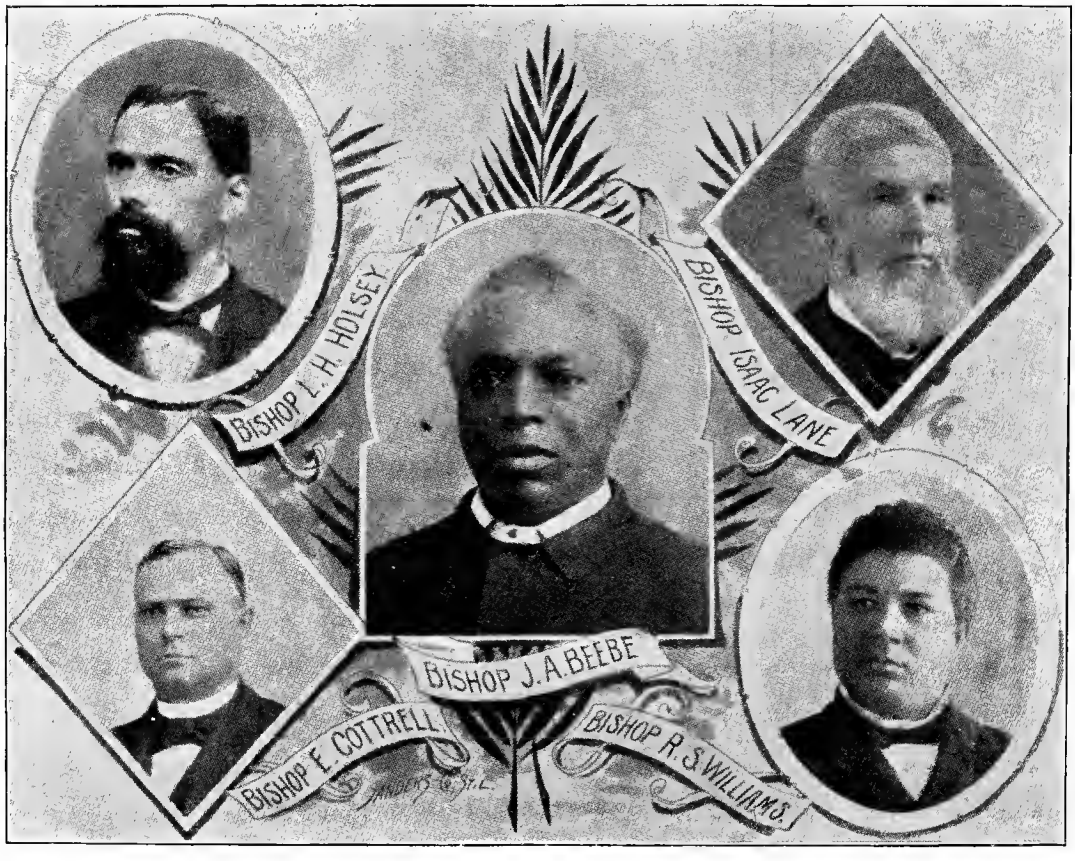
in the year 1790, he first studied law, and then entered the itineracy. From 1811 until 1818 he located; then, returning into the ranks of the itinerants, he earned a high reputation as an eloquent preacher and a Christian gentleman. In the year 1823 the Missionary Society of the Church resolved to push the work in Georgia, and made an appropriation for the purpose; and Capers was sent as its representative to Milledgeville, that he might be near the Creek Mission. His influence was not confined to this district, but made itself felt throughout the whole state. The governor's wife, Mrs. Clark, was a Methodist, and during the summer months, when she was absent from the executive mansion, she placed it at the disposal of her pastor, Mr. Capers, who was without a parsonage, and had been compelled to leave his family in South Carolina. In the following year, however, a parsonage was built, the third Methodist parsonage in the state of Georgia.

The amiable refusal of Bishop Roberts to push the claims of Capers, resulted in no action being taken by the five bishops. When the appointment was accordingly referred to the Conference of 1828, it proceeded to election and chose Capers, who made an excellent delegate. He was present at the London Conference which met in August of that year, and was received with much cordiality. The British brethren testified that he had confirmed their feelings of respect and attachment toward their American brethren at large.

In a consideration of the important controversy that was shortly to end in secession, it is a noteworthy fact that the reforming party, in contending for lay representation and other popular rights, could point to their British brethren as already enjoying these privileges. But the circumstances of the two countries were different. The whole area covered by the English societies was limited, and the Conference could, without inconvenience to delegates, meet annually. Moreover, authority was in no danger in a country where society was well graded and completely organized, and where

there was but little shifting of population, with its disintegrating influences. An Annual Conference, with its acknowledged leaders, known to every congregation in the kingdom, could very well grant wide privileges to members with no fear of the consequences. Precedent ran no danger of being infringed or swamped, for political and social life rested on a certain and solid basis that that had hitherto been outside the range of criticism.

Defeated in the General Conferences of 1820 and 1824, the reform party had not collapsed, but was keeping up an agitation for the reforms it desired. The question hinged in large measure on the question of authority in the Church. Did authority proceed from the whole body of members, or was it a trust received by

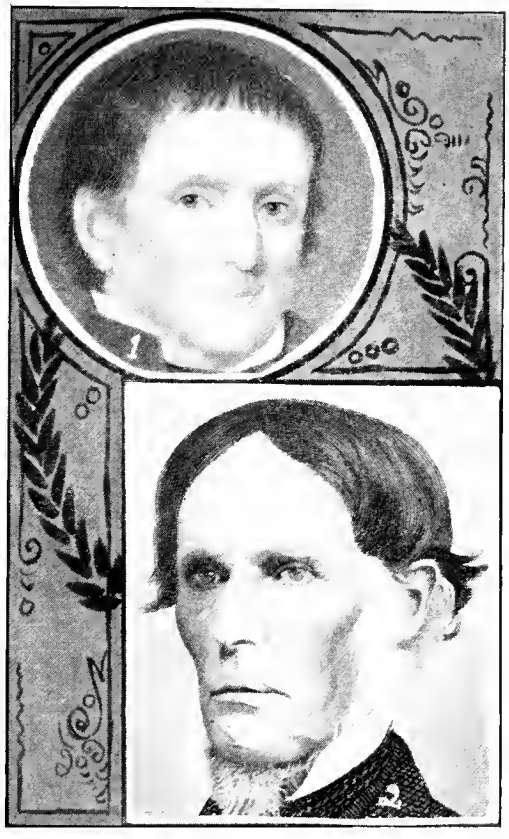


BISHOPS OF THE COLORED METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

was thoroughly understood. There was no disposition in the members to proceed to a discussion of abstract rights, or to adduce and press analogies from democratic political institutions. The leaders of the reform movement in America, as we shall see, proceeded in their campaign to shake the foundations on which the whole ecclesiastical organization was based, and to loosen the Church's confidence in historic names and characters the bishops through Asbury from Wesley? That it was received as a trust has always been the contention of the controlling party in the Methodist Episcopal Church. To quote the words of Dr. T. B. Neely, in the *New York Christian Advocate* of 1894: "The original governing power is vested in the ministry. In the beginning it belonged to Wesley, and then it passed to the Conferences of ministers. The logical explanation of

this is found in the fact that in the historical evolution of Methodism the ministry was first to come into existence. Thus Mr. Wesley preached Methodism before there was a Methodist laity. The society did not make him, but, on the contrary, he made the Methodist society. He preached and gathered the people, and the people came under his authority. Then he made the preachers, and the preachers gathered the people and formed other societies. Logically and historically the preachers were first, and the laity afterward. Later the power Wesley possessed went to the Conference called the Legal Hundred in England, while in America it passed to the Conference of preachers who organized the Church and made the laws, while the people voluntarily accepted this Conference government."

On the other side logical chains of argument, which proved convincing to many, were woven by keen disputants, who proceeded to imagine the evolution and supremacy of a Methodist hierarchy as tyrannous as that of Rome. Practically the question narrowed itself down to the legality or propriety of the expulsion of certain members on the ground of insubordination. The itinerant ministry, who retained the sole power of making and executing rules, considered that it was necessary, for the sake of "discipline," to expel from the Church certain subordinates, who, while morally and doctrinally sound, indulged in too free criticism of the order and government of the Church. The reform party then began to organize itself into Union Societies, at Baltimore, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and other places, and in the year 1824 the Baltimore Union Society founded a monthly paper called *Mutual Rights*, for the free promulgation of its views. This paper succeeded to another, the *Repository*, which had for four years



BISHOPS OF THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION.

1. JOHN SEYBERT; born in Pennsylvania, 1791; converted, 1810; became an itinerant minister of the Evangelical Association, 1820; first elected bishop in 1839; and was unanimously elected as his own successor until his death at Bellevue, Ohio, in 1859. 2. REV. JOSEPH LONG; born, Strasburg, Pennsylvania, 1800; joined the traveling connection of the Evangelical Association, 1822; elected bishop, 1843, and every four years thereafter until his death in 1869.

been the organ of the party. The following extract from the preface to the first volume of *Mutual Rights* shows fairly well the aims and spirit of the movement. "For the recovery," it states, "of the mutual rights of the ministers and members of the Church of Christ from the usurpation and tyranny which were sought after and accomplished in the establishment of hierarchies, it was necessary that the people should be enlightened. To be patient in slavery men must be ignorant. To give security to masters, ignorance must be perpetuated. These maxims are equally true in Church or State." The language plainly implied that the bishops and

REV. E. J. DRINKHOUSE,
Historian of Protestant Methodism.

elders were, in a certain sense at least, usurpers and despots.

There is no doubt that this introduction of political methods of thought and practice into church matters would have been to the last degree distasteful to the founder of Methodism; and that the main body of the Methodist Church fully recognized the divergence from the best precedent which such a change involved. The contest was carried on with a good deal of acrimony in the pages of the *Methodist Magazine* and of *Mutual Rights*. Nathan Bangs, Emory, Bond—who was at first a moderate reformer, but after 1824 intensely conservative—and others were active on the conservative side; while McCaine, Asa Shinn, and Jennings represented the reformers. The circulating of the reform party's literature was regarded as a proof of disaffection to the Church, and several expulsions ensued.

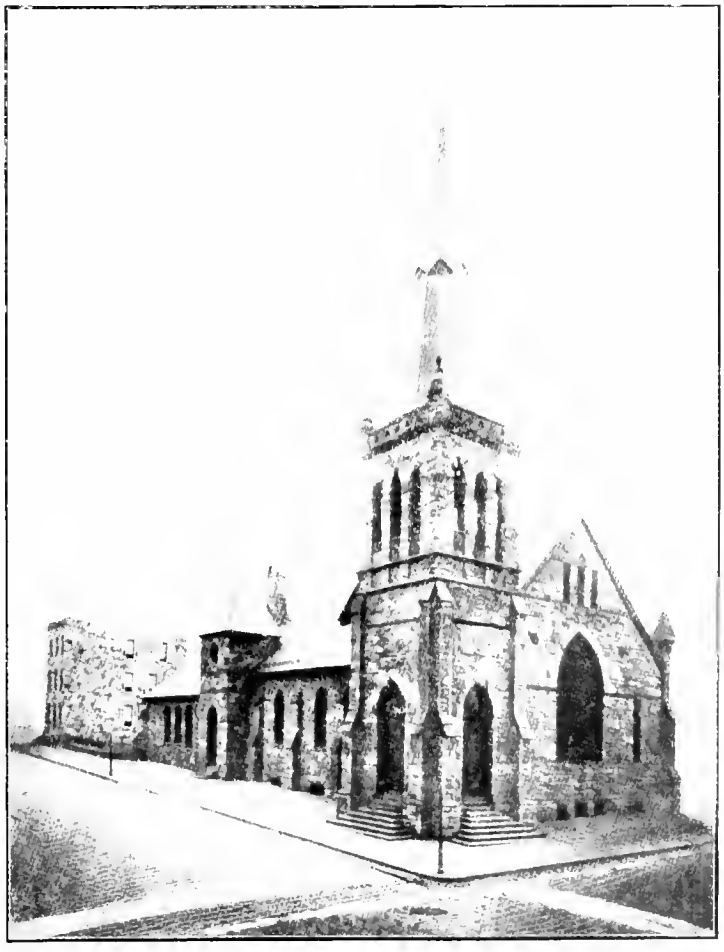
Already in 1821 there had taken place in New York a considerable secession, due to the so-called "tyranny" of the hierarchy. The Rev. W M. Stillwell, of that city, taking umbrage at certain legislation designed for the better security of church property, which he viewed as usurpation of the rights of congregations, seceded, and induced several hundred local preachers and members in good standing to secede with him. He also prevailed on a congregation of African Methodists to leave the Methodist Episcopal Church; and this was the nucleus of the present African Zion Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1824 the "Stillwellites" showed a membership of over two thousand, with three churches in New York, and others in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Two years later a split occurred, and two rival Conferences met in New York. It was with the Sullivan Street Conference that Stillwell was connected; and this Conference had sympathetic relations with the Maryland "Radicals." The familiar name of Lorenzo Dow reappears in connection with these Independent Methodists. He was "general missionary" of the society, and he continued to be associated with them and with the Methodist Protestant Church, which subsequently absorbed most of these seceders. The closing years of his wandering life were spent in Maryland, where he received much kindness from the members of that sect, which was strong in the "mother state."

The name of Alexander McCaine, born and bred in the Emerald Isle, has already appeared in these pages as the associate and friend of Asbury, who formed a high estimate of his ability and respected his honest bluntness. A zealous partisan, like so many of his countrymen, he seems to have become intoxicated with the atmosphere of controversy; he proceeded to publish a book which, while it gave no little pain and umbrage to the other side, scandalized moderate men. made unfriendly outsiders rejoice ma

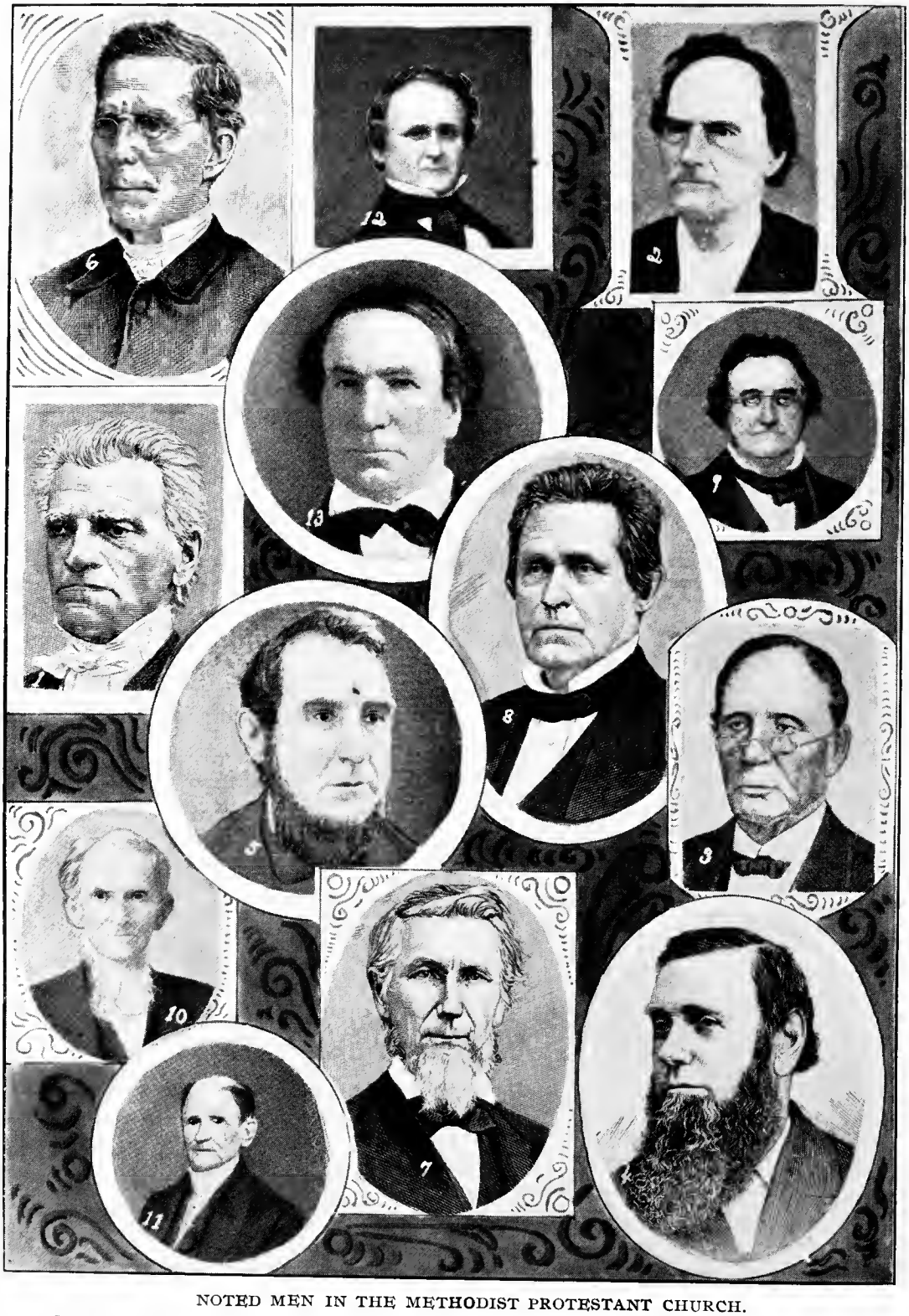
liciously, and can hardly be said to have strengthened his own party. The claptrap title, to begin with, was offensive: "The History and Mystery of the Methodist Episcopacy, or a Glance at the Institutions of the Church, as we Received them from our Fathers." To this was added the motto, in itself a dangerous and unsettling one: "He who has no right to the thing he possesses, cannot prescribe or plead any length of time to make his possession lawful." The volume, which fell like a bombshell among the church members, was printed at Baltimore in the year 1827; it extended to seventy-two pages, and never reached a second edition. The reply it called forth, from John Emory—"A Defence of Our Fathers"—appeared in New York in November of the same year. The Defence naturally ends with an appeal to the loyalty of Methodists, to form a close phalanx for the protection of reputations so dear to them and so vital to the standing of their Church as were those of Asbury and of Coke.

The movement finally came to a head on November 15, 1827, when a General Convention was held in Baltimore, having delegates from the eastern and western shores of the state of Maryland, from Ohio, New York, the District of Columbia, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Having elected the Rev. Nicholas Snethen presiding officer, the Convention proceeded to draft a memorial to the General Conference, soon to meet, embodying their demands. The memorial, which consisted of ten paragraphs, asked for the admission of local preachers and laymen to membership in the General Conference, as a matter of right; the number of local preachers and laymen to equal the number of itinerants. It also asked for the modification of the old rule of 1796, which dealt with "sowing dissensions," so as to prevent its abuse by prejudging the intentions of brethren. The final request was for the trial of members by a method more analogous to the civil law, with a jury and a right to challenge.

Before the Conference met the grievances had resulted in the formation of a new sect, the Associate Methodist Reformers, numbering fourteen preachers and about two hundred members. Some

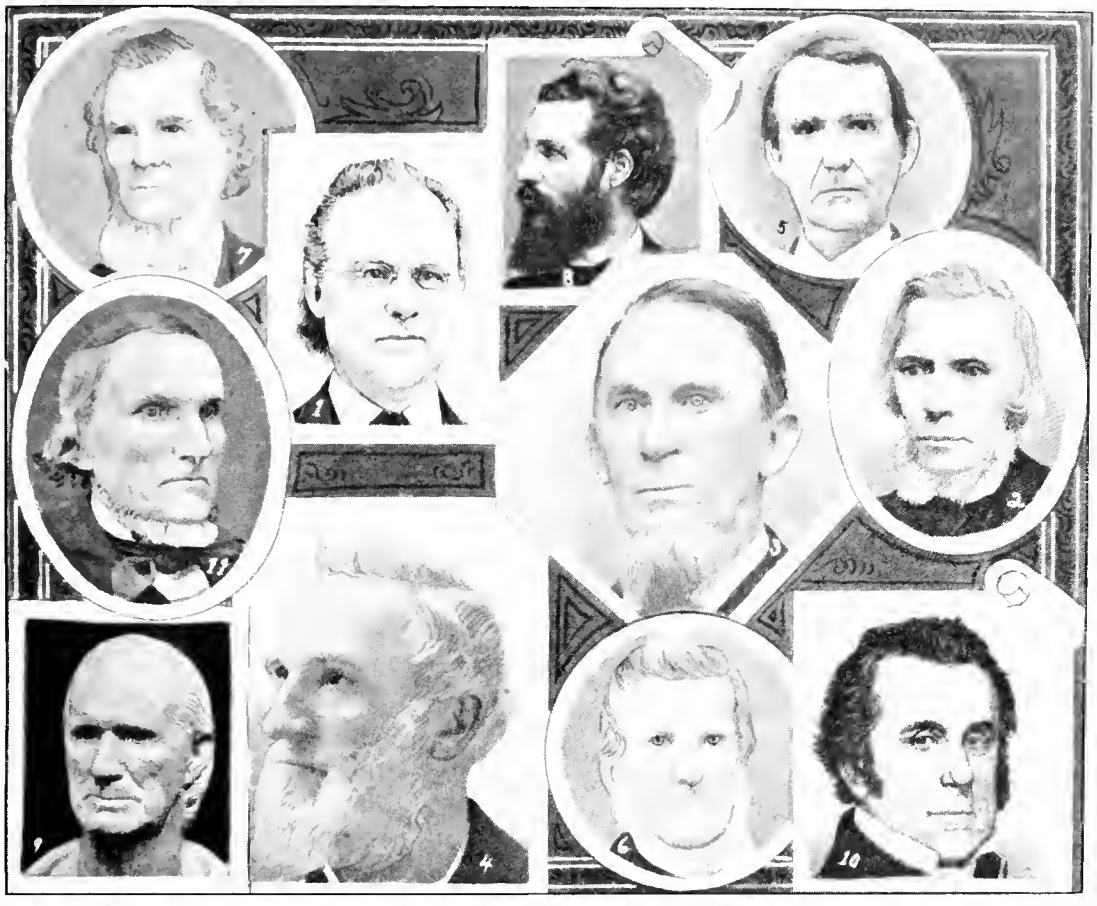


ALNUTT MEMORIAL METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH AND PARSONAGE, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.



NOTED MEN IN THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH.

1. SAMUEL CLAWSON, of West Virginia. 2. GEORGE NESTOR; born in Virginia, 1818; died, 1873. 3. P. T. LAISHLEY; born in England, 1798; died, 1884. 4. JAMES ROBINSON; born in Pennsylvania, 1812; died, 1890. 5. JOHN BURNS; born, 1808; joined Methodist Episcopal Church in 1826, and Methodist Protestant Church in 1832. 6. WILLIAM COLLIER; born in Maryland, 1803; joined Methodist Protestant Church in 1829. 7. ANCEL H. BASSETT; born in Massachusetts, 1809; died, 1886. 8. GEORGE BROWN; born in Pennsylvania, 1792; died, 1871. 9. PHILEMON B. HOPPER; born in Maryland, 1791. 10. THOMAS MCCORMICK; born in Virginia, 1792. 11. FRANCIS WATERS; born in Maryland, 1792; died, 1868. 12. LEVI R. REESE; born in Maryland, 1806; died in Philadelphia, 1857. 13. JOHN S. REESE; brother of Levi; born, 1790; died in Baltimore county, Maryland, 1855.



LEADERS IN THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH.

1. J. J. SMITH; born in New Jersey, 1817; joined Methodist Protestant Church, 1832; entered its itinerant ministry, 1836. 2. THOMAS H STOCKTON; born in New Jersey, 1808; joined Methodist Episcopal Church, 1826; afterward joined Methodist Protestant Church; died, 1870. 3. J. T. WARD; born, 1820; entered Maryland Conference of Methodist Protestant Church, 1866; died, 1897. 4. J. S. THRAP; born in Ohio, 1820; joined Methodist Protestant Church, 1839; licensed to preach, 1842. 5. JOHN PARIS; born in North Carolina, 1809; joined Methodist Protestant Church, 1832; died, 1833. 6. ALSON GRAY, of North Carolina Conference; died, 1880. 7. W. W. WILLS; born in North Carolina, 1809; joined Methodist Protestant Church, 1830; licensed to preach, 1831; often president of Annual Conference; died, 1899. 8. ALEXANDER CLARK, D. D.; for long editor of *Methodist Recorder*, Pittsburgh; died at the home of Governor Colquitt, Atlanta, Georgia. 9. ALEXANDER MCCAINE; born in Dublin, Ireland, 1768; came to America, 1788; died in Alabama, 1856; the famous controversialist. 10. NICHOLAS SNETHEN; born in Long Island, New York, 1769; joined traveling connection of Methodist Episcopal Church, 1794; stationed in Charleston, South Carolina, 1788–9; traveled with Bishop Asbury, 1809; joined Methodist Protestant Church after its organization; died 1849. 11. DENNIS B. DORSEY; born in Baltimore, 1799; converted, 1817; joined Baltimore Conference, 1820; suspended 1826; became active member of Methodist Protestant Church; died in Virginia, 1860.

of these had been expelled for contumacy, while others had withdrawn through sympathy with the expelled. On the one side was the cry of persecution, on the other of treason.

The General Conference which received and acted upon the Baltimore memorial was the first to meet west of the Alleghanies. The place of assembly was Pittsburgh, the center of a disaffected district. All the five bishops were present; and the session was opened by the senior bishop. The delegates were more numerous than ever before, reaching a total of one hundred and seventy-seven. The memorial from the Baltimore Convention, with petitions of a like nature from other localities, having been referred to a committee, of which Dr. John Emory was chairman, that body prepared an elaborate report, which was believed to be essentially the composition

of Dr. Thomas Bond. Though its tenor was wholly unfavorable to the appellants, yet Asa Shinn moved its adoption—an act which can hardly be explained except on the theory of temporary mental aberration. To such attacks, indeed, he had been subject for many years. The result was the unanimous adoption of the report. The Conference afterward voted for the restoration of members who had been expelled, provided they foreswore all connection with *Mutual Rights*, and gave up their membership in the Union Societies.

The career of Asa Shinn is an interesting one. Born in New Jersey, and brought up in the mountains of western Virginia, he joined the Methodist Church in 1798, when seventeen years of age. A few years later he became an itinerant preacher, and underwent a good deal of privation on frontier circuits. His early educational advantages were small, but he used his naturally quick faculties to repair his lack of opportunities, and became a capable scholar and writer. Indeed, few were regarded as his superiors in the practical exposition and defense of Christian doctrine.

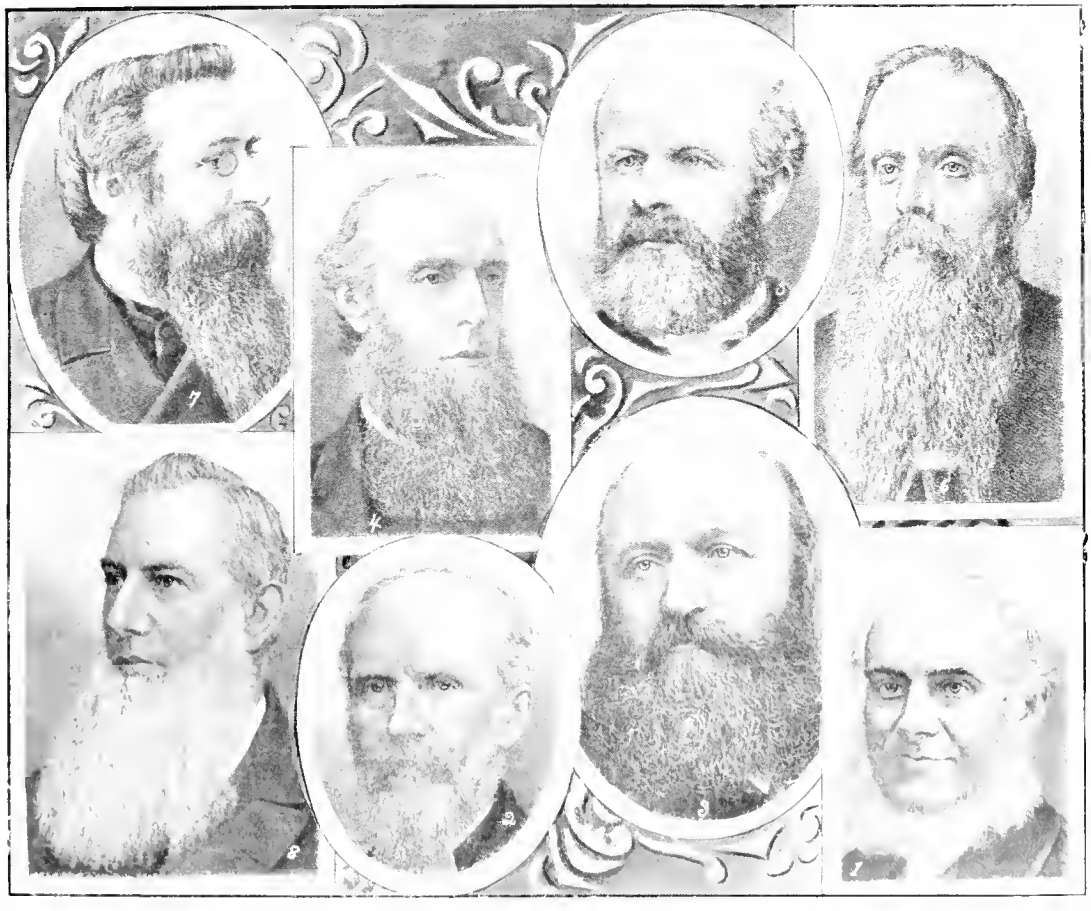
The loss of two promising children in the year 1813, when he was stationed at Georgetown, D. C., temporarily unhinged his mind; and, some years later, when he lost his wife, after a happy union of twelve years, he had a recurrence of the attack. His extraordinary action at the Pittsburgh Conference was attributed to the excitement producing a harmful effect on his brain. Again, in 1843, he succumbed to the malady, and the closing ten years of his life were spent in mental darkness. Mr. Shinn was highly respected by all classes of Methodists as a devout Christian and diligent minister.

Such a decision could hardly be satisfactory to the party which considered itself aggrieved. Expulsions for "contumacy" did not cease, and in November, 1828, another General Convention of Reformers was held in Baltimore, with representatives from eleven states and from the District of Columbia. A provisional church organization was formed, under the title of the Associated Methodist Churches, and a committee appointed to draft a constitution and church discipline, and to compile a hymn-book. Two years later, in November, 1830, the movement took final shape in the founding of the Methodist Protestant Church. Its delegates were half lay and half ministerial, representing a constituency of about five thousand members and eighty ministers. Its first president was Francis Waters, D. D., and its first secretary, W C. Lipscomb. Rejecting the offices of bishop and of presiding elder, it divided the whole territory from which it drew its adherents into districts, circuits, and stations. Every district was to have its Annual Conference; and the General Conference was to be septennial. A provision was made by which, at the instance of three members, the vote of ministers and laymen at the Conference should be taken separately, a concurrent vote being necessary for the passing of a measure. Class-leaders were to be elected annually by their classes, but, upon failure to elect, the right to nominate rested with the superintendent. There was a color and sex restriction on the suffrage and eligibility to office, only white ministers and members in full connection, and above twenty-one years of age, being admitted to vote or hold office —a restriction which led to a secession some thirty years later. In respect to doctrine, the old standards were adhered to. Such was the secession of 1830, which deprived the Methodist Episcopal Church of many ministers and laymen of high standing and distinguished abilities.

The very year in which the reform party

in the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States determined to separate from the main body, owing to their defeat in the General Conference, a secession of a similar kind took place in England. In this case, also, the seceders adopted the name of Methodist Protestants. There was, accordingly, much superficial resemblance between the two movements; and yet the actual causes which operated were by no means similar. The element of revolt against exclusive ministerial authority, it is true, was present in England as in the United States. The thirty years which elapsed between 1797 and 1827 had witnessed a gradual change in the status of Methodist preachers. Originally little more than traveling evangelists, they were now distinctly dissenting ministers, and regarded as ministers by their own laity and the outside world. Even the title *Reverend* was freely assumed after the year 1820.

The laity now began to desire a place in the church councils. As members of the financial councils they already wielded considerable power; but they were hardly satisfied with this small concession. A jealousy of the supremacy of the Conference began to manifest itself in various quarters, and first came to a head in Leeds, over a petty "organ" dispute. Early in the year 1827, the trustees and seatholders in Brunswick Street Chapel, Leeds, decided to have



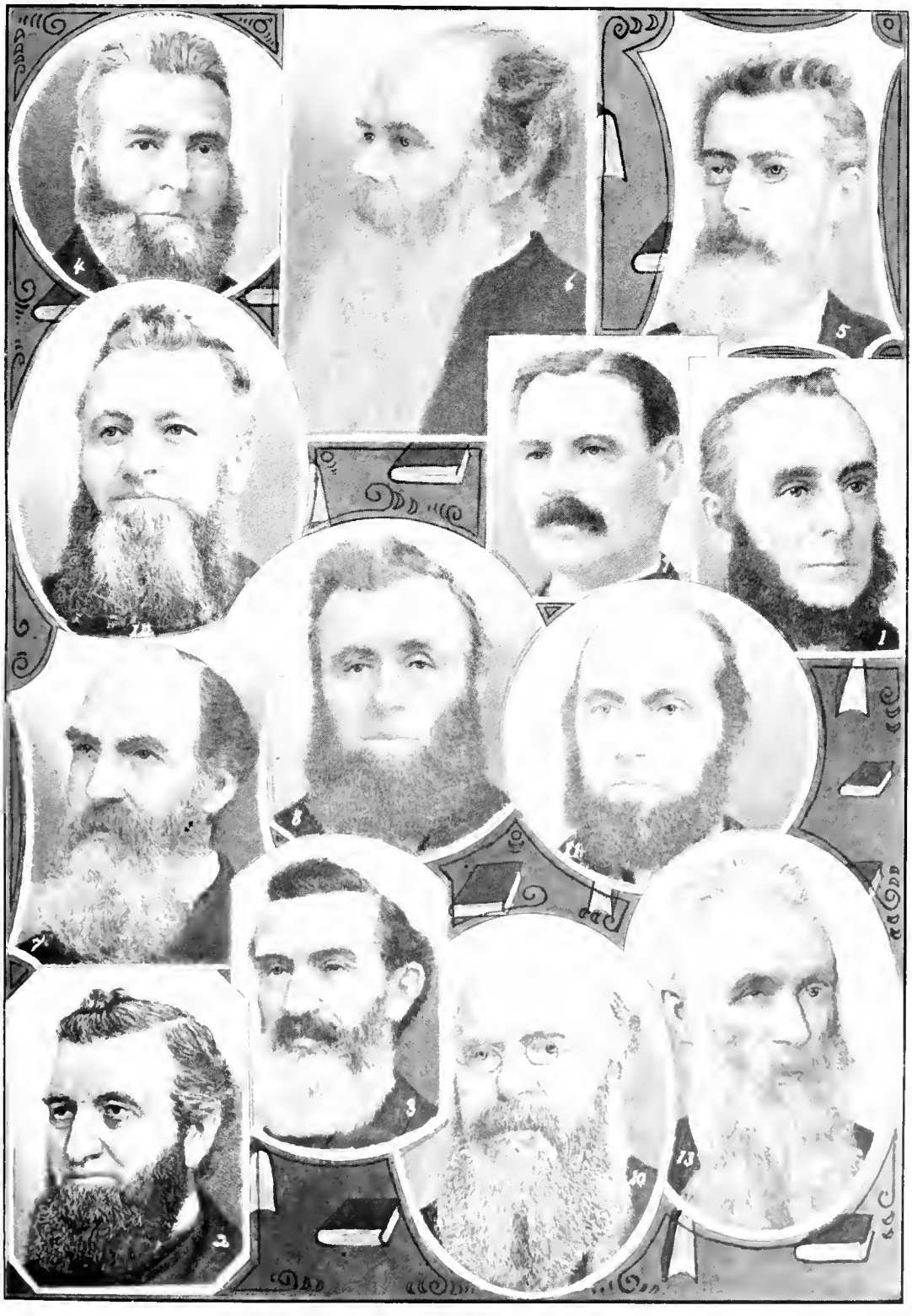
LEADERS IN THE ENGLISH PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHURCH.

1. John Pickwell.
2. John Milner.
3. Henry Spicer.
4. Joseph Peck.
5. John Ford.
6. George Clark.
7. James Young.
8. James B. Knapp.

an organ for their place of worship; but, as the preachers, itinerant and local, were opposed to the innovation, it was decided to refer the matter to the Conference for decision. By a provision made in 1796, it was enacted that no organ should be placed in any chapel "till proposed by the Conference." A few organs had been introduced, but with results so unsatisfactory that in 1808 the Conference, after discussion, deemed it expedient to refuse thereafter its sanction to the erection of any organ in any of the chapels. Twelve years later, however, it modified this decision, and professed itself willing to grant the privilege to larger chapels. The absence of a definite mention of the party which should make the formal request to Conference led to an unhappy dispute in the Leeds chapel between the trustees and the leaders.

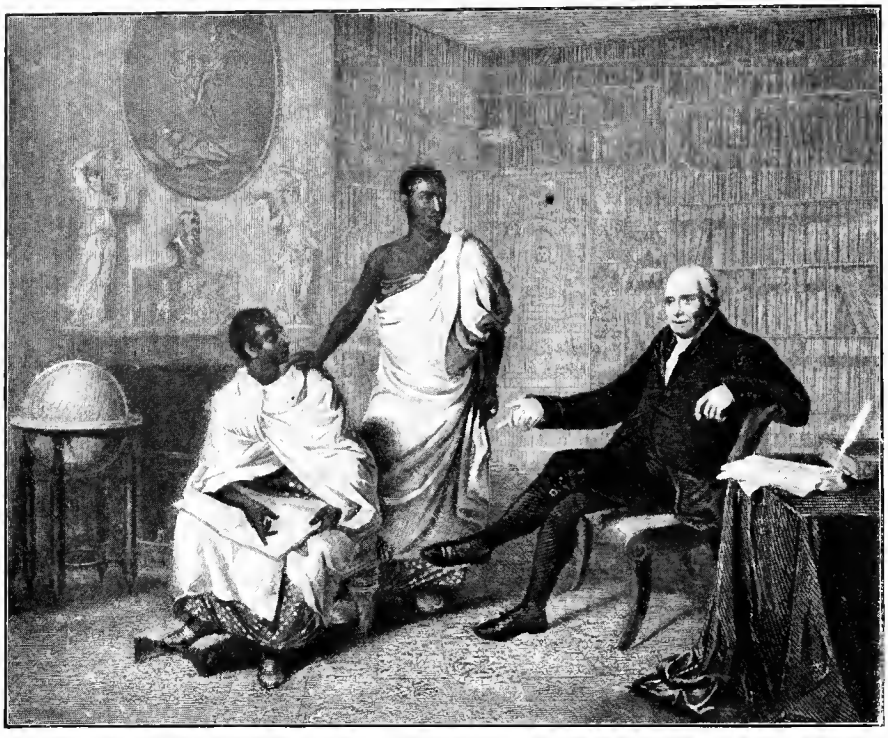
When, at length, the trustees presented their request to the Conference of 1827, the matter was referred to a committee, which reported favorably; and the Conference received and sanctioned the recommendation of the report. As soon as the Leeds societies learned of this decision, they were aflame with insubordination, and a large secession took place. The ministers who had sanctioned the organ were denounced as "despots," "faithless," "mercenary," ready to promote "a tyranny of the worst and most alarming character." Jabez Bunting, the acknowledged leader of the Conference, was termed its master and ruler, who had enslaved it. It was proposed that a complete change should be made in the whole Methodist system of church government, which was declared to be "alike contrary to reason, to the British constitution, and to the usages of the New Testament." A bitter attack was also made on the employment of instrumental music generally, as unlawful in Christian worship. Not long after the secession, however, the seceders themselves introduced an organ into one of their chapels near Leeds; and, in their chapel in London, they began to use the national liturgy.

This was not the only secession which occurred among the English Methodists during this period. In the year 1816 a secession took place in the southwestern counties of England, the seceders taking the name of Arminian Bible Christians. Popularly they were known as "Bryanites," from their leader, William O'Bryan or Bryan. The name suggests an Irish descent, but he was a Cornishman born and bred. The family, however, traced its descent to an Irishman, Bryan or Brayne, who was one of Cromwell's officers, and rose to the rank of lieutenant-general. William Bryan, who was the first to prefix an O to the name, was born at Lanivery in the year 1778. Both of his parents were church people, but his maternal grandmother had been a Quakeress. Converted in 1795, he became an active Methodist preacher, but was expelled fifteen years later for alleged breaches of discipline. The society he formed retained its name of Arminian Bible Christians until 1829, when they dropped the first designation, and were content to be known by the vague title of Bible Christians. The change of name, however, represented no change whatever in doctrine. O'Bryan emigrated to the United States in 1831, and engaged in evangelistic labors in Brooklyn, but failed to found a church. In 1836 he published a work entitled "Travels in the United States of America." Until his death at the advanced age of ninety, he kept crossing between the two countries. He lies buried beside his wife, who died in Brooklyn in the year 1860. O'Bryan was a man of high character, and enjoyed the esteem of his



LEADERS IN THE ENGLISH PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHURCH.

1. Thomas Waumsley.
2. J. F. Parrish.
3. John Vaughan.
4. Joseph Shephard.
5. Thomas Guttery.
6. Jabez Oliver.
7. George Morgan.
8. T. Kench.
9. William Robinson.
10. Reuben Barron.
11. John Taylor.
12. Thomas Hartshorne.
13. Thomas Bryant.



DR. ADAM CLARKE AND HIS BUDDHIST PUPILS.

Sir Alexander Johnstone placed under the care of Dr. Adam Clarke two Ceylon Buddhists. They studied under him for two years, when they were baptized in the Christian faith and returned to Ceylon, where one became a missionary and the other an officer in the civil service.

associates. The sect is still in existence in southwestern England.

We have already described the rise of the "Ranters" or "Camp-meeting" Methodists, who separated from the Wesleyan Methodists early in the century. They now number close upon two hundred thousand.

We have noticed, in the account given of the "Stillwellites," that a negro congregation seceded with them in 1821, and became the nucleus of a large organization. Some five years earlier a similar secession had taken place in Philadelphia, with the result that an African Methodist Episcopal Church was formed. The history of the mother congregation of this now numerous body is interesting.

As early as the year 1787, the colored people of the Methodist society in Philadelphia, feeling no longer comfortable in immediate religious association with white folks, organized themselves into a separate congregation, and began building a church of their own. This secession met with great opposition from the Methodist elder, but they persisted in carrying out their plans. The result was expulsion from the society. Happily some large-minded citizens helped them out in their monetary difficulties, and Bishop White of the Protestant Episcopal Church consented to ordain one of their number as their pastor. The holding of the church property led to considerable legal difficulties; and many meanwhile became Episcopalians. Four years later Richard Allen, who had been a southern slave, and later became bishop, converted a blacksmith-shop in his yard into a meeting-house, and this was dedicated in June, 1794, by Bishop Asbury. The church was named "Bethel," and was placed under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but not according to the prescribed form. Rich-

ard Allen, when he received ordination as pastor in 1799, was the first colored preacher in the United States. Sixteen years later difficulties arose with those in control of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. A contribution of six hundred dollars to the central fund was demanded in return for a regular preaching supply; but the price was deemed too dear, considering the quality of the preaching, and finally the Bethel people refused to contribute more than one hundred dollars. This sum was declined, as inadequate, and the people were declared contumacious. The resident elder, Robert R. Roberts, afterward bishop, entering the church on an ensuing Sabbath, to take possession of the pulpit, was not allowed to proceed more than half-way, and had to retire. A lawsuit which grew out of the dispute ended in favor of the Bethel people.

In April, 1816, a convention, invitations to attend which had been sent to colored people in various districts throughout the republic, met in Philadelphia. There were seventeen delegates in all, five from Philadelphia, seven from Baltimore, three from Attleborough in Massachusetts, one from Salem, New Jersey, and one from Wilmington, Delaware. Daniel Coker, having been elected bishop, resigned in favor of Richard Allen, who was consecrated bishop by the Rev. Absalom Jones, a priest of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The name chosen for the organization was the African Methodist Episcopal Church; and it adopted the Book of Discipline of the Methodist Church, with its Articles of Religion, and its General Rules, as drafted by the two Wesleys, entire and complete, with the sole omission of the office of presiding elder. Probably three thousand persons joined the organization at its inception; and ten years later the membership had more than doubled. Bishop Allen served as bishop for fifteen years, dying in 1831. A man of but little education, he yet possessed remarkable judgment and energy, and won genenral respect. Visitors to the "Quaker City" will find in the Philadelphia Park a monument to his memory.

CHAPTER XXIV

CONQUESTS BY LAND AND SEA.

THE mark of a rising or falling church, in these modern days, is the readiness to undertake the responsibilities of evangelization in all places and among all peoples. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a great many good, honest Christians held timid and contracted views upon this matter. They deprecated the spending of time or money on the conversion of alien peoples so long as a single heathen remained in the slums and dark places of the home land. Nor did they believe that the less civilized people could be reached by the preaching of Christian truths. This was the general note of polite literature and of elegant society; and it was heard in Christian pulpits. A lord bishop of the English state church discoursed upon the folly of expounding sacred spiritual truths to people who could not read nor write.

Happily the Methodist body from the beginning was with those who believed in a forward movement and in an aggressive campaign. It believed that no people was too degraded to listen to the story of Christ's love for them and of His death on the cross. It followed what the great Duke of Wellington aptly called the "marching orders" of the Christian ministry—"*Go ye out into all the world and preach the gospel.*" It is to be noticed that by the middle of the century these opinions had gained a victory all along the line. The treasured poem of cultured England in the 1850–60 decade was the "In Memoriam" of Alfred Tennyson, the poet-laureate. Himself a storehouse of culture, the "heir of all the ages," he yet proclaims himself in sympathy, not with my lord bishop of Carlisle who declared that to preach the gospel to the illiterate is to cast pearls before swine, but with the simple missionary who told the story of Christ's love for men to the untutored savages of Polynesia:

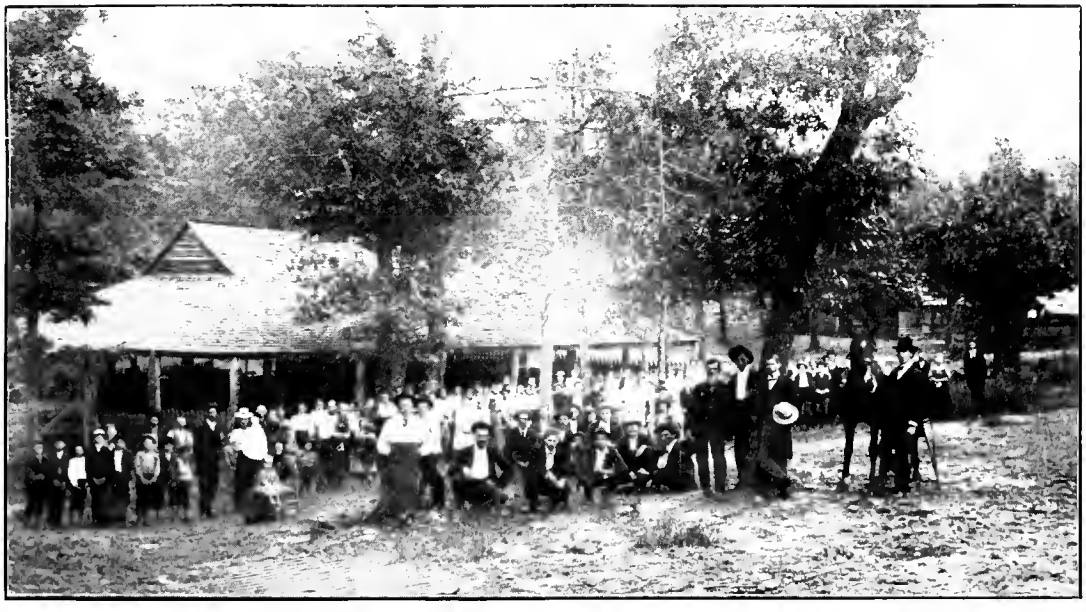
> For Wisdom dealt with mortal powers,
> Where truth in closest words shall fail,
> When truth embodied in a tale
> Shall enter in at lowly doors.
>
> And so the Word had breath, and wrought
> With human hands the creed of creeds
> In loveliness of perfect deeds,
> More strong than all poetic thought:
>
> Which he may read who binds the sheaf,
> Or builds the house, or digs the grave,
> And those wild eyes that watch the wave
> In roarings round the coral reef.
>
> (*In Memoriam*, xxxvi.)

There is every reason to interpret the allusion as pointing to John Williams, the martyr of Erromanga, who was in London and elsewhere pleading for the savages of the Pacific when Tennyson was writing these stanzas.

There is one figure in English Methodist circles during the first portion of the nineteenth century which is worthy of more than a passing notice. Without an adequate acquaintance with the life-work of Richard Watson, it is impossible to understand the drift of Methodist theology, or to follow intelligently the growth of Methodist foreign missions. To him, more than to any other man, Methodists are indebted for carrying on and expounding the doctrines of John Wesley. Like Wesley, he was a Lincolnshire man, having been born at Barton-upon-Humber, not very far from Epworth. He was the seventh of eighteen children. Although his father, a saddler by trade, was a Dissenter, yet he had his son baptized and brought up in the Church of England; while he him-

self attended a chapel belonging to Lady Huntingdon's connexion.

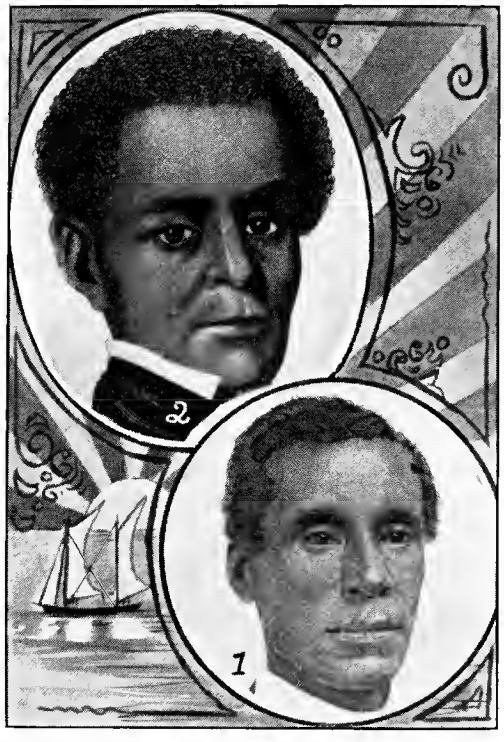
After a short period of wildness, young Watson came under serious convictions and began to preach when fifteen years of age. His maternal grandmother, a noble old woman of eighty, to whom he was tenderly attached, exercised a great influence over him. A member of the Methodist society of Lincoln, whither her son and his family had now removed, she yet attended religious service in the parish church, and also climbed the steep hill on which Lincoln Cathedral stands, in order to enjoy the service in that historic fane. It was her sudden death which is said to have given him the first impulse to speak in public; he felt constrained to comment on the lessons taught by her life and death. Three years later, when a junior preacher at Derby, he appeared in the lists as an apologist for Methodism. Mr. Hotham, a clergyman of that town, had published an ill-informed and misleading pamphlet, directed against the "People called Methodists," and teaching infant regeneration and the needlessness of a change of heart. In his "Apology for the Methodists," a crude production in many respects, Watson shows much of the controversial power for which he afterward became famous. It was not until twelve years later that he entered upon his career of usefulness in the Church. Suspected of Arian heresy, he retired from the itineracy; then for a time he was with the New Connexion Methodists; then he became a journalist and married. Finally, in 1812, he again resumed preaching with the Wesleyan Methodists, and was regarded thenceforth as a pillar of the Church. His first auspicious literary services to the Church was his defense of foreign missions.



THE OLD LOUDSVILLE CAMP-GROUND, WHITE COUNTY, GEORGIA.
Established about 1850. It is situated in Dahlonega District, near the foot of the Blue Ridge.
(From a photograph made in 1900.)

When, toward the close of his busy career, Dr. Thomas Coke severed his connection with the foreign mission board in London, of which he had been the general superintendent and motive-power, it was feared that the work would permanently suffer. Not only was he

the best collector for the fund, traveling hither and thither to raise money, but he himself was a liberal giver, and inspired others by example. In the end, however, the removal of his auspicious personality did not injure the cause. The organizing talent of Jabez Bunting placed that upon a secure footing which had hitherto depended on the initiative



MISSIONARY BISHOPS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

1. FRANCIS BURNS, Missionary Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Western Africa. 2. JOHN WRIGHT ROBERTS, late Missionary Bishop for Africa.

and enthusiasm of a single person. The mantle of Coke may, indeed, be said to have fallen upon Bunting.

We have seen how Bunting's mother, good Mary Redfern, when a girl in Derbyshire, heard Richard Boardman, as he was on his way to New York, and how she underwent a change of heart. Remembering the text (1 Chron. iv. 10) from which he had preached, she called her first-born Jabez. He was born in the year 1779 at Manchester, where his father was a tailor.

His early education was thorough; and he was fortunate in attracting the notice of an accomplished physician, Dr. Thomas Percival, who received him as a pupil and amanuensis. Had he so wished, Bunting might have succeeded to a good practice in Manchester; but his own choice was to enter the Methodist ministry, and his mother, now a widow, shared this ambition. By the year 1803 he was in full connection, and serving as minister at Oldham Chapel, Manchester. His influence in the connexion steadily grew. In 1806 he was assistant secretary to the Conference, and in 1814 he became secretary and a member of the legal hundred.

It was Bunting's aim to bring the affairs of the Methodist organization into an orderly system; and the foreign mission cause was one of several to benefit by the reforms. By the year 1817 a scheme was perfected which united the various local societies that had been formed into one central society, named the Wesleyan Missionary Society. The local district societies became "auxiliary societies," and the circuit societies were termed "branch societies." There was a general committee of London, consisting of sixteen Methodist ministers and sixteen laymen, four of whom went out annually by rotation. The General Conference of 1818 gave its formal approval to the "Laws and Regulations of the General Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society;" and, with certain additions and modifications, the constitution remains to-day essentially the same. The drafting of these rules was mainly the work of Jabez Bunting and Richard Watson. In the year 1816 Watson was appointed one of the general secretaries, and in the same year he drew up his first report. It stated that during the previous twelve months nineteen additional missionaries had been sent to different parts of the

world: four to Ceylon, one to Bombay, one to the Cape of Good Hope, four to the West Indies, two to Nova Scotia, three to Newfoundland, one to Quebec, one to Gibraltar, one to Brussels, and one to France; making a grand total of eighty in the field.

Great interest was shown at this time in the South African work. In the summer of 1814 the first Methodist missionary, John McKenny, arrived in Capetown. The illiberal Dutch East India Company, however, refused to let him preach, and he had to content himself with holding a few private meetings. He was then instructed to proceed to Ceylon. Two years later the pioneer missionary for South Africa, Barnabas Shaw, landed at Capetown, nine months before the Presbyterian, Robert Moffat, who became later so famous in the annals of missions. By this time the colony had been ceded by the Netherlands government to Great Britain, and Mr. Shaw found work to do among the troops as a kind of military chaplain.

BISHOP ISAAC W. WILEY.
Buried at Foochow, China.

REV. DANIEL P. KIDDER, D. D.,
Missionary to South America.

After four months of this work he pressed four hundred miles into the interior, accompanied by his wife, and at Lily Fountain, among the savage Namaquas, he planted the first Methodist station in South Africa. When he returned to England in 1827 he had a thrilling story to tell of religious and educational work in these remote regions.

Public interest was directed at this time toward mission work in the West Indies by accusations made in the House of Commons and through the press against the Methodists in these islands. In the year 1816, the member for Stockbridge stated in the House of Commons that the Methodist missionaries in Jamaica and elsewhere, under the mask of religion, inculcated principles of sedition, worked up the feelings of the slaves against their masters, and, in one case at least, induced the outbreak of open insurrection. A Methodist member of parliament, Mr. Butterworth, took up the matter, forced the accusing party to acknowledge that he possessed no evidence for his grave charges, and that, indeed,

BISHOP GILBERT HAVEN,
Who visited Liberia and did much to re-establish the work in Africa.

he was even unable to discriminate between one sect and another; and received an acknowledgment from the government that no imputation of the kind rested on Methodist missions.

Another member of parliament, named Marryat, attacked Methodist missionaries through the press, and was assisted by various anonymous writers, until the clamor grew serious. It was then that Watson stepped into the arena and defended his cause with complete success. The pamphlet he published was entitled "A Defence of the Wesleyan Methodist Missions in the West Indies; Including a Refutation of the Charges in Mr. Marryat's 'Thoughts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade,' etc., and other Publications; with Facts and Anecdotes Illustrative of the Moral State of the Slaves, and of the Operations of Missions." It was welcomed everywhere in the religious world as a masterly contribution to the subject.

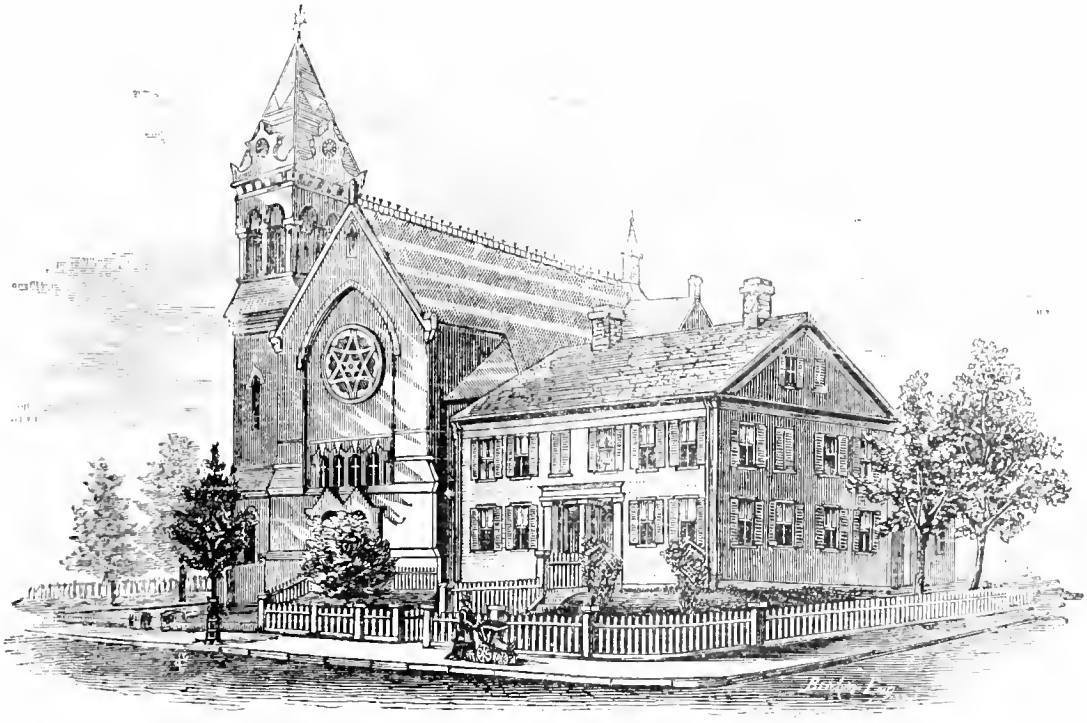
Another field had meanwhile been opened to the energies of Methodist pioneers. The sunny islands of the South Seas, whither for more than twenty years convicts had been sent, were now beginning to attract genuine colonists. The beauty of the scenery, the salubrity of the climate, and the fertility of soil in New South Wales, where was the convict settlement of Botany Bay, impressed all who chanced to visit the locality. The result of the Napoleonic wars had been to leave Great Britain mistress of the seas. In the middle of the eighteenth century she had often found herself unable to cope with the French fleet alone, and the Dutch flag remained paramount in these Australasian waters. But after the battles of the Nile and of Trafalgar there was no question of any rival; and her sailors and traders were in every ocean.

The first efforts of Methodism in New South Wales were of an educational character. Two Wesleyan schoolmasters, through the efforts of the same Mr. Butterworth who undertook the defense of the West Indian missionaries, were sent

out to Sydney Here they found some settlers who had been Methodists before they left the shores of England. In March of the year 1812 the first class-meeting, made up of twelve members, was held at Sydney; and another of six persons met soon after at Windsor. Its leader was an Irishman who had been condemned to death in the old country for forgery; and who, while lying in prison awaiting his doom, had undergone a change of heart. His sentence was commuted to penal servitude; and the life thus preserved he devoted to good work. After his discharge he became a prosperous man, highly respected in the colony.

About twenty thousand British settlers were then living in New South Wales, of whom the greater number had been sent out as convicts. The condition of society was far from satisfactory, the only hopeful element being the excellent officials. That, during the next generation, such a community should have been transformed into a law-abiding and progressive province of the British empire, is in part due to the zealous labors of Methodists. The two schoolmasters and twelve other "accredited Wesleyans" at Sydney applied to the home committee for a missionary, and Samuel Leigh, an excellent choice, was dispatched in response. He came from the same part of England as Francis Asbury and Richard Whatcoat—from the county of Stafford. Born in the year 1785, of godly parents, he belonged in his youth to the Congregational body, and studied for the ministry in the seminary at Gosport. But the Calvinistic creed was distasteful to him, and, from motives of conviction, he joined the Wesleyans. On the Shaftesbury circuit he did excellent work, establishing schools that are still efficient; but after two years he asked to be sent to the foreign field. His widowed mother for long opposed his desires; but at length, seeing he was resolved, she gave him her blessing: "May the Lord Himself go with thee."

In New South Wales, where he landed



LATE RESIDENCE OF BISHOP GILBERT HAVEN, AND CHURCH FROM WHICH HE WAS BURIED, MALDEN, MASSACHUSETTS.

BISHOP HAVEN'S TOMB IN THE SALEM STREET CEMETERY, MALDEN, MASSACHUSETTS.

in August, 1815, there were four clergymen of the Church of England at work, all faithful men. But the field was a large one, and many more workers were needed. Happily, the governor, an excellent man, proved a sympathetic friend; and, in the face of many difficulties, Leigh could report, after four years' work, an increase of over fifty members. The resident magistrate at Windsor, indeed, told the governor that, unless some restraint were laid on him, they would soon, in his opinion, become a colony of Methodists. On the arrival of other missionaries, Leigh handed over the work to them, and crossed to New Zealand, to labor among the cannibal Maoris.

Meanwhile Watson's interest in mission work was deepening. His duties as missionary secretary led him to prepare a theological manual. The men who were under his care before setting out for the mission field required a thorough course in Christian evidences, so that they might be thoroughly equipped to meet the attacks of hostile critics and to explain the fundamentals of their Christian belief. A oneness of belief had characterized the Methodist connexion for many years after Wesley's death; but this harmony had been broken by the publication of Dr. Adam Clarke's Commentary, which appeared between the years 1810–26. The general standpoint of the Commentary is what may be termed orthodox-evangelical, but on some few points the author enunciated views that excited surprise. He was of opinion that the "serpent" who tempted Eve was a baboon, and that Judas Iscariot was saved. But the tenet which brought him into conflict with members of his own body concerned the sonship of Christ. Clarke, while strenuously contending for the divinity of Jesus Christ, wholly rejected the doctrine of his eternal sonship, maintaining that he was the Son of God only in respect to his human nature. The text upon which he rested was the thirty-fifth verse of the first chapter of Luke's gospel, in which the Holy Spirit declares to Mary, that "that holy thing

ENOCH M. MARVIN AT THE AGE OF 23.

which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." In the course of his argument he declared that the doctrine which cannot stand the test of rational investigation cannot be true.

Young as Watson was compared with such a veteran as Clarke, and broken as had been his connection with the Wesleyan body, he yet felt called upon to enter the lists as an opponent of this heresy. A young and able Oxonian, named Galland, who had recently entered the

BISHOP E. M. MARVIN,
Who made an Episcopal tour of the world in the seventies.

Wesleyan ministry and was stationed at Louth in Lincolnshire, appealed to Watson to throw light on the subject; and the pamphlet which came out took the form of a "Letter to a Friend," namely, Mr. Galland. It was entitled "Remarks on the Eternal Sonship of Christ; and the Use of Reason in Matters of Revelation: Suggested by Several Passages in Dr. Adam Clarke's Commentary on the New Testament." While careful to state that he did not associate Doctor Clarke with

"THE OLD PLACE,"
Bishop Marvin's childhood home.

Arian and Socinian rules of interpreting Scripture, he yet considered that in certain of his comments the doctor had not been guarded enough, nor even consistent; and that many who looked to him for guidance were bewildered and led into error. The pamphlet greatly increased Watson's reputation as a theologian. Another capable Methodist writer, Richard Treffry, Junior, also attacked the views of Clarke, and in his "Inquiry into the Doctrine of the Eternal Sonship of Christ" gave a still weightier contribution to the subject than Watson's.

Shortly after, Doctor Clarke had the interesting task of instructing two Buddhist priests who had been brought from Ceylon by the wish of the missionary committee, and under the care of Sir Alexander Johnstone, Chief Justice of the island, a consistent friend of Methodist missionaries. For two years they were under

McCONNELL'S HOUSE,
Where Bishop Marvin was converted.

his care at Millbrook, near Liverpool, where he taught them in systematic fashion the doctrines of Christianity. They finally declared themselves entirely persuaded of the truths of the Christian revelation, and satisfied the doctor of the sincerity of their belief. He accordingly baptized them in Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool, in the presence of a large congregation.

Unfortunately, as was discovered later, these men had presented themselves under false pretenses. They were not Buddhist priests of a high rank, but mere fishermen; and the consideration shown to them in England made them unwilling to leave these northern shores. When they returned to Ceylon, in place of remaining faithful to the Methodists who had so befriended them, they found it more to their advantage to attach themselves to the Church of England mission and the government chaplaincy. However, in the positions to which they were appointed, they behaved with propriety, and used their influence to discredit heathen superstitions.

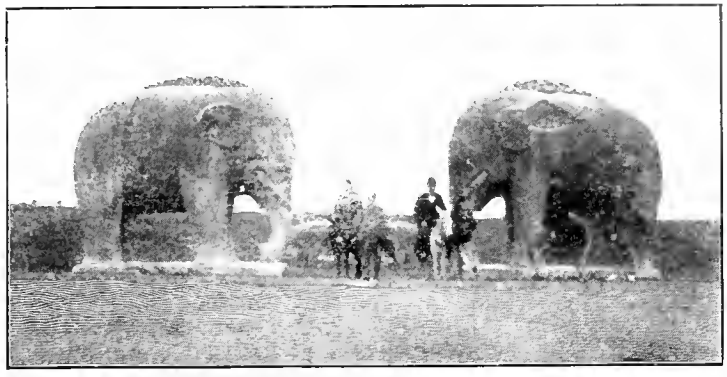
It fell to Mr. Watson to draft a code of regulation for the direction of foreign missionaries in their work. So rapid had been the growth of the missions, and so necessary was it that the preachers sent abroad should behave with discretion lest the work in general should suffer, that a resolution was passed by the Conference recommending the drafting of such regulations. These have proved of great service to Wesleyan missions. Some of the closing rules are of interest. "It is peremptorily required of every missionary," the eighth section begins, "to keep a journal, and to send home frequently such copious abstracts of it as may give a full and particular ac-

A. P. Parker. J. W. Lambuth. Y. J. Allen.
Bishop Marvin. E. R. Hendrix.

THE FIRST CHINA CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.

count of his labors, success, and prospects." The next section absolutely forbids any engaging in trade.

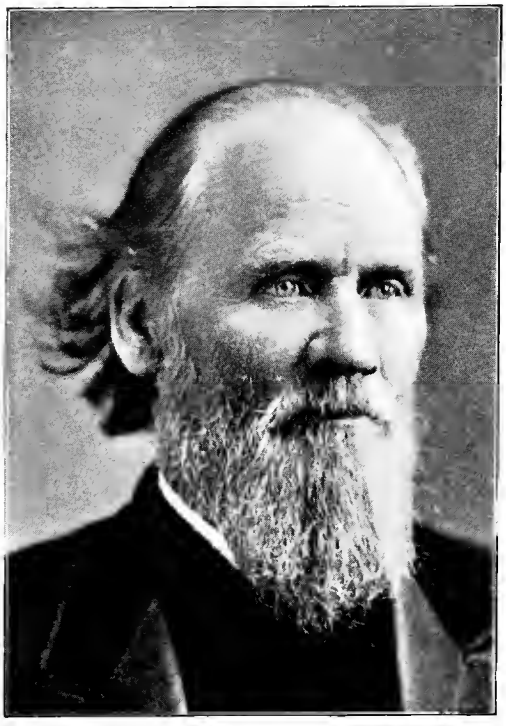
It was in the year 1821, after he was appointed resident missionary secretary, and took up his abode at the Mission House, in London, that Watson began to write his "Theological Institutes." By this time he was acknowledged to be the ablest living exponent of Methodist doctrine; but his writings had been confined to sermons, pamphlets and magazine articles. It was his laudable ambition to contribute to Christian literature something more solid and permanent than this fugitive literature. In the spring of 1823 the first part of his work appeared, bearing the title "Theological Institutes: or a View of the Evidences, Doctrines, Morals, and Institutions of Christianity." The volume, which was appropriately dedicated to the Rev. Jabez Bunting, his lifelong friend, was well received, and a second edition was soon called for. No similar work existed, systematically embodying all that was important in the Methodist system of theology. Based on the labors of Arminius, it was adapted to the existing condition of religious thought, and was couched in modern phraseology. It became an essential part of the library of young ministers and students in the Methodist Church.



STONE ELEPHANTS, AT THE MING TOMB, NANKING.

Other labors for which Methodists have to thank this eminent divine are a series of catechisms, embodying the essentials of Christian teaching and of Scripture history. Two of these were for the young, and became highly popular, not only in Methodist schools, but in the Sunday-schools of other denominations. In 1824 he added "A Catechism of the Evidences of Christianity, and the Truth of the Holy Scriptures;" a timely publication which did much to save young persons from the insidious approaches of a poisonous infidelity.

When, in the year 1833, Richard Watson died, and was buried in the sacred enclosure adjoining City-road Chapel, it was felt by the whole Church that a unique personality had been removed, and that words were inadequate to describe the debt of gratitude that all Methodists owed to him. Especially valuable had been his services to the foreign mission cause. "From the formation of the society to the period of his death, he remained officially connected with it as one of its secretaries; and he devoted to its service talents which, singly considered, were of the highest order, and which are so rare in their combination, that they are seldom found united in the same person. His presiding mind embraced the whole range of the society's missions, descending to the peculiarities of every separate mission, at the same time that it viewed them in their relations to each other, and ascertained their comparative importance. His discrimination of character was such that he soon discovered any particular adaptation which a missionary candidate might possess for some one part of the mission field in preference to others; while, from his long continuance in office, he was personally acquainted with almost all the missionaries



S. P. RICHARDSON, OF GEORGIA, AT 58 YEARS OF AGE.

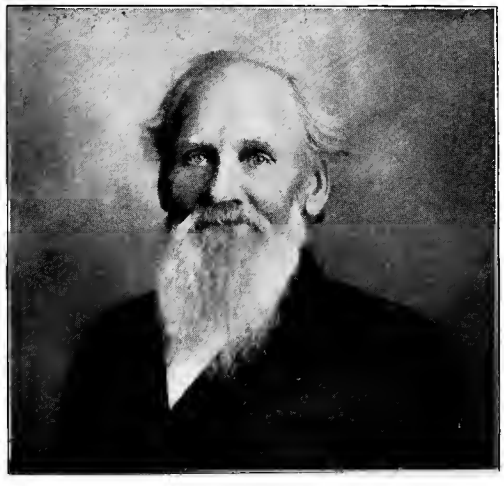
A noted pioneer in the home field.

employed by the society." This passage is extracted from the tribute to his memory in the minutes of the society. Watson died at the comparatively early age of fifty-two, after four or five years of failing health. A daughter married James Dixon, who, in the next generation, carried on the traditions of Methodism and was a bulwark of the Church.

Watson's criticism of Southey's "Life of Wesley" was trenchant and in excellent taste. That the world should receive Southey's portrait of the great divine as final was unendurable to Methodists, who cherished, and rightly, a much loftier ideal of the man, free from all taint of ambition. Considerable general interest was manifested when Watson's "Observations on Mr. Southey's 'Life of Wesley'" appeared. Even the prince regent was favorably impressed, and made the remark: "Mr. Watson has the advantage over my laureate."

It was a noteworthy train of circumstances which led a colored man to become the first preacher among the Wyandot Indians. John Stewart was converted by the preaching of Marcus Lindsey, an earnest itinerant of Irish birth, who entered the traveling connection in the year 1810. For the next few years Lindsey's labors lay among the people of that rough and turbulent mountain district on the Kentucky-Virginia frontier, where lawlessness had always been rampant. Thence he was transferred to the Marietta circuit in Ohio; and one day, while he was preaching in a wayside chapel, Stewart entered and found a message for his soul. Stewart's previous record was a bad one. He was at the time a confirmed drunkard, and had just attempted, in a fit of *delirium tremens*, to drown himself in the Ohio river. The result of his conversion was to make him praise the Lord continually; and his voice was both sweet and powerful. He was also zealous in the study of his Bible and in prayer. At this time a vision came to him, and seemed to bid him insistently to "go in a northwesterly direction, to the Indian nation, and tell the savage tribes of Christ, our Savior."

It was an uncertain journey on which he started, and, being poor and destitute of friends, he found many trials



S. P. RICHARDSON AT 81.

awaiting him. Hearing of the Delaware Indians, on the Muskingum river, he directed his course thither. But when, on arrival, he began to sing, pray, and exhort among them, he met with no response. They regarded him with silent wonder, and were unmoved; and he felt that his mission was not to them. Continuing on his way, he arrived at Pipetown, on the Sandusky river, where he found a large concourse of Indians engaged in feasting and dancing. They invited him to join in the revelry, and offered him "fire-water" to drink. His refusal angered them, but he turned their anger aside by singing a hymn in his clear, melodious voice. He followed this with an exhortation, which was translated to them by an old chief who knew English; and everything seemed favorable for a blessed work. But the head chief having interposed, threatening Stewart with a hatchet if he did not desist and depart, he sorrowfully resumed his journey.

BISHOP CALVIN KINGSLEY.

On the upper Sandusky he found another band of Indians, among whom was a negro named Jonathan Painter, who had been captured by the tribe in Virginia, and had grown to manhood amongst them. With Painter as interpreter, Stewart was able to begin a good work. At first only two were willing to come, an old chief named Big Tree, and a woman named Mary; but in time others were influenced, and a church was securely established among the Wyandots.

RESIDENCE OF BISHOP KINGSLEY AT MEADVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA.

Some ten or twelve years later there was held at Bellefontaine, Ohio, a Methodist camp-meeting to which the Christian Wyandots were invited. One hundred and fifty of them accepted the invitation, and arrived at the camping-ground, with every necessary equipment. More expert than their white brethren at setting up tents, they were sooner ready for the services; and in a short time the voice of prayer and of praise in

GREENE B. HAYGOOD,
Father of the Bishop and of Laura Haygood.

MARTHA ASKEW HAYGOOD,
Mother of the Bishop and of Laura Haygood.

the Indian tongue sounded through the forest glades. A great revival took place, of which the Indian section of this camp-meeting was the center; and those who witnessed the scene never forgot its hallowed associations. At the meeting was a half-blood, a lady of education and refinement, the wife of Inspector-General Long. She was a worthy member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and a devoted wife and mother. Her husband, though making no profession whatever of a Christian life, had a respect for his wife's faith, and often accompanied her to the log church. On this occasion he was absent on duty, and did not join his wife at Bellefontaine until Sunday morning. His appearance at the meeting in full regimentals, attracted notice; and people observed from his clouded brow that he was ill at ease. On Monday morning, his duties calling him away, he rode off, with an evident feeling of relief; but he had not proceeded two miles before something impelled him to turn back. When he arrived at the camp-ground the people were celebrating holy communion. He saw his wife go forward with the others to partake of the sacred rite, and listened to the earnest exhortation which followed, urging all to come forward and confess their sins. At this the general broke down, and falling prostrate on the ground, called aloud for mercy. In a short space his groans changed to utterances of joy, and he rose a changed man. The warm-hearted Indian chief, Menoncue, came forward to embrace him, and said to him, in broken accents: "My brother, we must now fight for King Jesus." It was a memorable scene.

When he returned to his military associates, General Long made it evident to all that he had abandoned for good a worldly life. To test the sincerity of his change, they prepared a banquet, where wine and cards lay ready to tempt him back to his old pleasures; but his grave demeanor showed that he was not to be trifled with. Henceforth his life was that of an earnest and sincere Christian.

RESIDENCE OF BISHOP HAYGOOD, OXFORD, GEORGIA.

Among the honored names associated with the evangelization of the Indians are Daniel Poe, James B. Finley, Elliott, Henkle, and a heroic woman, Harriet Stubbs, who did a wonderful work among the Indian girls, and became the idol of the Wyandot Nation.

The eastern cities now began to move in response to missionary claims from the interior and elsewhere. In 1818 a meeting of earnest Christian men in New York, at the house of the Rev. Laban Clark, led to the formation of a Bible and Missionary Society. To Mr. Clark, along with the two veteran preachers Nathan Bangs and Freeborn Garrettson, was intrusted the duty of drafting a constitution, which was subsequently approved by the preachers' meeting. Thereupon it was determined to appeal to the community, and a public meeting was called in Forsyth Street Church early in April of the following year. The result was the formation of the "Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church," with Bishop McKendree as president, the Rev. Thomas Mason as secretary, and the Rev. Joshua Soule as treasurer. The aim of the society, as stated in its constitution, was "to diffuse more generally the blessings of education and Christianity throughout the United States and Territories, and also in foreign countries, under such rules and regulations as the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church may from time to time prescribe."

ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD,
At 18 years of age.

This founding in the city of New York of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church led to increased activity in mission work. At the General Conference held in the following year a recommendation was sent to the Annual Conferences to found branch missionary societies. In accordance with this policy, William Capers was selected, at the 1821 session of the South Carolina Conference, to set on foot a mission to the Creek Indians, then occupying lands in Georgia and Alabama, east and west of the Chattahoochee river. During the next two years he gave his full attention to the work of evangelizing this nation, establishing schools and erecting mission premises. One of these schools, known as the Asbury Manual Labor School, and located at Fort Mitchell, close to the present city of Columbus, was kept up for many years. The removal of these Indian tribes to their present territory across the Mississippi finally broke up the work.

In the year 1829 two missions to the plantation slaves having been started in

BISHOP A. G. HAYGOOD,
Whose aid to Foreign Mission Work was so effective.

the southern portion of the Methodist Church, Capers was appointed the superintendent; and he continued during his life to take a warm interest in his work. "He knew," states a capable authority, "how to preach to negroes so as to interest and instruct them; and his popularity was as great among this class of his hearers as among the intellectual and refined. Indeed, the deep concern he felt for the religious instruction of the slave population formed a prominent trait in his character, and gave rise to one of the noblest developments of our southern Christianity—a systematic and thoroughly efficient scheme of missions to the blacks on the rice and cotton plantations of the Carolinas and Georgia. Environed with difficulties as was this field of ministerial operations at first, the position, character and address of Doctor Capers, crowned with the blessing of God, opened a way for the Methodist ministry to hundreds of thousands of negroes, who otherwise might never, from the cradle to the grave, have heard a gospel sermon. In South Carolina alone there is now (1855), among these plantation blacks, a membership, in the Methodist Church, of ten thousand one hundred and forty-four, and about six thousand children, regularly catechized. Nearly thirty effective preachers of the South Carolina Conference are employed in these negro missions, and upwards of nineteen thousand dollars are annually expended in their support."

The compulsory westward migration of the Indian tribes—one of the most regrettable incidents in the history of the republic, because of the injustice involved in it—took place in the years 1830–2. By this time over three thousand Choctaws and Chickasaws had been added to the Church. To the Rev. Alexander Talley, one of three preacher brothers, belongs the credit of having gained such an influence over the red men that so many were willing to receive Christian baptism. A half-breed, named Leflore, the principal chief of his nation, was the instrument, under God, of the conversion of his people. Old Isaac Smith, whom Capers had intrusted with the work of education at the Asbury School, came to preach to them, and Leflore interpreted. A young preacher who was present described the affecting scene as he remembered it in his old age. "I had just read," he states, "the first volume of Watson's Institutes, and thought the

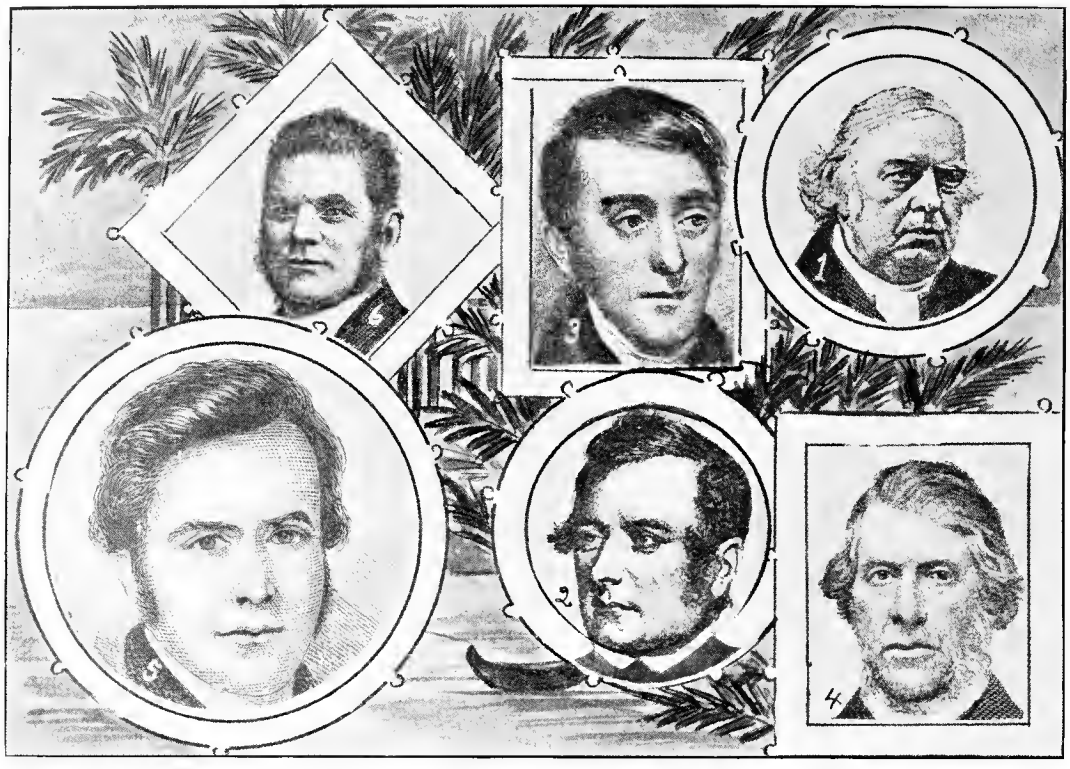
rgument in favor of the divine origin of Christianity fine; but as I sat there mong these untutored men and women, nelted and weeping profusely under the ord as the Holy Spirit applied it, I felt hat the strongest argument for the gospel's divinity was before me." Talley brought with him to the Annual Conference that met at Tuscaloosa in 1828 delegation of Indian converts, and when one of them, at the request of the Conference, gave, through an interpreter, n account of the divine work in his nation the assembly was deeply moved. 'Brethren," exclaimed the chairman, Bishop Soule, as he warmly shook hands with the chief, "the Choctaw Nation is urs! No—I mistake; the Choctaw Nation is Jesus Christ's."

In the fertile territory south of Kansas nd west of Arkansas, where these tribes ave been located during the past seventy ears, the work of evangelization has een continued and has progressed. There are among them five thousand nembers of the Methodist Church, and ver a hundred local preachers. The eople are peaceful, industrious, and law-abiding; many of them are well educated and even cultured. The quiet life on their holdings suits the temperament of the race, which is little adapted to the stress and strain of modern industrial life, and prefers a dignified retirement.

THE REV. WILLIAM L. HARRIS, D. D., LL. D.,
Often called the "Missionary Bishop."

MISS LAURA HAYGOOD,
Missionary to China.

Meanwhile there had been considerable activity in the foreign field. It has always been a favorite policy among many of those who are deeply concerned with the future of the black race, to advise their reshipment to the continent whence they came. A large section of the colored people themselves ardently desire it; and some of their religious leaders continue to advocate it with a zeal that sometimes oversteps discretion. In the year 1816, Dr. Robert Finley, of Basking Ridge, New Jersey, who had been greatly interested in the experiment made by English philanthropy at Sierra Leone, gathered together at Princeton a few men of character, and laid before them a scheme for thus deporting free negroes. He advanced three telling



DISTINGUISHED MISSIONARIES.

1. D. J. GOGERLY; forty-four years a missionary in Ceylon. 2. WILLIAM MOISTER; the missionary chronicler. 3. BARNABAS SHAW; pioneer South Africa missionary. 4. JOHN THOMAS; pioneer missionary in the Friendly Islands, Pacific Ocean. 5. JOHN HUNT; pioneer missionary in the Fiji Islands. 6. JAMES CALVERT; second missionary in the Fiji Islands.

arguments: first, the country would be free of an uncongenial element; secondly, Africa would benefit by receiving on her shores a partially civilized and Christianized population; and, lastly, the negroes who remained would be in a better position. A meeting held soon after in Washington, with Henry Clay presiding, resulted in the formation of "The American Society for the Colonization of the Free People of Color of the United States." Bushrod Washington, Judge of the Supreme Court, was elected president, with thirteen well-known men as vice-presidents.

The formation of the society failed at first to win the approval of the free negroes, who considered that the language used in referring to them "as a dangerous and useless part of the community" was an unmerited slur. A gathering took place in the Bethel Church at Philadelphia, and a protest was lodged with the member who represented the city in congress. There seemed to be a general preference, if a scheme of colonization was intended, for lands in the West, on the banks of the Missouri river. But Doctor Finley did his best to allay their displeasure and antagonism, and temporarily succeeded. When congress came to discuss the matter, it showed itself wholly unfavorable to any scheme of colonization in America, but considered that the British colony of Sierra Leone might be willing to receive free negroes, and authorized the president to ask Great Britain if this plan was feasible. Two delegates, who had been sent by the Colonization Society to England, left for Sierra Leone with friendly letters from London, and were warmly

received; but they found on arrival that free American negroes were not wanted in the British colony. Accordingly they proceeded further down the coast, and chose Sherbro Island as the site of a colony, which extended to the mainland and became the modern Liberia.

The difficulty of disposing of such negroes as were seized in the attempt to smuggle them into the country, hastened the endeavors of the society. Hitherto in Georgia these negroes had been sold into slavery for the benefit of the state. But now the state authorities proposed to the Colonization Society that, if it were willing to pay all costs incurred in their behalf from the time of capture, it might have them. The Rev. William Mead, of Milledgeville, was authorized by the directors to secure in this way the release of a batch of negroes; and, by special proclamation, President Monroe made it possible for them to be deported to Africa. A sum of public money was also set apart for this purpose. Other free negroes, eighty-six in all, applied to the society for transportation, much to the disgust of the free black community as a whole, who saw in the movement a device for riveting the chains on the existing slave population.

The Methodist Episcopal Church had welcomed the scheme. On the motion of Beverly Waugh, seconded by Wilbur Fisk, the General Conference of 1828 signified its warm approval of the measures taken by the American Colonization Society to find a home for the free people of color on the coast of Africa; and "looked to the settlement at Liberia as opening a door for the diffusion of all the benign influences of the gospel over the continent of Africa."

The first efforts at planting the colony were far from successful, owing to the fickleness of the natives, who regretted the original sale and were now hostile, and the unhealthiness of the climate. The scheme might have been abandoned there and then, but for the pluck of a sturdy free negro from New York, named Elijah Johnson, and the steadfastness of the Rev. Jehudi Ashmun, who cheerfully undertook grave responsibilities and discharged them wisely. The friendliness of two British sea-captains, who provided the settlers with stores, proved of great value. Finally they chose a new site on high ground at Cape Mesurada, and gave to their chief town the name Monrovia, in honor of the president, James Monroe.

The early history of the foreign mission work in the Methodist Church is associated with the pathetic career of a devoted New Englander. Melville B. Cox, the first Methodist missionary sent from America across the Atlantic, was born at Hallowell, Maine, at the very close of the eighteenth century. He belonged to a Boston family, and his grandfather is said to have taken part in the storming of Louisburg. The lad, who early showed literary proclivities, was apprenticed to a bookseller; and his life consecration took place in the summer of the year 1818. Two years later he preached his first sermon, and for several years he devoted himself zealously to the work of the ministry; but ill-health laid him low. In 1831 he went south, and became a member of the Virginia Conference; but his weak lungs still troubled him, and the prospect of death was constantly before him. The death of his wife and of his infant child also weighed upon his spirits. It was in May, 1832, that the episcopacy decided to send him to Liberia.

That a bereaved soul like Melville Cox, who had lost wife and child, and was, moreover, in a precarious state of health, should be willing to venture upon the perils of an ocean voyage and

PIONEERS AND PRESIDENTS OF THE AUSTRALASIAN CONFERENCE.

the risks of a residence in Africa, made a deep impression on the sympathetic heart of the poetess, Mrs. Lydia Sigourney. She sent him from her home in Connecticut the touching lines:

THE MISSIONARY'S FAREWELL AT THE GRAVE OF HIS WIFE.

Once more, 'mid autumn's moaning blast,
I seek thy narrow bed;—
And is this gush of tears *the last*
I o'er its turf may shed?—
Though seasons change, and years depart,
Yet none shall here recline,
To twine thy memory round his heart
With such a love as mine.

Bound to a suffering, heathen clime,
For our Redeemer's sake,
What tides of sympathy sublime
At thy blest image wake;—
Thy tender care—thy fearless trust—
Thy fond, confiding tone,—
But what avails—since thou art dust,
And I am all alone!

Thou too, dear infant, slumbering nigh,
How beautiful wert thou!
Thy mother's spirit in thine eye,
Her smile upon thy brow;—
A little while, thy rose-bud light
O'er my lone path was shed;—
A *little white*,—there came a blight,
And thou art of the dead.

I go;—my best beloved, farewell!
Borne o'er the trackless sea,
When its wild waves like mountains swell,
Still shall I think of thee;
Thy meekness 'mid affliction's strife,
Thy lifted glance of prayer,
Thy firmness 'neath the storms of life,
Shall be my pattern there.

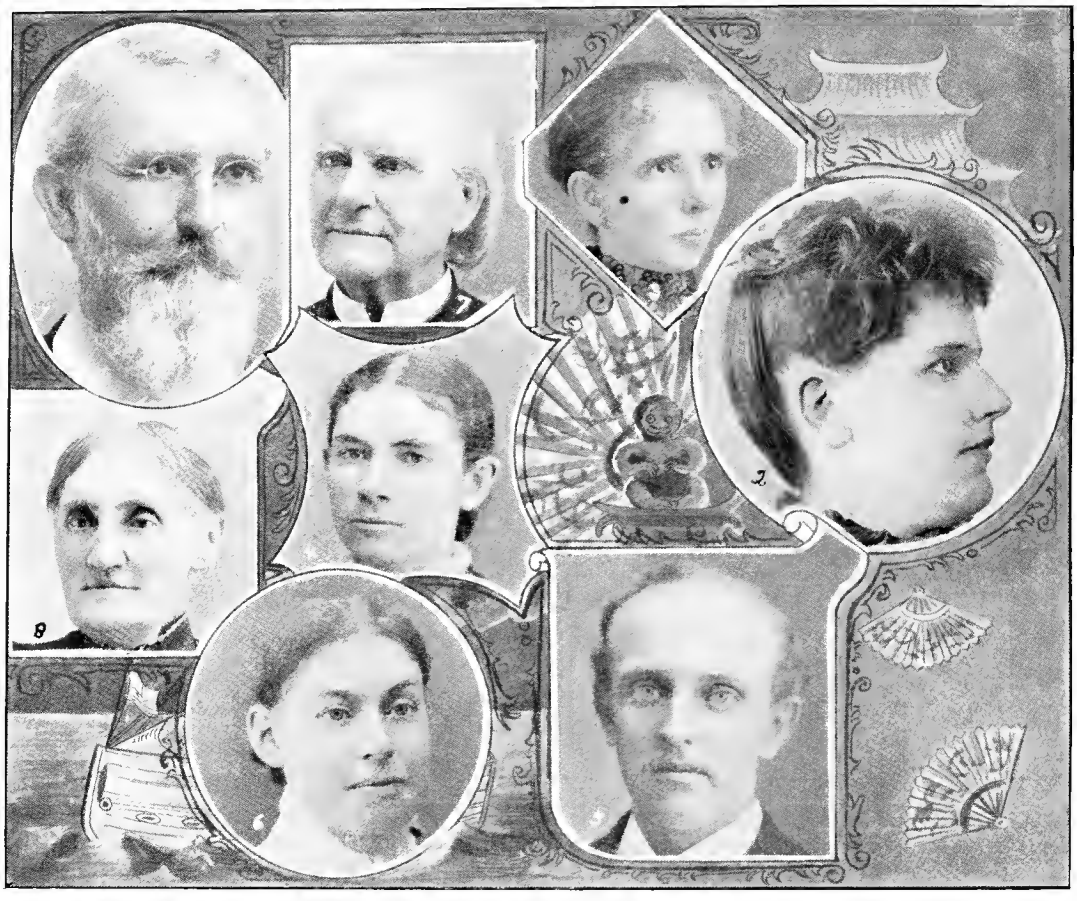
And when, o'er Afric's bleeding breast,
The scorned of every shore,
The chained, the trampled, the oppressed,
Salvation's balm I pour,
Thy zeal to spread a Savior's name,
Thy love with cloudless ray,
Like ancient Israel's pillared flame,
Shall cheer my pilgrim way.

If toiling 'mid that sultry glade,
The spoiler's call I hear,
Or 'neath the palm trees' murmuring shade
It hoarsely warns my ear,
Oh! may the faith that fired thine eye,
'Mid pangs untold and strong,
My dying pillow hover nigh,
And wake the triumph-song.

It was in the spring of the year 1833 that he landed in Liberia. When he arrived at Monrovia he was cordially received by the acting governor, Williams, who was a local preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A camp-meeting was held the day after his arrival, and, a month later, a Sunday-school was opened. Mr. Williams was also ordained deacon and elder, and the Methodists in the colony became an integral part of the Church.

Unfortunately, the career of Mr. Cox was a sadly short one. From March the seventh until June the twenty-sixth, he was busy at work; but on the latter date the entries in his journal cease, and on July the twenty-first he expired, with these words on his lips: "Let a thousand fall before Africa be given up." On the whole the colonizing venture may be said to have justified the expectations that were formed of it. Until the year 1848 the community enjoyed the protection of the United States, but since then it has been completely independent. The descendants of the twenty thousand immigrants who were sent by the Colonization Society have kept up their educational and religious institutions, and are a distinctly civilizing influence in that region.

The story of Methodist missionary effort in the South Seas from the time that Samuel Leigh crossed from Sydney to preach the gospel to the cannibal Maoris, fills one of the brightest pages in Christian annals. For long the work in New Zealand was blighted by the bloody feuds of the native chiefs who at first had shown themselves docile and friendly, but whose fierce instincts, once aroused, brooked no interference. When



MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN MISSION STAFF IN THE ORIENT.

1. REV. DAVID C. KELLY, D. D., of the Tennessee Conference, one of the early missionaries to China. 2. MISS DORA RANKIN; died in Shanghai. 3. MISS LOCHIE RANKIN; first missionary sent out by the Woman's Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 4. MRS. VAN PATTEN; member of the Japan Mission, Tokyo. 5. REV. MILTON S. VAIL; formerly of Tokyo, now in Nagasaki, Japan. 6. MISS MATILDA SPENCER, of the Japan Mission, Tokyo. 7. DR. CHARLES TAYLOR; first missionary to China from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 8. MRS. CHARLES TAYLOR.

the desolating warfare ceased, and the stream of immigration began to flow into these beautiful islands, the godless ways of the settlers proved an obstacle to the spread of the gospel. But patience in well-doing bore fruit in the end, and many of this noble race of savages were saved from a life of brutal ignorance and cruelty. At one period the Methodist Church could count over three thousand Maori members, and four thousand children in its schools. A period of trial followed, marked by a strong reversion to idolatrous ways. The native population of late years has been rapidly decreasing, until it numbers less than forty thousand, about one-tenth of whom attend Methodist services.

The labors of the Rev. John Thomas among the natives of the Friendly Islands of the South Pacific, of which Tonga is by far the largest, deserve special mention. The pleasant reception which Captain Cook happened to meet with in 1773, when he visited the islands, led him to suppose special virtues in the people which they did not possess. While they were a superior race, many of their habits were far from being commendable. Fond of war, they also indulged in cannibalism; and were polygamists and idolaters. Mr. Thomas landed

at Tonga in the year 1826, and was so successful in his labors that six years later eight thousand of the inhabitants—possibly about one-fourth—renounced idolatry, and fifteen hundred joined the Church. As the years passed by, the work grew and prospered, until it became entirely self-supporting and not a heathen was left on the islands. This veteran apostle died in the year 1881, at the advanced age of eighty-five.

It was not until the year 1838 that the saintly John Hunt, who came from John Wesley's leafy county of Lincolnshire, landed in the Fiji Islands, then the home of cannibalism and other horrors. Three years earlier the first assault had been made from the Friendly Islands on this stronghold of heathenism; and with very encouraging results. Hunt's was a fine personality, and his efforts were singularly blessed. After nine years of labor he could report three thousand Fijians as attending the services, and nineteen hundred as belonging to the society classes. Unlike Thomas, he was early called home. Malarial fever seized fatal hold on his constitution, and he passed away peacefully at the close of the year 1848. In 1885, when jubilee rejoicings were held among the Fiji Christians, his successor, James Calvert, who took up Hunt's work, was able to declare that "Fiji is a nation of Methodists." The horrors of cannibalism, widow-strangling, and infanticide have all gone into the forgotten past; and no better church-going people exist on the surface of the globe than the peaceful inhabitants of these Pacific islands.

CHAPTER XXV

AN EDUCATIONAL ERA.

IN a previous chapter the fact was mentioned that not until the year 1825 was the condition of educational affairs in the United States on anything like a satisfactory footing. Thenceforward matters improved, and in time the noble system of public schools came to be a matter of pride with patriotic Americans. The Methodist Church, alive as usual to the immediate necessities of the age, took its part in the new development.

The General Conference of 1820 recommended that the Annual Conferences should, as soon as practicable, establish literary institutions, to be under their control. So much of the education of the time was of an infidel kind that the Church felt that a counter Christian movement was absolutely necessary. Subsequent General Conferences continued to pay attentiou to the matter.

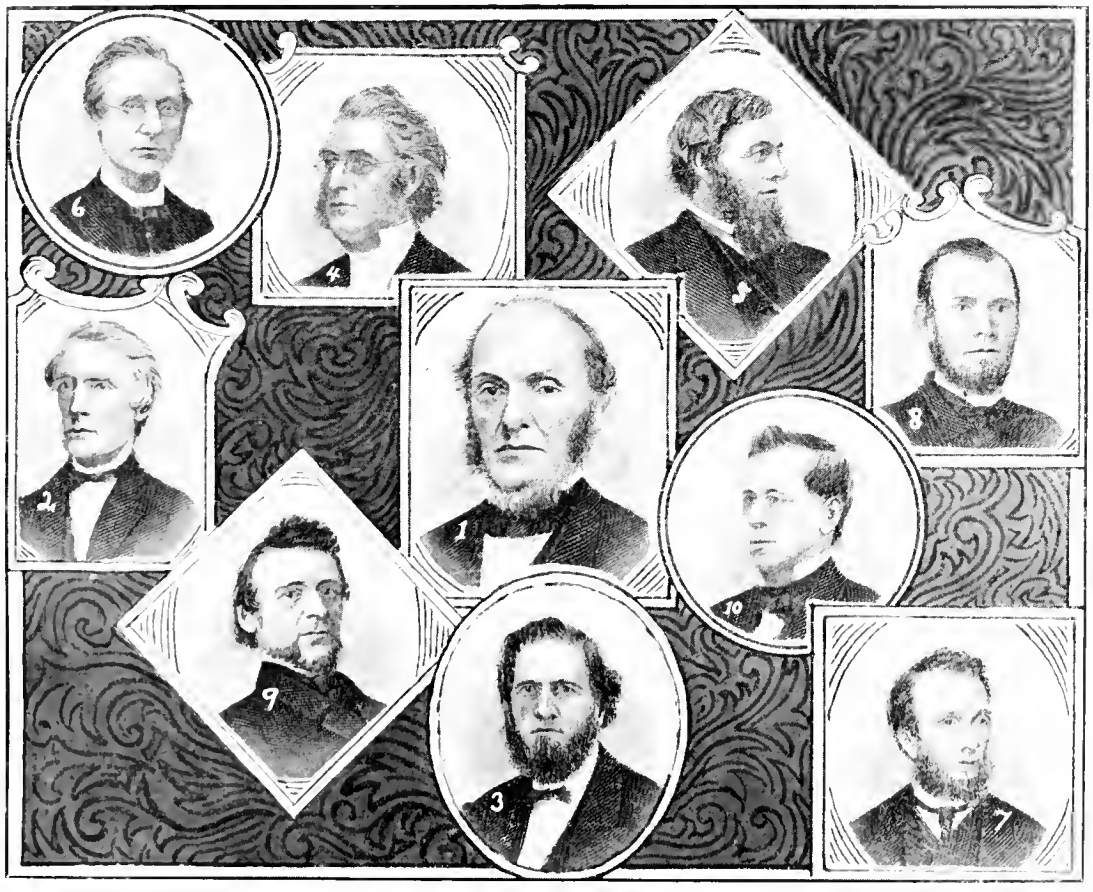
The career of Wilbur Fisk deserves an extended notice in this connection. Born in the "Green Mountain" state in the year 1792, he was educated under the best kind of influences. His father, a distinguished lawyer, became chief-justice of the state, and was prominent in its politics. Both the elder Fisk and his wife were earnest Christians, and as early as the age of eleven the boy came under religious convictions and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. Educational advantages were limited in their neighborhood, and, at the age of sixteen, he was sent off to a grammar-school. Two years later he took charge of a district school for the winter. To carry out his ambition of making himself a scholar, he had, owing to his father's small income, to depend largely on his own efforts. He passed his freshman year at the University of Vermont, but circumstances led him later to enter Brown University at Providence, Rhode Island. His student days were passed on the classic heights above Narragansett bay, and here, in the year 1815, he took his degree with distinction.

These years of literary ambition had been marked by a dying-out of the fervor which led him at the age of eleven to make a profession of religion. His aims were now worldly, and his desire was to become famous as a lawyer; but yet his parents continued to cherish the hope that he might return to his early intention of entering the Christian ministry. An offer of employment as tutor in the family of a gentleman who lived near Baltimore was accepted, because of the pecuniary inducements, and he found himself in very congenial surroundings; but an attack of lung trouble having prostrated him, he returned home an invalid. It was a crisis in his life, reawakening his early impressions. A revival was going on in the district at the time, and he was quickly in the stream of enthusiastic religious effort. In the year 1818 he was licensed as a local preacher, and began to labor on the Craftsbury circuit, about twenty miles from his father's home. Here he was remarkably preserved from a violent death. A lady at whose house he frequently stayed was subject to fits of insanity. In one of these paroxysms she rushed at her guest with an open knife in her hand, and tearing open his vest, exclaimed: "You talk so much of heaven, I am going to send you there!" When Mr. Fisk, controlling himself, looked her calmly in the face, she paused a moment, removed the knife,

and then added: "You are fit to live or die. We want such men on earth, so I will let you live a little longer."

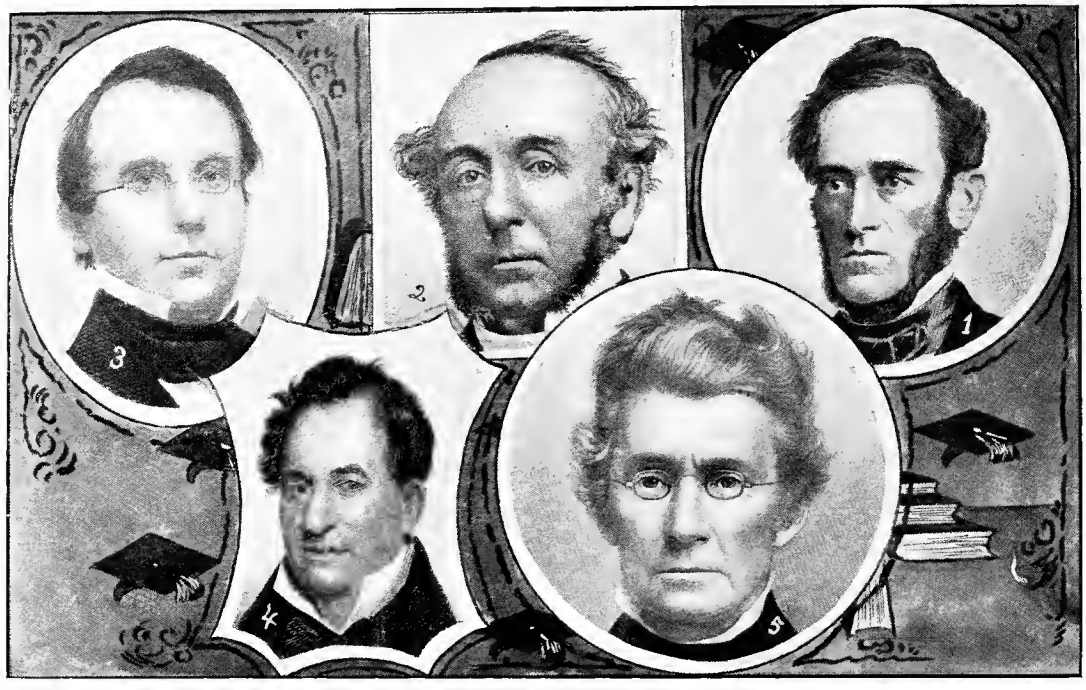
His ill-health continued to pursue him, and in 1822, the year he was ordained elder, he was placed on the superannuated list. The New England Conference requested him, as far as his health would permit, to serve as agent of Newmarket Academy, then the only Methodist school in New England; but an inquiry he made into the standing of the school led him to despair of its future, and he declined to accept the post. The presiding bishop at the next Annual Conference was somewhat displeased to find that he had done nothing to promote this educational venture; but Fisk replied that the undertaking must be placed on a different footing before he could have anything to do with it.

In the following year, as a result of the action of the Conference, a committee, of which Mr. Fisk was a member, inquired into the condition of Newmarket Academy, with a view to constituting it a training-school for ministers; but the people of Wilbraham, Massachusetts, hearing of their intention, offered a suitable site and buildings, if the college should be located with them. The reply was favorable, and at the close of the



A GROUP OF EDITORS.

1. D. D. WHEDON, D. D., LL. D., Editor *Quarterly Review*. 2. DANIEL CURRY, D. D., Editor *Christian Advocate*. 3. E. D. FULLER, D. D., Editor *Methodist Advocate*, Atlanta, Georgia. 4. D. D. LOVE, D. D., Editor *Northern Advocate*. 5. B. F. CRARY, D. D., Editor *Central Christian Advocate*. 6. J. M. REID, D. D., Editor *Northwestern Christian Advocate*. 7. I. DILLON, D. D., Editor *Pacific Christian Advocate*. 8. S. H. NESBIT, D. D., Editor *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate*. 9. D. WISE, D. D., Editor *Sunday-School Advocate* and Books. 10. H. C. BENSON, D. D., Editor *The Advocate*, California.



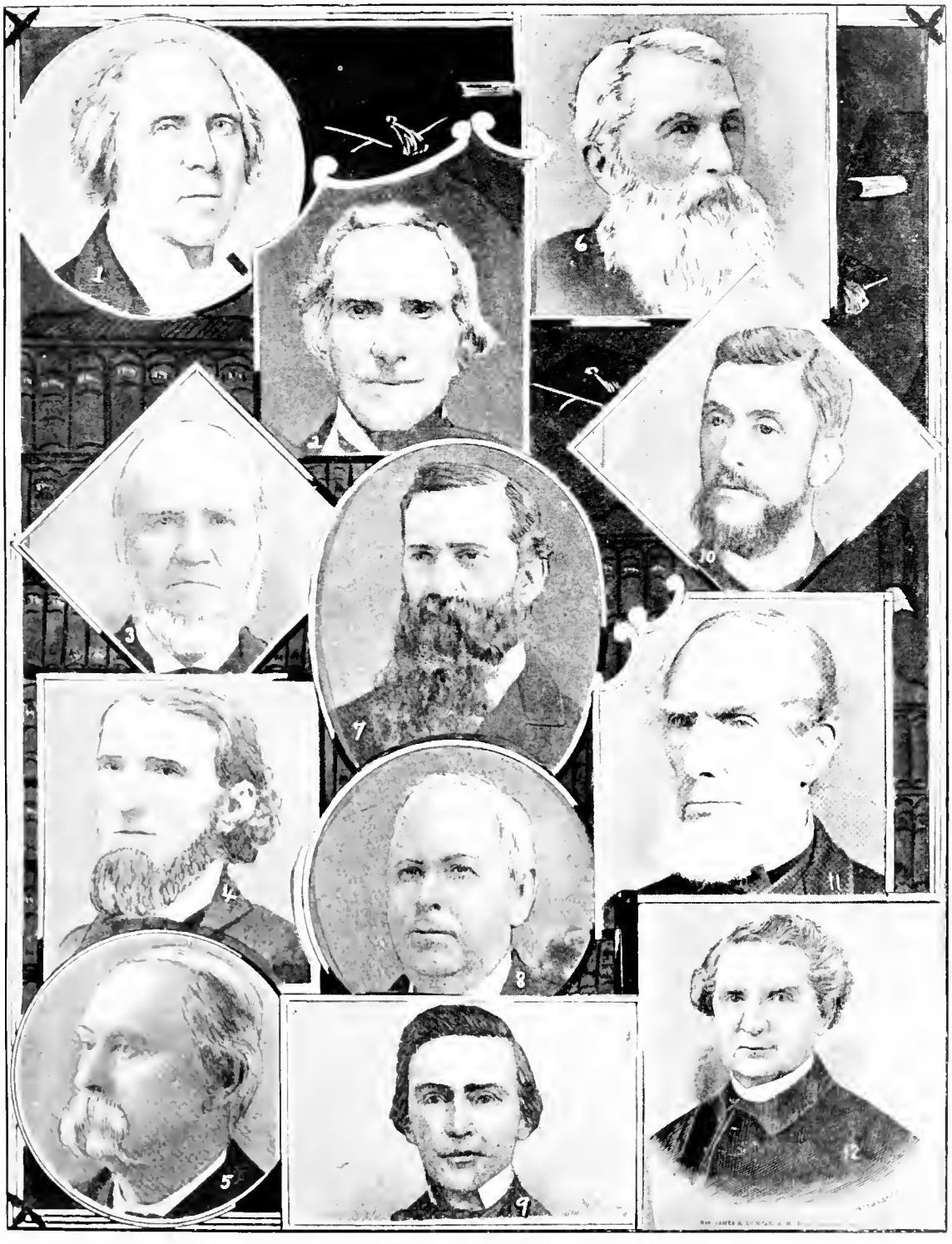
A GROUP OF METHODIST SCHOLARS.

1. ABEL STEVENS, D. D., the historian of Methodism. 2. JOHN MCCLINTOCK, D. D. 3. CHARLES COLLINS, D. D., President of Emory and Henry College, and of Dickinson College. 4. HEZEKIAH G. LEIGH, of North Carolina Conference; founded Randolph-Macon College. 5. A. MEANS, D. D., LL. D., of the Georgia Conference; long connected, as professor, with Emory College, Georgia.

year 1825 Mr. Fisk opened the new institution with an address, and was shortly afterward appointed its principal. Beginning with seven pupils, this Wesleyan Academy next year admitted seventy-five, and entered upon a career of growing usefulness and prosperity. At the General Conference of 1828, held at Pittsburgh, its principal was appointed chairman of the Committee on Education, and in his report advocated the creation of several collegiate institutions. As a result of this activity in educational matters, the two Conferences of New York and New England associated themselves in the founding of a Methodist university. The town of Middletown, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Connecticut river, was chosen as a suitable locality; and here was planted the Wesleyan University which has since had so honorable a history. Chosen its first president in 1830, Doctor Fisk delivered at its opening in September of the following year a brilliant inaugural address, which was much talked of and long remembered.

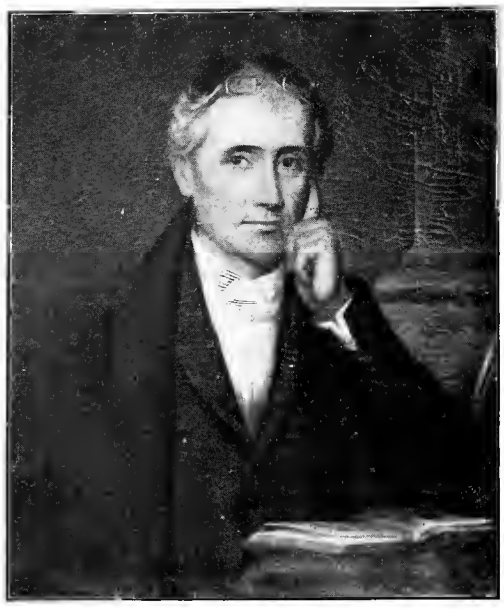
Other positions had meanwhile been offered him. The Canada Conference elected him bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in that colony. It is significant that the founding of the first collegiate institution of Canadian Methodism was exactly contemporaneous with the founding of the Wesleyan University. The college at Cobourg, situated on the shores of Lake Ontario, some sixty miles east of Toronto, which later, as Victoria University, won for itself an honorable name in the annals of education in the New World, also dates from the year 1831. So enthusiastic were the Canadian preachers in its behalf that they pledged for its support all the marriage fees which should accrue to them under the recent legislation which permitted them to perform the rite of matrimony.

There was also educational activity in



A GROUP OF COLLEGE PRESIDENTS AND PROFESSORS.

1. W. A. SMITH, D. D., President Randolph-Macon College, 1846-66; President Central College, Missouri. 2. PROF. DAVID DUNCAN, A. M. 3. A. W. JONES, D. D., President Memphis Conference Female College. 4. REV. JAMES R. THOMAS, LL. D., President Emory College, Georgia. 5. O. H. P. CORPREW, Professor in Randolph-Macon College and Central College, Missouri. 6. PROF. S. D. SANDERS, Southwestern University. 7. B. W. ARNOLD, A. M., Vanderbilt University. 8. PROF. BENNETT PURYEAR, A. M., LL. D., Randolph-Macon College and Richmond College. 9. GEORGE W. BENAGH, A. M., Professor University of Alabama. 10. R. W. JONES, A. M., LL. D., President Mississippi Industrial Institute; Professor Mississippi University and Randolph-Macon College. 11. LANDON CABELL GARLAND, LL. D., first Chancellor of Vanderbilt University. 12. REV. JAMES A. DUNCAN, A. M., D. D., President of Randolph-Macon College, 1868-77.

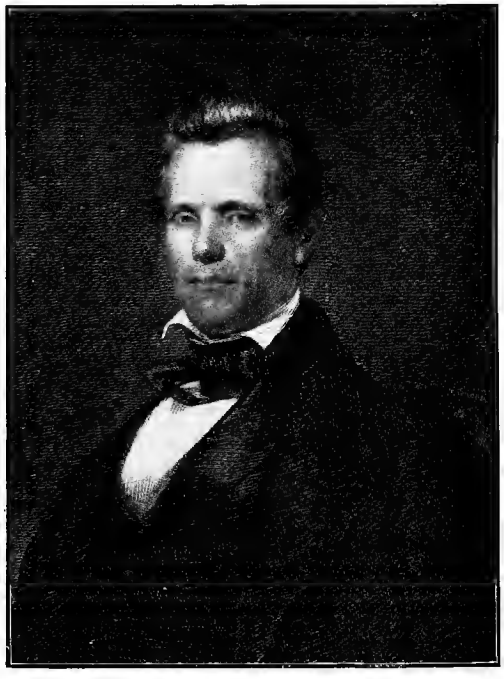


REV. IGNATIUS A. FEW, D. D., LL. D.,
Born in Columbus, Georgia, 1791; Colonel in the War of 1812; first President of Emory College, Oxford, Georgia.

the Southern states. La Grange College was founded at La Grange in Alabama, under the patronage of the Southern and Southwestern Conferences, and the presidency was offered to Doctor Fisk. Dickinson College, at Carlisle in Pennsylvania; Randolph-Macon College, at Boydton in Virginia; McKendree College, at Lebanon in Illinois, and Allegheny College, at Meadville in Pennsylvania, all date from this same period.

Until the close of his all too short life in 1839, Doctor Fisk was identified with the university which he had done so much to create. His temperament exactly suited the duties of a president. To quote the testimony of Dr. Nathan Bangs: "His acute, far-reaching mind; his equable temper, involving the most absolute self-control; his ability to adapt himself to every variety of characters and circumstances; his firmness to restrain and punish vice, in connection with his disposition not to make an offender for a word; and, to crown all, his high executive talent—all these gave him an advantage, as the presiding officer of a literary institution, which comparatively few have enjoyed. His task at Middletown, especially, was a difficult one, as the framing and fixing of the whole college machinery devolved in a great measure upon him; but the result of his labors there showed how competent he was to the work he had undertaken. And he was duly honored in this relation. His associates in the management and instruction of the university fully appreciated both his ability and fidelity, while the students not only admired and revered him as a teacher, but loved him as a father."

Another name which merits an extended notice in any work telling the story, however briefly, of Methodist educational institutions, is that of Stephen Olin. His career bears many points of resemblance to Fisk's. Both were Vermonters, Olin being Fisk's junior by five years. The fathers of both men held honorable offices in the state. Both men at the age of seventeen were teaching



STEPHEN OLIN, D. D.,
President of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

school, and both of them entered a lawyer's office, only to quit it in order to enter a hall of learning.

The college he entered was Middlebury, which, considering its size, has been remarkably prolific of able *alumni*. When Olin graduated in 1820, he was appointed to deliver the valedictory address, but he had so overworked himself that he had to decline the honor. With a view to improving his health he went south to serve as principal of Tabernacle Academy in the Abbeville district of South Carolina. Here his duties imposed on him the necessity of delivering an opening and closing prayer; an irksome task to a man wholly indifferent in respect to religion. Unwilling to discharge such a duty perfunctorily, he set himself to study the evidences of Christianity, with the result that he became convinced of its truth. A sense of guilt and personal unworthiness followed this conviction, and Olin ended by becoming a hearty believer.

THE TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY, LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY.
Bishop H. B. Bascom was its President, 1842-47. It is the present "Morrison Chapel" of Kentucky University. (From a photograph by James Mullen, Lexington, Kentucky.)

BISHOP HENRY B. BASCOM,
President of Transylvania University, Kentucky, and afterward Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Having entered the Methodist Episcopal Church, he felt that he had a call to preach, and in 1824 he joined the itineracy, and was stationed at Charleston. From the beginning he showed himself to be a power in the pulpit. A short period of activity was followed by a very serious return of lung trouble, which led to his being placed on the supernumerary list. Finally he accepted the post of professor of *belles-lettres* in Franklin College, situated at Athens, in Georgia, a position which he held for four years, but not continuously. During his stay at Athens he married a Georgian lady.

It was in the year 1833 that he was called to the presidency of one of the two chief educational institutions of the Church. The recommendations passed by the General Conferences of 1820 and 1824 had not been left unnoticed by the Virginia Conference. The leading spirit in the business affairs of the Conference was John Early, who subsequently became a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He was actively interested in educational matters, and took a prom-

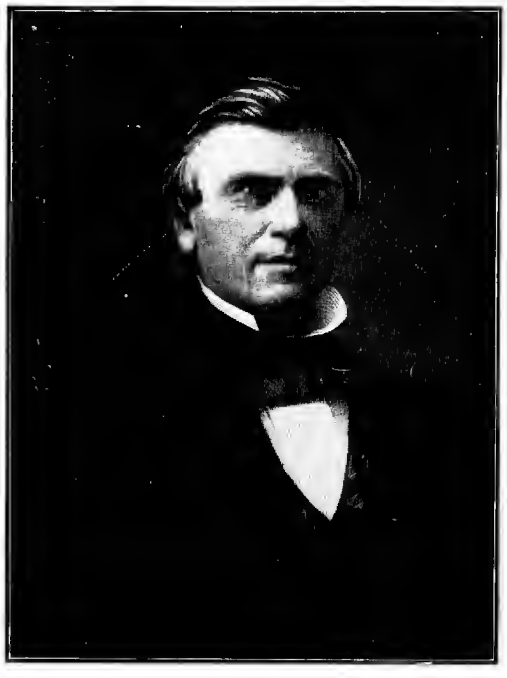
WILBUR FISK,

First President of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

inent part in founding Randolph-Macon College. By the year 1828 the preachers of the Conference were actively engaged in obtaining subscriptions for the contemplated college, and shortly afterward, mainly through the exertions of the Rev. Hezekiah G. Leigh, a suitable location was found in the county of Mecklenburg, near Boydton. Over forty years before, Bishop Asbury had interested himself in a school situated not very far off, on the road leading from Boydton to Petersburg. The original building, known as Ebenezer Academy, is still standing, though in a frail condition.

It seems strange that the names of Randolph, of Roanoke, and Nathaniel Macon should be bracketed together in the naming of a Methodist college. Neither of them was a Methodist or even in sympathy with the Methodists; neither of them was a professing Christian. It is evident that the trustees intended that the college should fill a needed place in the educational systems of the two states of Virginia and North Carolina, on the border line of which was its location. Randolph enjoyed great popularity in the Dominion state, and was one of the wisest and ablest statesmen of his time, whom ill-health alone prevented from taking a leading place in the councils of his country. Macon was also a model citizen, a man of high honor and unblemished character. The adoption of this name meant that the college was to be a nursery of patriots.

The names of Early, Leigh, and Disosway are to be honorably remembered for their services to this great southern institution. "In every city where he (Leigh) was stationed," states the historian of Virginian Methodism, "in every district, in every circuit, there are thrilling recollections of his preaching. He was not simply an eloquent preacher, he was a wise, skillful, practical workman in the vineyard." Gabriel P Disosway, who is favorably known as the author of "The Old Churches of New York," re-



MATTHEW SIMPSON,

President of McKendree College, Lebanon, Illinois, and Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

sided until 1828 at Petersburg. A graduate of Columbia College, New York, he was able to render Doctor Leigh much valuable advice, and was active in promoting the college scheme. Bishop Early served as president of the board of trustees for the long period of thirty-six years—that is to say, during the whole period of its location at Boydton. Since the year 1868 the college has been located at Ashland.

The career of John Early covers a long period of Christian activity. Born in the year 1786 in Bedford county, Virginia, he was originally associated with the Baptist Church, to which his parents belonged; but, after the change which he experienced in the year 1804, he united with the Methodist Church, and two years later was licensed to preach. Part of his early work was done among the negroes on President Jefferson's estate. For some time after the year 1815 he located, in order to support his family; but in 1821 he again entered the itineracy,

JONATHAN HAMNETT,
Professor in Allegheny College for sixty consecutive years.

REV. RANDOLPH S. FOSTER, D. D.,
President of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, and Professor of Systematic Theology at Drew Theological Seminary; afterward President of Drew Seminary.

and was appointed a presiding elder. Early was a great force on the camp-meeting ground, and is said on one occasion to have brought no less than a thousand people into the fold. He survived until the year 1873, and until his eightieth year was in active service.

Doctor Olin's presidency of Randolph-Macon College lasted for only three years. In June, 1836, his health became so impaired that a complete suspension of his labors was deemed necessary; and for several years he traveled in Europe and Asia, visiting all the localities made famous in sacred and profane history. After his return he was appointed to the vacant presidency of the Wesleyan University, as the successor of his friend, Dr. Wilbur Fisk. This position he held until his lamented death in the year 1851.

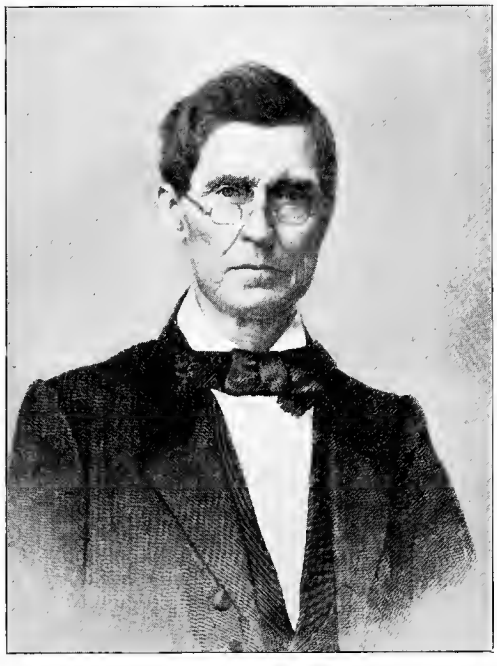
Olin was a great preacher and an impressive personality. "Great compass of thought," says a friend who knew

TIMOTHY ALDEN,
Founder of Allegheny College.

him well, "was his peculiar mental trait—he had only to bend his mind upon any subject, and, as if by magic, in all its completeness and varied relations, it shortly stood before him, ready to be put on paper, or to be detailed to an audience, and this often without having made a single note with pen or pencil. Sometimes his discourses were written before their delivery; but, even then, he did not, as a general thing, have the manuscript before him at the time of delivery. The field of his mental vision was always clear and well-defined before him—it was wonderfully extensive, but still every object was distinctly seen."

It is interesting to connect Olin with another great teacher and inspirer of youth, who was also a Demosthenes of the pulpit. When in Paris in the year 1837, he seized the opportunity of listening to Dr. Thomas Chalmers, then at the height of his fame. He was warned to avoid the excitement, and he suffered for his rashness. The Scottish preacher seems to have been more than usually impressive, and the effect produced upon Olin was such as to confine him to a sick bed for six weeks. Unfortunately Olin belonged to a generation which was inclined to regard deliberate physical recreation as a needless concession to human frailty. Had he taken better care of his health, by alternating his severe mental labors with invigorating open-air exercise, he would undoubtedly have prolonged his life and increased his usefulness.

The personality of Henry Bidleman Bascom also enters directly into the history of Methodist educational institutions. Born in Delaware county, in New York state, he was educated by a relative, Henry Bidleman, who resided at Eaton, Pennsylvania. In 1812, when Henry was sixteen years old and had finished his schooling, the Bascom family, after various migrations, settled permanently in the state of Ohio. From his earliest days the lad was obedient, loving, and industrious, and, after the age of fourteen, distinctly pious. At the early age of seventeen he was licensed to preach on the Brush Creek



JUDGE A. B. LONGSTREET, LL. D.,
President of Emory College, Oxford, Georgia.

circuit, in which the family home was situated. For the next ten years he labored in Ohio and Kentucky. In 1823, through the influence of Henry Clay, he was appointed chaplain to congress; and began to win in the East a reputation as an eloquent preacher. Four years later he entered upon scholastic duties as president of Madison College, situated in Uniontown, Pennsylvania; and delivered an inaugural address which was long remembered for the brilliancy of its rhetoric.

Associated with him in the college were several excellent men. One of these, Dr. Charles Elliott, a native of county Donegal in Ireland, was the means of inducing Matthew Simpson to attend college. Happening to visit Cadiz when the lad was in his eighteenth year, he noticed his bright promise, and remained ever afterward his zealous and judicious friend. In the future bishop's journal occurs an interesting entry descriptive of college life at Madison. "December 1st: Rose at half-past four; recited Latin Prosody, also twenty-fourth proposition, third book of Euclid; heard Cicero and Greek Testament; continued Livy." "December 5th: Rose at half-past three; recited from fifteenth to thirtieth proposition, sixth book of Euclid." "December 25th: This being Christmas, there was no school. Attended prayer-meeting before daylight; at eleven heard Mr. Bascom preach. Received the appointment of tutor in Madison College." It is no slight honor that this school, in its short career, should have nurtured such a leader of men as Bishop Matthew Simpson.

Bascom held the presidency for but two years, when he accepted an agency of the American Colonization Society, in which the Church was then taking considerable interest. Three or four years later he returned to a scholastic life, being appointed professor of moral science and *belles-lettres* at Augusta College, Kentucky, a position he held for many years. In the year 1839, while professor there, he married Miss Van Antwerp, of New York, who bore him two sons and a daughter. Two presidencies were offered to him soon afterward, that of the Louisiana College, and of Missouri University, but he declined

HOME OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY WHILE A STUDENT AT ALLEGHENY COLLEGE.

both. After serving for a time as *pro tempore* president of Transylvania University, he was finally elected its president; and proved a successful administrator.

In the crisis of 1844 he bore an important part, and was also active in the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The whole faculty of Transylvania University, of which he was president, tendered their resignations to the General Conference of 1846, which met at Petersburg, Virginia, in order that they might hold office directly from the Conference; and Doctor Bascom was duly reappointed. He was also elected

JOHN BARKER,
Elected Professor of Natural Science in Allegheny College in 1839.

editor of the *Quarterly Review*, which was started at this time under the patronage of the Church. At the next General Conference, held in the city of St. Louis, he was elected bishop. Before the first year of his episcopal labors had closed, death overtook him. He had entered with great activity on his labors in the St. Louis Conference, which was specially assigned to him, and had taken a long journey to visit the Indian Manual Labor School, at Fort Leavenworth, with which he was highly pleased. In August of the same year, when traveling east, he fell sick at Louisville, and died at a friend's house.

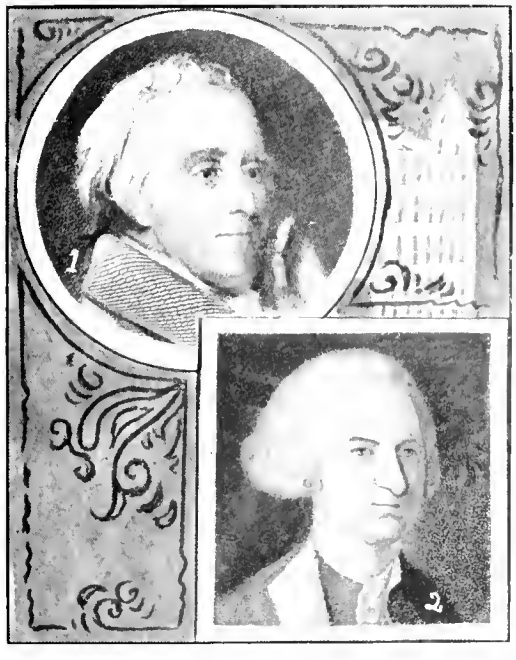
Like Stephen Olin, Bascom united the capacities of administrator and orator. By many he was considered the ablest pulpit orator of his time. It is said that, while preaching as chaplain before congress, he so thrilled the audience at one passage that the president, General Jackson, involuntarily started from his seat with the exclamation: "My God, he is lost!"

Madison College, where he spent two years as president, retiring in 1828, did not remain for long a Methodist institution. In 1832 the Church abandoned it, and secured possession of Allegheny College, which had been in existence for several years as a Presbyterian institution. The fine building, in colonial style, which had been erected in the year 1820, is still standing. The first president of the reconstituted college was Dr. Martin Ruter, an able and versatile man, with an abundant flow of energy, who for four years had been president of Augusta College, and was well known in the Church. For five years he devoted himself with much success to organizing and developing the institution. Doctor Ruter was not only a good preacher and a good administrator, but also a successful writer. His "Church History" was for half a century the standard text-book of Methodist preachers. Ruter Hall, one of its chief buildings, remains as a memorial of his services to Allegheny College. Under Homer Clark, John Barker, William Crawford, and other able presidents, the college has continued to prosper. Among

its *alumni* to-day are William McKinley, President of the United States, Senator Allison, and Bishop Thoburn of India.

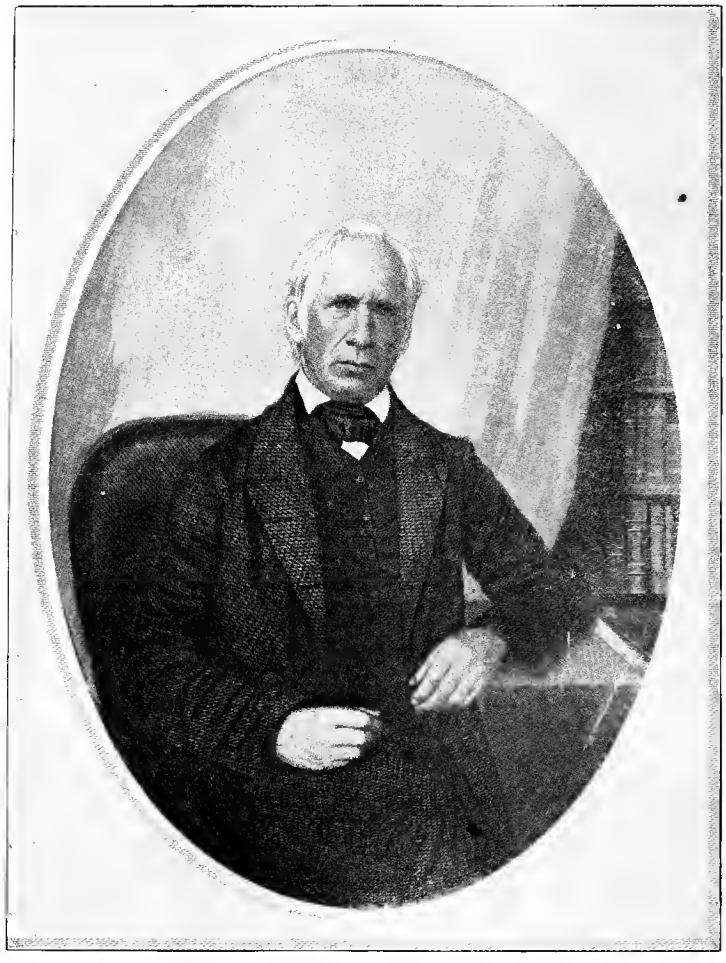
Another famous Methodist institution which dates, like Allegheny College, from the year 1833, is Dickinson College, situated at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in the lovely Cumberland valley. The college derives its name from the eminent patriot, John Dickinson, who was president of Pennsylvania from 1782 until 1785. It was during his term of office that he founded and partly endowed the college. The first associations of the institution were with the Presbyterians, and its first president was a Scotch Presbyterian minister, Dr. Charles Nesbit, who came from the ancient Forfarshire burgh of Montrose. The division between the Old School and the New School in the Presbyterian Church had a damaging effect on its prosperity, and in 1833 it was transferred to the Methodists. Among its early *alumni* were James Buchanan, who became president, and Roger Brooke Taney, who became chief-justice. Henceforth the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conferences had joint control of the institution. The responsibility was thus thrown upon two bodies which numbered among them many of the ablest men in the whole Church. Henceforth it exercised a unique influence in leavening the Methodist ministry.

Its first president was a young man of thirty-three, who yet enjoyed, and deservedly, the full confidence of the two Conferences. John Price Durbin, who was a Kentuckian from Bourbon county, belonged to an old Methodist family, and his early training was sound and thorough. At eighteen years of age he came under religious conviction, and was soon an active itinerant, wielding in the pulpit a strange spell by singular outbursts of eloquence. Having broken down in health through excessive application, he found his relaxation in conversing with negroes in their cabins, and thus got close to the warm human heart. After a period of labor in Ohio, he completed his studies at Miami University and later at Cincinnati College, where he was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts. In the year 1826 he was appointed professor of languages in Augusta College in his native state. Five years later he served as chaplain in the United States Senate. After two years of editorial work on the *Christian Advocate*, he was unanimously elected president of Dickinson College, a post which he filled for eleven years. When he left it, he had established for himself a secure reputation for administrative and executive ability. The close of his life was spent in the important post of missionary secretary. During his twenty-two years' tenure of office, all of the foreign missionary enterprises of the Church (with two exceptions) grew up under his fostering care; and his wise manage-



THE FOUNDERS OF DICKINSON COLLEGE.

1. BENJAMIN RUSH; born in 1745; died in 1813.
2. JOHN DICKINSON; born in 1732; died in 1804.



REV. CHARLES ELLIOTT.

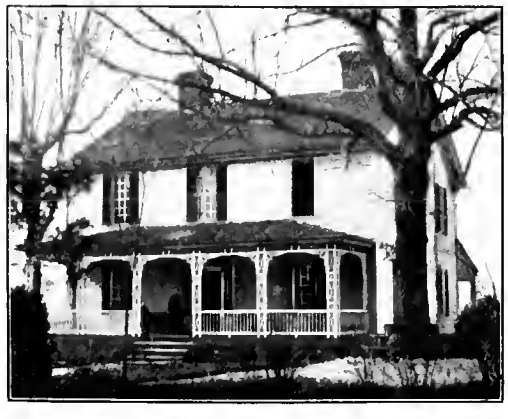
ment of the affairs of the society, together with the stirring appeals he made from platform and pulpit, placed the society's income on a most satisfactory footing. When, in 1872, he refused re-election on account of failing health, he could report annual receipts that were sevenfold greater than when he first accepted office. A stroke of paralysis in 1876 brought to a close a life of singular worth and usefulness. His successor at Dickinson College was Dr. Robert Emory, son of Bishop John Emory, who died in 1848, after six years of excellent service. Had he lived he would have done much for the literature of Methodism; as it is, his "History of the Discipline" is an invaluable treatise.

As early as the year 1828 the western Conference of Illinois had founded a college on the pattern of Augusta College in Kentucky. The site chosen was at Lebanon, some twenty miles east of the Mississippi river, and close to the famous Looking-glass Prairie, which was once one of the show places of the West. Its first name was Lebanon Seminary, changed two years later to McKendree College; but it did not receive its charter until 1834. Among the names of those who voted for the charter may be found that of Abraham Lincoln, the greatest of Illinoisans. The donation by Bishop McKendree of four hundred and twenty acres of land helped to place its finances upon a stable basis. Its first principal was Edward Raymond Ames, then a young man fresh from Ohio University, who later became a bishop of the Church. He was succeeded by Dr. Peter Akers, who was noted for his contributions to chronology. The institution has been much hampered in its development by the lack of adequate endowments.

The unsatisfactory condition of the State University of Indiana, which operated unfavorably to Methodist students, led to the founding of Indiana Asbury University. A suitable location was obtained at Greencastle, and in June, 1837, Dr. Henry Bascom laid the foundation stone of the first university building. During its erection classes were held in the Methodist church of the town, and in the town seminary. The first president was Matthew Simpson, who had been serving with great

success in Allegheny College as professor of natural science, and vice-president. He entered at Greencastle upon nine years of unremitting toil. The financial crisis of 1837 still exercised its baneful effect upon the community, making money scarce and chilling financial enterprise. The university paid its professors in its own scrip, which was turned into cash on the best terms available. The president's Sundays "were given to preaching throughout the state; long tours were taken on horseback, with a preaching appointment for nearly every day; at the great gatherings he was always a conspicuous figure. In these tours he rapidly developed his extraordinary preaching power; his name became a household word in all the state, and his eloquence was so prized that he was called on from all quarters. The effect of his exertions was that a genuine enthusiasm was created for the university." Finally the strain proved excessive, and Simpson resigned office to become editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*, at Cincinnati. His later career was a singularly distinguished one.

The history of Methodism in Georgia shows that after considerable early activity in the matter of education, there ensued a period when the camp-meeting



FORMER RESIDENCE OF BISHOP ANDREW, OXFORD, GEORGIA.

OSMON G. BAKER,
Professor in Biblical Institute at Concord; afterward Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

was in favor and the college at a discount. Indeed, there existed a fear among the horny-handed settlers that a college would prove an expensive luxury, imposing educational requirements on preachers, and increasing the liabilities of the Church. Happily these objections were successfully combated, and in 1820 the South Carolina Conference took under its charge a school at Salem, in Clarke county, which had been established by some Methodists. Stephen Olin was making a success of the Abbeville school, and this new undertaking was intended to meet the special wants of Georgians; but it does not seem to have enjoyed much patronage.

In the year 1830 the Georgia preachers ceased to receive their appointments from the South Carolina Conference and formed a separate Conference of their own. Two colleges sent representatives to Georgia in 1832, with the object of securing, if possible, the patronage of the Conference. John Early came from

THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE, EMORY COLLEGE, OXFORD, GEORGIA.

Boydton, Virginia, as a representative of Randolph-Macon, and William McMahon from Alabama, as a representative of La Grange.

The latter institution had a career of a quarter of a century. Like many of the other schools of the time, it was purposely located in a retired rural district, so that its students might not suffer from the allurements and contamination of town-life. La Grange was not even a village, but rather a scattered hamlet in the mountains of Alabama, noted for the excellence of its spring water and for its salubrity. The site was selected in 1829, and a year later, when the college opened its doors, it attracted, before two months were over, as many as seventy pupils. No theological curriculum whatever was either offered or designed. The institution was declared by the committee to be purely literary and scientific, nor were any theological professorships to be at any time established, nor the peculiar tenets of any religious denomination to be inculcated. This proviso was embodied in its charter.

The timidity shown in this policy of its founders did not augur well for the final success of the institution. Away from the stirring life of cities, a community is apt to stagnate and present only negative features of excellence; the wealth of city life is necessary for the continued maintenance of college efficiency; and when literature is divorced from theology it is apt to be emasculated. In Robert Paine, however, La Grange College found for fifteen years an ideal president. Born in North Carolina, in 1799, he removed with his family, when fifteen years of age, to Giles county, Tennessee, and four years later entered the Methodist ministry. A singularly well-balanced and personable man, Paine was particularly at home in the lecture-room, and exercised a most salutary influence on the whole institution. In the history of the Church, his name will occupy a prominent place, because of the part he took in events of 1844. He was elected a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1846, and survived until the year 1882.

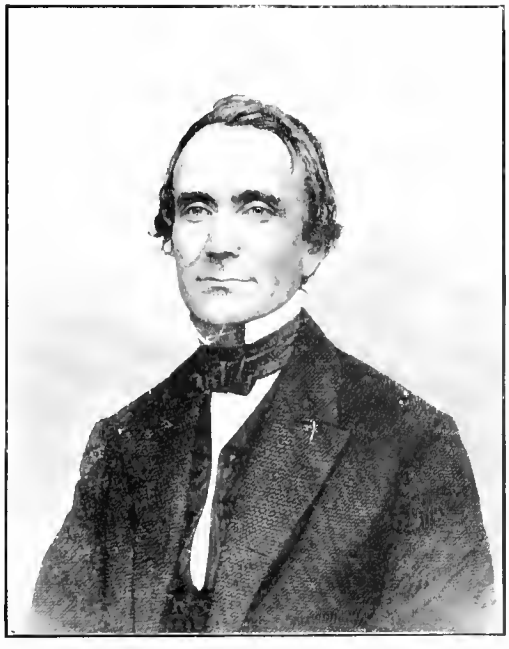
After Paine's resignation the financial outlook, which had not been very satisfactory, grew worse, and the attendance fell off. Finally, in 1855, a proposition made by the inhabitants of Florence, Alabama, that the institution should remove thither, where it would have better buildings and an ample endowment, and be relieved of debt, was favorably considered. After the removal the name of the institution was changed to the "Florence Wesleyan University."

The fact that Olin was so well known in Georgia, Mrs. Olin being a Georgian, may have had some influence in the choice of Randolph-Macon, and the resolution to raise ten thousand dollars toward the endowment of a professorship

in the institution. Already several patriotic Georgians were advocating the need of a separate college for the state. At the Conference of 1833, Doctor Few supported with much ardor a plan for the establishment of a manual labor school at Culloden; and Olin, who was present to further the interests of Randolph-Macon, opposed this new scheme as inexpedient, but the Conference endorsed both, by appointing two agents, one for each.

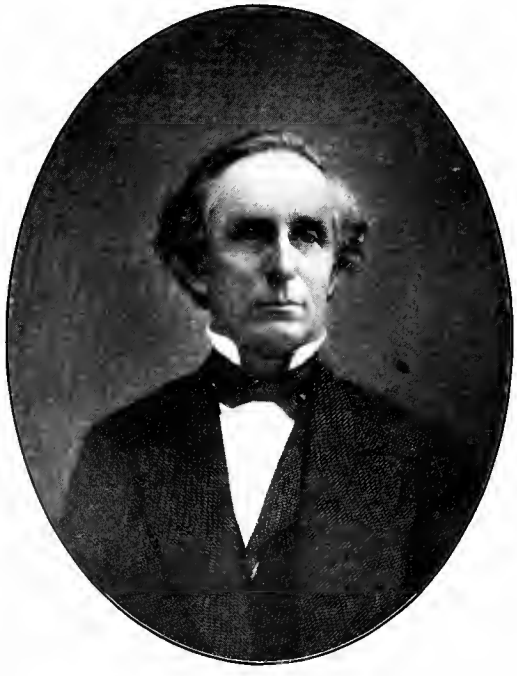
A manual labor school, located at Covington, was established, and for four years flourished remarkably, receiving applications for entrance from six surrounding states. Indeed the Conference had to interdict the admission of students from other states until Georgian students should be provided for. But after an existence of six years the undertaking had to be given up, as too expensive. Experience goes to show that these educational farms cannot be managed except at a heavy yearly loss. The Baptists in the state had also established a manual labor school, but, finding it was ruinously expensive, they converted it into a college. The Methodist college may also be said to have sprung like a phœnix from the ashes of the manual labor school. In the year 1837 a charter having been received from the state, a suitable spot was selected for the future home of culture. Close to the town of Covington in Newton county a tract of land, covering fourteen hundred acres, was purchased for fourteen thousand dollars. The site for the college was within the corporate limits of Oxford, a name selected at the suggestion of Doctor Few, in honor of the home of learning so dear to John Wesley. In 1837 the foundation stone was laid, with prayer and praise, and in August, 1839, the buildings were open for the reception of students. The first president was the man who had done most to promote the undertaking—Dr. Ignatius A. Few.

The years of his presidency were shadowed by feeble health and a gloomy financial outlook. As at Indiana Asbury University, the financial panic of 1837 made the raising of funds a very difficult task, even where sums had been definitely promised. Doctor Few, who died in 1845, was a Georgian by birth. His father, Captain Few, had served with distinction in the Revolutionary War, and was a delegate to the convention which framed the constitution of the United States. In the early days of the century, when Asbury was itinerating in Georgia, Captain Few entertained the good bishop, who had a talk with his son Ignatius, then a serious-minded lad. Educated at an academy in New Jersey and at Princeton College, the young man lapsed into infidelity. From Princeton he went to New York, where he studied law. In the War of 1812 he was appointed to the command of a reg-



EDWARD THOMSON,
President of Ohio Wesleyan University, and Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

iment, and afterward bore the title of colonel. It was in the year 1827, when he was practicing law in Augusta, that a change came over him. A severe attack of lung trouble brought him to the gates of death, and he felt that the philosophical skepticism, which he had hitherto found sufficient, was inadequate at such a crisis. Mr. Travis, the preacher on the circuit, induced him to read Fletcher's "Appeal to Matter of Fact and Common Sense," and the result was



REV. THOMAS BOWMAN, D. D.,
President of Asbury Indiana University.

a complete change of heart. Henceforth he was a zealous Christian.

His successor, Augustus B. Longstreet, was an able lawyer and a brilliant orator, who exercised an influence not only in his own state, but throughout the South. Like Ignatius Few he had lapsed into skepticism, while remaining strictly moral in his conduct. Brought up religiously by a devout Presbyterian mother, he married a Methodist lady, whose people were sincere believers. The death of a beloved child plunged him in deep grief, and he could extract no comfort from his negative creed. Under a brother-in-law's influence he began to study the promises of religion, and was finally converted into a sincere believer at a revival meeting. At this time he was judge of the Greensboro circuit court.

Judge Longstreet was admirably fitted for the post of president, which he accepted at great pecuniary sacrifice; for he was a lawyer enjoying a lucrative practice. He found the college in a very unsatisfactory condition—deeply in debt, with numerous worthless assets, and without proper accommodations. Until the year 1849, when he resigned, he directed his whole attention to the placing of its affairs on a satisfactory footing, and laid securely the foundation of its future prosperity.

Meanwhile, in the northern state of Maine, there had been considerable educational activity and enterprise manifested by Methodists. A private school, started by Elihu Robinson, received a charter, in 1821, as the Readfield Religious and Charitable Society, and was removed to Kent's Hill. A munificent donation of one hundred thousand dollars, by Luther Samson, placed it at once on an excellent financial basis, and insured its success. Mr. Samson's main aim was to educate the children of itinerants, and also to give educational opportunities to young men preparing for the ministry. A manual labor seminary, aided by the state, was added to the institution, but, as in Georgia, it proved a financial burden, and in the year 1840 it had to be abandoned. The name of Zenas Caldwell deserves honorable remembrance for his labors as principal of the Maine Wesleyan Seminary. After finishing his course at Bowdoin College, where he was the room-mate of Franklin Pierce, afterward President of

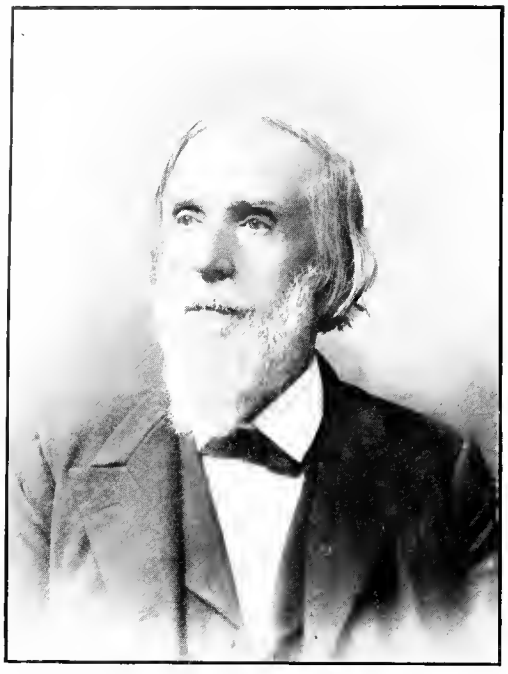
the United States, he entered at once upon teaching duties at Hallowell Academy, and engaged also in active ministerial work. When the Augusta school was removed to Kent's Hill, Readfield, Mr. Caldwell was unanimously elected principal, and began his duties under the fairest auspices. But lung trouble seized upon him, and, before six months were over, he was carried off, at the early age of twenty-six, leaving behind him an enviable reputation for piety, scholarship, and Christian activity.

The cause of education in Ireland had meanwhile been appealing to the large heart of Dr. Adam Clarke. While the Protestant districts of the island as a whole were in a condition of social and educational superiority, yet many outlying Protestant communities were sunk in ignorance and vice. To meet this felt want Doctor Clarke raised funds for the establishing of six well-equipped schools, where not only children, but young people whose early education had been neglected, might be trained to read and write, and be instructed in religious and other truth. Having succeeded in carrying out his plan, the doctor made a personal visit in the year 1830 to the haunts of his youth, where the schools were now planted, and inspected them. At the same time he made a preaching tour, and addressed large audiences in town and country. At his death in 1832 these schools were transferred to the missionary committee. A noble obelisk at Port Rush, and several of these school buildings, keep alive the memory of this singularly gifted man.

Side by side with the activity displayed by American Methodists in establishing educational centers was the free employment of the press as an instrument for spreading the gospel. The extraordinary value which Wesley attached to printed literature as a means of helping the cause of righteousness has already been commented upon. It was an Englishman, John Dickins, who began in 1789, while a preacher at Philadelphia, the "Methodist Book Concern," the nucleus of the largest religious publishing house in Protestant Christendom. Its original capital was six hundred dollars, which came out of Dickins' own pocket; and the first work issued from its press was the "Christian Pattern," being Wesley's translation of the famous

REV. J. M. BONNELL, D. D.,
President of Wesleyan Female College.

"De Imitatione Christi," that handbook of the devout in all lands. Eight years later the Church began to exercise a direct supervision over the Concern by appointing a committee to which all books should be submitted before publication. The General Conference of the previous year had favored the publication of a Methodist missionary magazine for the United States; but it took another twenty years ere the magazine project was carried into effect. At the beginning of the century the Concern



JAMES H. CARLISLE,
President of Wofford College, South Carolina.

was moved from Philadelphia to New York.

The publication of the *Methodist Magazine* in 1818, under the editorship of Joshua Soule, is almost contemporaneous with the fresh educational impetus. The omission of the word *missionary* from the title may show that its scope was meant to be wider than the particular enterprises of the Church. When Soule, inexperienced in matters editorial, took charge of the Concern, he found it without capital and with a stock of unsalable material. He immediately set himself to improve matters, by securing the financial aid of two Baltimore friends, Messrs. Bryce and Littig, who possessed means, and by turning out fresh literature. His sagacious mind and orderly habits soon turned the undertaking into an auspicious success, and henceforth it did not want for capital. In 1824 the Concern was established in Croby street, with a press, bindery, and other appliances of its own.

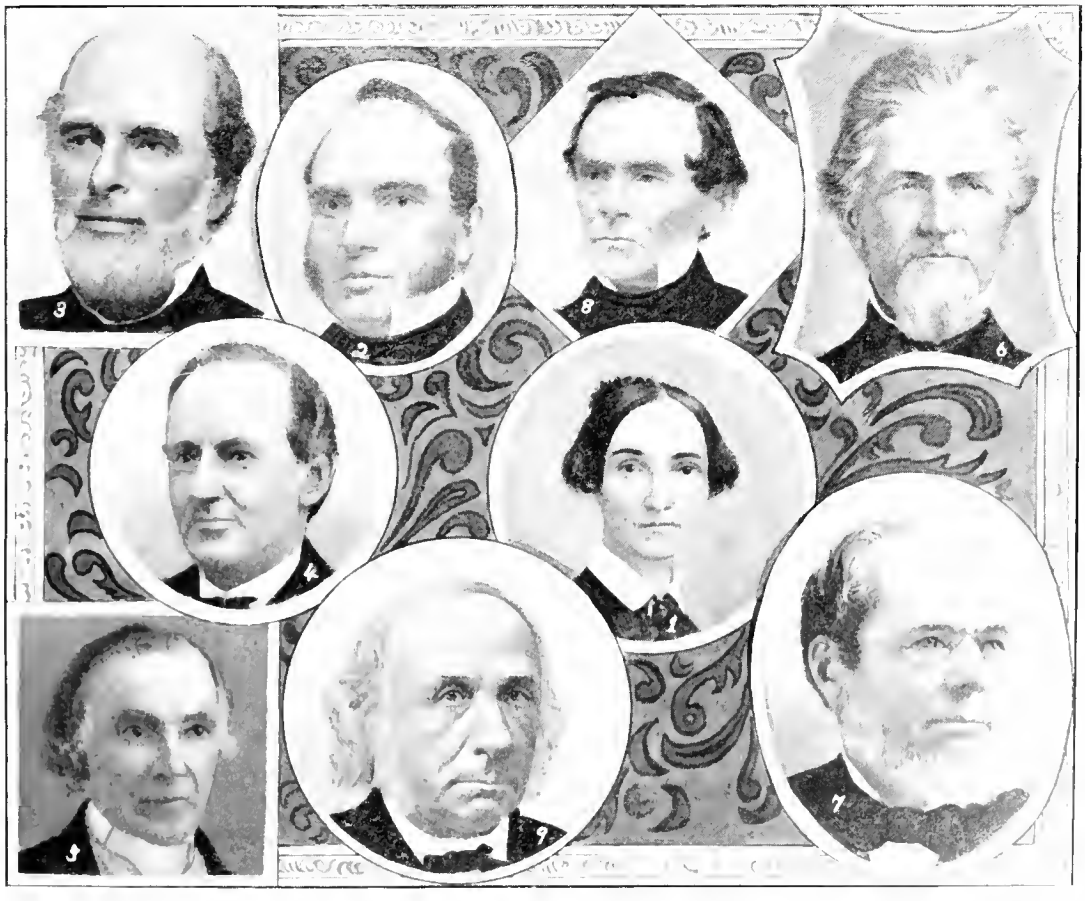
As early as 1815 a *New England Missionary Magazine* had been started by Martin Ruter, at Concord, New Hampshire; but after four quarterly numbers it ceased. Six years later an association, with Elijah Hedding as president, was formed, calling itself the "Society for Giving and Receiving Religious Intelligence." Its organ, which appeared early in January, 1823, has ever since been a power in the land. *Zion's Herald*, printed upon a small royal sheet, measuring nine by sixteen inches, was the first of Methodist weekly publications.

Some three years later a weekly publication, entitled *The Wesleyan Journal*, was started at Charleston, South Carolina; but it was merged soon afterward in the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, the first number of which appeared in New York city in September, 1826. This publication was successful from the start, and soon had a subscription list of thirty thousand. Its first editor was a layman named Barber Badger. In 1828 *Zion's Herald* having consolidated with it, the paper for two years bore the somewhat cumbrous title, *The Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald.* Since 1830 *Zion's Herald* has been published by a separate association. Four years later the *Western Christian Advocate* was started at Cincinnati, where Martin Ruter had opened a branch Book Concern in 1820.

Dr. William Capers became in 1837 editor of the *Southern Christian Advocate*, a journal which was felt to be necessary in view of the "peculiar political aspects of the times," when a sharp division of sentiment was manifesting itself in the different sections of the Church. The paper was intended "to set forward, in particular, the cause of Christian benevolence as embodied in the Bible, Missionary, Sunday-school, Tract, and Temperance Societies." It

was printed on an imperial sheet, of the same size and quality with that of the *Christian Advocate*, of New York. The itinerant ministers and preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church were all authorized agents, and the proceeds of the paper, as a part of the general Book Concern, were to be equally divided among all the Annual Conferences, to be applied in spreading the gospel, and aiding distressed and superannuated ministers, and the widows and orphans of those who had died in the work.

Early in the thirties a *Christian Advocate* weekly paper was founded in England, and became a popular organ among the Methodist clergy and laity. Unlike the American journals, however, its connection with the Church was wholly informal and unofficial. As, however, its editor was the son of a venerated president, the Rev. John Stephens, and brother of another well-known preacher, the Rev. Joseph Raynor Stephens, it enjoyed the entire confidence of orthodox readers. The times were rife with political excitement, for it was the era of the great Reform Bill, which finally gave popular institutions to the people of England, establishing the



ELIZA GARRETT, DANIEL DREW, AND OTHER BENEFACTORS OF METHODISM.

1. MRS. ELIZA GARRETT, founder of the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois. 2. HON. JACOB SLEEPER; born in Maine, 1802; Mayor of Boston; Sunday-school Superintendent in Broomfield Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Boston. 3. HON. GEORGE T. COBB; born at Morrisville, New Jersey, 1812; killed in a railway accident, 1870. 4. W. W. CORNELL; born in Long Island, New York, 1823; first President of Sunday-school and Missionary Society, New York City; died in 1870. 5. JOHN BALDWIN. 6. ISAAC RICH; born in 1810; one of the founders of Boston University, to which he left a large endowment. 7. ANDREW VARICK STOUT. 8. DANIEL DREW; born, 1797; founder of Drew Seminary, Madison, New Jersey. 9. THOMAS TASKER, SR., for long connected with Methodist Episcopal Church Extension Board.

principle of "no taxation without representation." Gradually the paper caught the infection of extreme radicalism and began to advocate subversive opinions, with no regard whatever to propriety and courtesy. At length an attack on Dr. Jabez Bunting awoke general indignation, and convinced Methodists that it would be unwise to let the world any longer suppose that the *Christian Advocate* had their support. The action of the Rev. Joseph R. Stephens, in taking part in an association whose object was to overthrow the State Church, led to his suspension, and to his withdrawal from the Methodist ministry.

A spirit of faction seems to have entered into English Methodism at this time. In the year 1833 steps were taken to organize a Literary and Theological Institution for the training of the junior preachers. At this time Dr. Jabez Bunting was by far the most considerable personage in the connexion, and his election to the "visitorship" or presidency was regarded by most people as a foreordained thing. But a Doctor Warren, for reasons not easily to be discovered, took umbrage at the way matters were being conducted, and entered upon a factious course of conduct which kept alive the flames of controversy within the Methodist body. Warren's adherents formed a "Grand Central Association" for the assertion of their rights, and he himself appealed to the vice-chancellor's court; but the appeal was dismissed. He was expelled from the connexion and eventually entered the Established Church.

The Theological Institution, the founding of which was the exciting cause of his eccentric course, began its work in the year 1834, with Doctor Bunting as president and Mr. Entwisle as governor. Its first location was at Horton, a north-eastern suburb of London; and it was housed in inadequate quarters for five years. The centenary fund having placed in the hands of the trustees the large sum of seventy-two thousand pounds sterling, they proceeded to erect a noble building at Richmond, near London. Meanwhile more suitable quarters were found for a great number of the students at Stoke Newington, east of London, in the house where Dr. Isaac Watts had for many years his home. For six years Abney House served the purposes of a theological college; and then it was razed to the ground. Abney Park is now one of the chief cemeteries of London. A northern branch seminary was also established at Didsbury, near Manchester.

Secular education was receiving considerable attention in England during this decade. The illiberal policy of the Established Church, which kept the state universities as a close preserve for its adherents, led to the establishment in 1837 of the London University. This new institution was unsectarian, and did not demand residence as a preliminary to a degree, the test for which was wholly by examinations. Colleges, however, which offered a curriculum that prepared for the London degrees, were "affiliated." Seven years after its foundation a Wesleyan institution which had been established in Sheffield, Yorkshire, was thus affiliated. The Sheffield Wesley College, built in 1838, at a cost of thirty thousand pounds sterling, through the efforts and liberality of Methodist ministers and laymen of the neighborhood, occupies a fine site in the vicinity of that busy town; and its students have always maintained high positions on the honor roll of London University. To the Rev. Samuel D. Waddy, D. D., is largely due the credit of having secured for the college so high a standing.

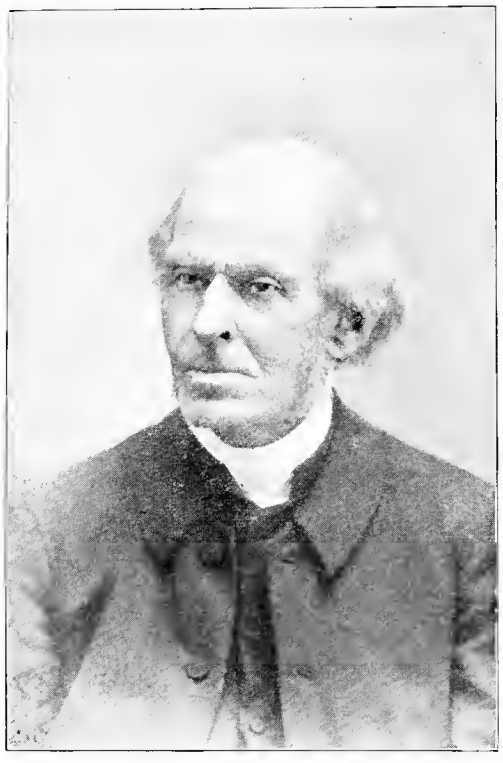
CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TWELVE YEARS BEFORE THE GREAT DIVISION.

THE General Conference of 1832, recognizing the continuous growth of the Church, and the feeble health of many of the bishops, proceeded to elect two new men. One of these was James Osgood Andrew, whose name was to be so prominent twelve years later at the time of the great division. He was not among the first candidates considered. William Capers, of South Carolina, had been first approached, but declined on the plea that he was an unwilling slaveholder. Having inherited slaves, he attempted to rid himself of the unpleasant responsibility by exporting them to Liberia; but the matrimonial and other separations which this would have involved finally deterred him. He recommended James Andrew as a suitable man, who was free from this disqualification. Curious irony of fate that should make his nominee technically a slaveholder thrice over before a dozen years were over!

Andrew was a Methodist bred and born. His father, John Andrew, was the first native Georgian to be admitted as an itinerant, and in his early life he had seen a good deal of hardship. At the time of his election, James Andrew was but thirty-eight years old, but his whole career had been such as to inspire the Church with confidence in his judgment. Having joined the Church when thirteen, he was licensed to preach before he was out of his teens; and the early appearances in the pulpit of the shy, awkward, unassuming boy caused many to underrate him. Gradually he showed his powers, and when, at the age of twenty-three, he was transferred to a city charge in Charleston, his fame as a preacher was growing. While in Charleston he married Miss Amelia McFarlane, who belonged to a family of stanch Methodists. It was a bequest of this lady's mother which furnished one of the occasions for the well-known Andrew case.

From the beginning the Rev. Lovick Pierce, one of the leaders of Georgia Methodism, had believed in the lad, and it was he who recommended him to the Broad River circuit for admission to the ministry. Pierce had a promising son of his own, who was seventeen years the junior of James Andrew, and who in due time was elevated to the episcopal bench. It shows the different manners of the rising generation to which he belonged, that while James Andrew almost failed through backwardness and awkwardness to commend himself to the examining committee, George Foster Pierce was considered too much a man of the world to suit the taste of the more conservative. After his return from Franklin College, when he was studying law with his uncle at Greensboro, James Andrew persuaded him that it was his duty to preach the gospel, and recommended him to the Apalachee circuit for license. "One Sunday morning," so Rev. George Smith tells the story in his "History of Methodism in Georgia," "Brother Collingsworth being preacher in charge, requested the society to remain, and young Pierce remained with them. He was dressed in his graduating suit. It was of blue broadcloth, a swallow-tailed coat with brass buttons, and vest and pants to match. The old preacher arose and requested George Pierce to retire. After some time he called him back and met him outside of the house. 'Well, George,' he said, 'in spite of all I can do, these people have recommended you to the



THE REV. WESLEY BROWNING,
Matthew Simpson's Presiding Elder in Ohio.

Quarterly Conference for license; but, George, this coat must come off. You can never be licensed to preach dressed in such a worldly way as this.' 'But,' said the future bishop, 'Uncle Collingsworth, I have no other nice coat, and don't think it would be right to take this off, for father is not able to buy me a new outfit. I will wear this out, but I will not get another like it.' In vain the old man scolded, reasoned, and threatened; the young applicant stood his ground."

This Conference made the best definition probably on record of the real scope and work of Methodism. "Our itinerant system," stated the report, "is not only missionary in its character, exploring the dark and dismal wastes of human wretchedness, penetrating the habitations of the poor, and tracing out the abodes of misery, but it possesses in itself the ample means of developing the resources of Christian charity, and carrying into complete success all those benevolent institutions of our Church which are of such vital importance to her best interests."

A curious instance of the temper of the time was the request which came from Philadelphia, that the General Conference should pronounce on the propriety of a preacher's accepting the degree of doctor of divinity. The result was a shelving of the whole question. No doubt there lay behind it the dislike existing among many worthy people to have acquaintance with religious matters a means of social advancement. The prejudice against technical schools of theology displayed itself in the forties, when Doctor Dempster struggled so hard to found his biblical institute at Concord, New Hampshire; and it was only finally got rid of when Eliza Garrett bequeathed her noble endowment to the Church, and the General Conference accepted the gift.

A tragic incident which happened at this time very nearly brought sadness to the whole Methodist community. As a fast mail-coach, containing Bishop Soule and seven of the delegates, was crossing the Alleghany mountains from Baltimore to Wheeling, the horses took fright and dashed down the slope. After running about five hundred yards, the coach was upset and the occupants were thrown with violence down a steep embankment. The vehicle itself was broken to pieces; and the driver escaped by jumping from his seat when he saw that an accident was certain. Bishop Soule, who was the first to extricate himself, escaped with a few bruises and a mutilated thumb; the Rev. J. B. Finley appeared with face cut and bleeding, and in a state of nervous collapse. Thomas A. Morris, afterward bishop, crept forth uninjured; but his companion, the Rev. A. W Elliott, who had to be rescued from his position, was

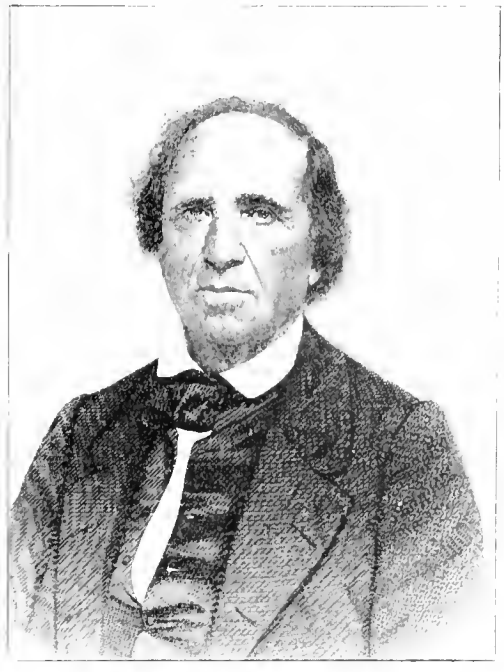
so badly hurt in the shoulder that he was for years a partial cripple. The worst sufferer was the Rev. David Young, who had his collar-bone crushed, and several of his ribs broken, and who suffered excruciatingly It was wonderful that none of them was fatally injured.

Bishop John Emory was to be less fortunate. Having started from his home in a light carriage on the morning of December 16, 1835, he was found dying on the roadside by a wagoner a couple of hours later. His horse, as it appeared, had run off and thrown him, his skull being fractured. The bishop never recovered. He was a great loss to the Church as a man of ripe scholarship, unflinching courage, and high administrative ability. His son Robert survived his father only thirteen years, being cut off by ill-health while president of Dickinson College.

The year 1835 also saw the close of another distinguished career. Bishop McKendree, one of the great lights of the Church, who for nineteen years had ranked as senior bishop, died in March of that year at the home of his brother in Nashville. For a considerable period his health had been feeble, but he remained active to the last. His final words were a declaration of hope and trust: "All is well." Like Asbury, he had refrained from assuming the responsibility of married life, and he died a bachelor.

The period showed considerable activity in mission work. As population pushed westward, the claims of the red people were recognized by the Church. In 1834 three missionaries set out to Oregon to work among the Flat-head Indians there, who had sent an earnest request to have the gospel preached to them. This request created general interest, and met with such a warm response that in one year the available funds were doubled. The missionary work was also begun in South America, where stations were established in the year 1836 at Rio de Janeiro and at Buenos Ayres.

The General Conference of 1836, which met at Cincinnati, elected three new bishops, but only two were willing to serve. The third, Dr. Wilbur Fisk, considered that his duties as president of Wesleyan University were sufficient to occupy all his energies. At the time of the appointment he was in Europe traveling for his health, which was in somewhat feeble condition. The other two were Beverly Waugh, of the New York Conference, and Thomas Morris, of Ohio. By birth Bishop Waugh belonged to the "Old Dominion," having been born in 1789 in Fairfax county, Virginia. When fifteen years old he attached himself to the Church, and five years later definitely entered the ministry. For some years he was associated with John Emory as book agent, and in 1832 became chief of the department. In due



BISHOP JAMES OSGOOD ANDREW.

OLD BETHEL METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The oldest church in Sussex county, Delaware. Established 1778. The society was established in 1778, and the building erected in 1781. It is said that the first services in this church were conducted by Bishop Asbury.

time he became senior bishop of the Church, after Hedding's death in 1852.

Bishop Morris, his junior by five years, was also from Virginia. Brought up a Baptist, he joined the Methodists from conviction when nineteen years of age, and was admitted into the Ohio Conference in the year 1816. His early labors in that state and in Kentucky brought on severe illness. As presiding elder of the Cincinnati Conference in 1833, and later as editor of *The Western Christian Advocate*, he won favorable notice. During his long career as bishop, lasting until 1874, he was greatly esteemed for his amiability and sincerity.

This year, 1833, is also memorable because it saw the establishment of the "German Mission," under the charge of William Nast. This celebrated scholar and devoted evangelist, whom some have termed the Wesley of Germany, was born of devout parents in Würtemberg, Germany, in the very year that the battle of Jena was fought. His parents, who belonged to the Lutheran persuasion, destined him early for the ministry, but these desires were not realized until a foreign country became his home. His faith was completely undermined during the two years he spent at Tübingen University, where Ferdinand Christian Baur was his instructor, and David Frederic Strauss his classmate. He honorably repaid the money devoted by his relatives to his education, and determined to devote himself to literary pursuits.

In the year 1828, when he had just reached his majority, he sailed for the New World. About a year after landing in New York the wonderful change began to come over him which made him one of the Christian leaders of the century. A period of service as German teacher at West Point, and, later, as professor in the Lutheran College at Gettysburg, was associated with a terrible spiritual struggle. The beneficent influence of Dr. Wilbur Fisk helped to comfort him. Finally, in 1835, he felt his faith definitely established, and was licensed to preach by the Danville Quarterly Conference. His first appointment from the Ohio Conference was as a German missionary in the city of Cincinnati. Before two years were over he had founded the first German Methodist society in the city of Cincinnati. In the following year, 1838, he commenced the publication of the *Christliche Apologete*, the organ of German Methodism. He conducted the work of editing until his old age, when his son, Dr. Albert J. Nast, relieved him.

In the year 1844 the German work in the United States had grown to such importance that it was felt advisable to plant stations in Germany, and Doctor

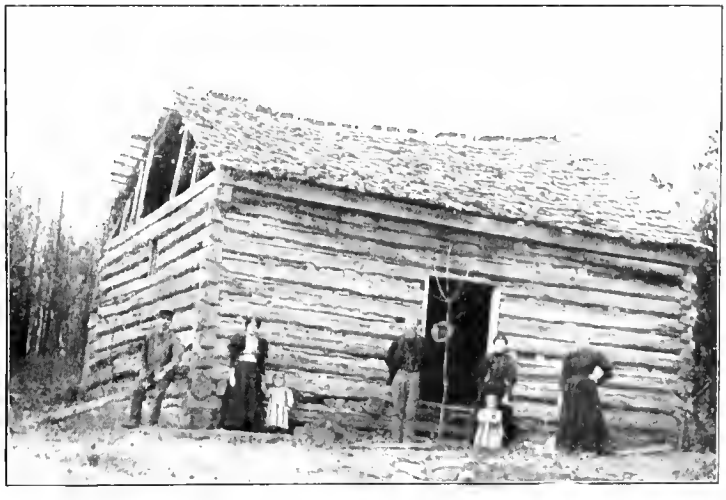
Nast was commissioned to proceed thither. He thus became pioneer of a great work in his native land, which he had left as an agnostic sixteen years before. The veteran missionary survived until the very close of the century, dying in 1899 at the age of ninety-two.

The work of evangelization among the slaves scattered over the rice, sugar and cotton plantations of the South was carried on under considerable difficulties in the days before the separation. The Methodist Episcopal Church contained so many pronounced abolitionists that the planters regarded the missionaries as possible political emissaries, likely to breed revolt, and so threw obstacles in their way. As early as the year 1809 two missionaries had been sent out by the South Carolina Conference, James H. Mellard to the Savannah, and James E. Glenn to the Santee River. They found it necessary, after a short struggle, to desist. The later career of Mr. Glenn possesses some interest. In the year 1821 he was residing at Cokesbury College, when there came south a young Vermonter, in poor health and religiously unsettled. The influence of Mr. Glenn was salutary in every way. The young man, Stephen Olin by name, was not only restored in health, but became a sincere believer. Joining the Methodist Church, he rose to distinction as one of its ablest college professors and presidents, and as a peerless orator.

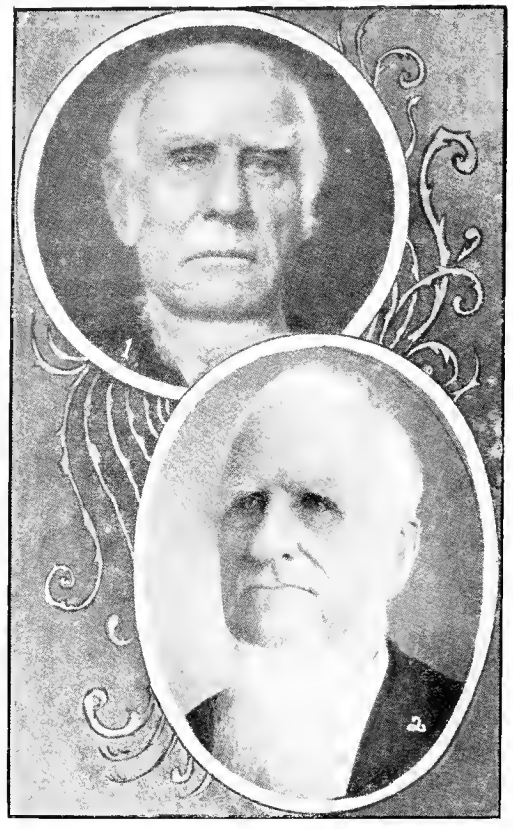
In the year 1828 the work was again resumed, but in an unofficial way. A pious lady in the South invited a Methodist preacher to work among her slaves, and for many years the Rev. George W Moore spared no exertion to bring the gospel message to these benighted souls. The good results of his efforts becoming known to neighboring planters, they intimated their willingness to receive similar help, and the matter was taken up by the capable hands of Dr. William Capers, who was appointed superintendent of these missions.

William Capers came of old Revolutionary stock, his father having been a major under General Marion. The boy early showed promise of intellectual capacity, and looked forward to a legal career. These were the days of the camp-meetings, and the young man, happening to be present at one, was touched. At this time his father had grown careless in religious affairs. The voice of a daughter in the home who sang a hymn of faith and hope happened to find its way to the hearts of both of them, and the result was a double consecration.

In the year 1808, at the age of eighteen, he became a preacher. One of his earliest experiences was at Fayetteville, with a devout negro named Henry Evans, a freedman. Evans, who was working as a shoemaker in the place, set himself to convert the degraded and down-trodden people of his race, and



OLD SALEM METHODIST CHURCH,
Greene county, Missouri; erected in 1836.



TWO SURVIVING DELEGATES TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1844.

1. ANDREW HUNTER, of the Arkansas Conference.
2. JEROME C. BERRYMAN, of the St. Louis Conference.

with remarkable success. The improvement in the slaves reacted upon their masters and mistresses, and soon there was quite a revival of religion in the place. Capers discharged a labor of love when he preached the funeral sermon when the good man was laid to rest. His remains were placed under the chancel of "Evans' Chapel" in Fayetteville.

Forbidden, after his return to Charleston, to preach to negro gatherings, he began to train suitable negro men as preachers; and set on foot a work which is to his eternal honor.

By the year 1831 there were four distinct missions to the slaves in the two Conferences of South Carolina and Georgia, and considerably over one thousand negroes had joined the Christian fold. Especially were the Combahee Pon Pon missionaries in the former state successful in the work of gathering in these benighted people. In a couple of years this mission alone, called lovingly by the Rev. George Morse "the child of Providence," numbered twelve hundred converts. Other states followed in the wake, notably Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama, and Christian people began to contribute liberally to the fund. It was a toilsome and difficult campaign against ignorance, immorality and superstition, but cheered by constant tokens of success.

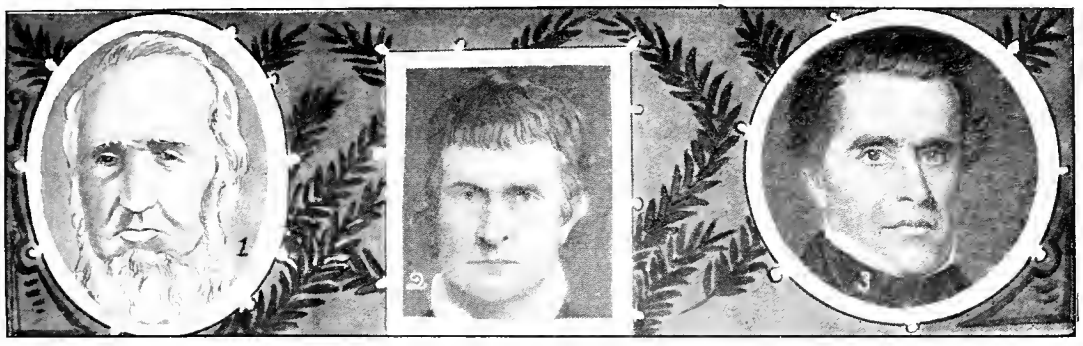
An interesting discovery was made as the work enlarged its scope. A new mission was established in 1836 at Waccamaw Neck in South Carolina. Among the plantation negroes the missionary found an old gray-haired colored man, called Punch, whom Asbury had met when on his way to Charleston in the year 1788. He had accosted the young man kindly, and spoken to him seriously about his soul. Twenty years later occurred a second interview, which so moved Punch's heart that he became a devout Christian. He busied himself with the conversion of his fellow-slaves; but an irreligious overseer interfered and bade him desist. Happily the overseer himself in time was touched, and became a man of prayer, and finally joined the Methodist Church.

Punch had gathered round him a following of two or three hundred slaves, whom he instructed in sacred things. He lived barely long enough to get acquainted with the missionary, dying a few weeks later a triumphant Christian death.

In the year 1844, when the great separation took place, the plantation mission work counted sixty-eight missions, seventy-one missionaries, and over twenty-one thousand members. From an insignificant sum, amounting in 1830 to less than three hundred dollars, the

amount appropriated now reached a total of over twenty-two thousand dollars. It was computed that the Southern Conferences had contributed in fifteen years something like two hundred thousand dollars.

The period intervening between the Cincinnati General Conference of 1836 and the Baltimore General Conference of 1840 is chiefly remarkable for the intensifying of the slavery question, a subject which is dealt with later in these pages. In the year 1838 that fine thinker and administrator, Dr. Wilbur Fisk, died at the comparatively early age of forty-six, cut off by a fatal pulmonary disease. It is a matter of regret that greater unanimity did not reign throughout the Church during the centennial year of Methodism, which was celebrated in the year 1839. Happily for the time being burning questions were laid aside, and the Church as a whole joined in commemorating the planting of its mustard-seed. The growth in the United States had been phenomenal. The Methodist denomination could now number in its membership more than any other organization, except, possibly, the Baptist. Its muster-roll now exceeded seven hundred thousand souls. The day set aside for "festive religious observance throughout the Methodist Churches in all parts of the world" was the twenty-fifth of October. Nobly did the British Methodists reply to the demand for funds to commemorate the day; nor were American Methodists far behind. The sum raised by them reached a total of six hundred thousand dollars. "The manner in which the celebration was conducted," says Dr. Nathan Bangs, in his "Life and Times," "had a hallowing influence upon the Church generally, and tended very much to increase the spirit of devotion. Sermons were preached and addresses delivered in almost every society throughout the communion, both on the twenty-fifth of October, the day on which the foundation of Methodism was laid by forming the first class, and on previous days, for the purpose of taking up collections for the objects specified. It was, indeed, a sublime spectacle to contemplate the assemblage of more than a million of people, joined by perhaps three times that number of friends, uniting to offer up thanksgiving to God."



PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1844.

1. JAMES JAMIESON, of the North Carolina Conference. 2. WILLIAM WINANS, D. D., of the Mississippi Conference; born in Pennsylvania in 1788; died in Mississippi in 1857. 3. W. W. REDMAN, of the Missouri Conference.

The General Conference of 1840, which met at Baltimore, showed the benign effects of the great spectacle of the previous year, when the brotherhood of Methodism over the world was so strikingly emphasized. One notable result of its sessions was the reorganizing of the Sunday-school Union, which had been in existence for over a dozen years, but had not yet been definitely recog-

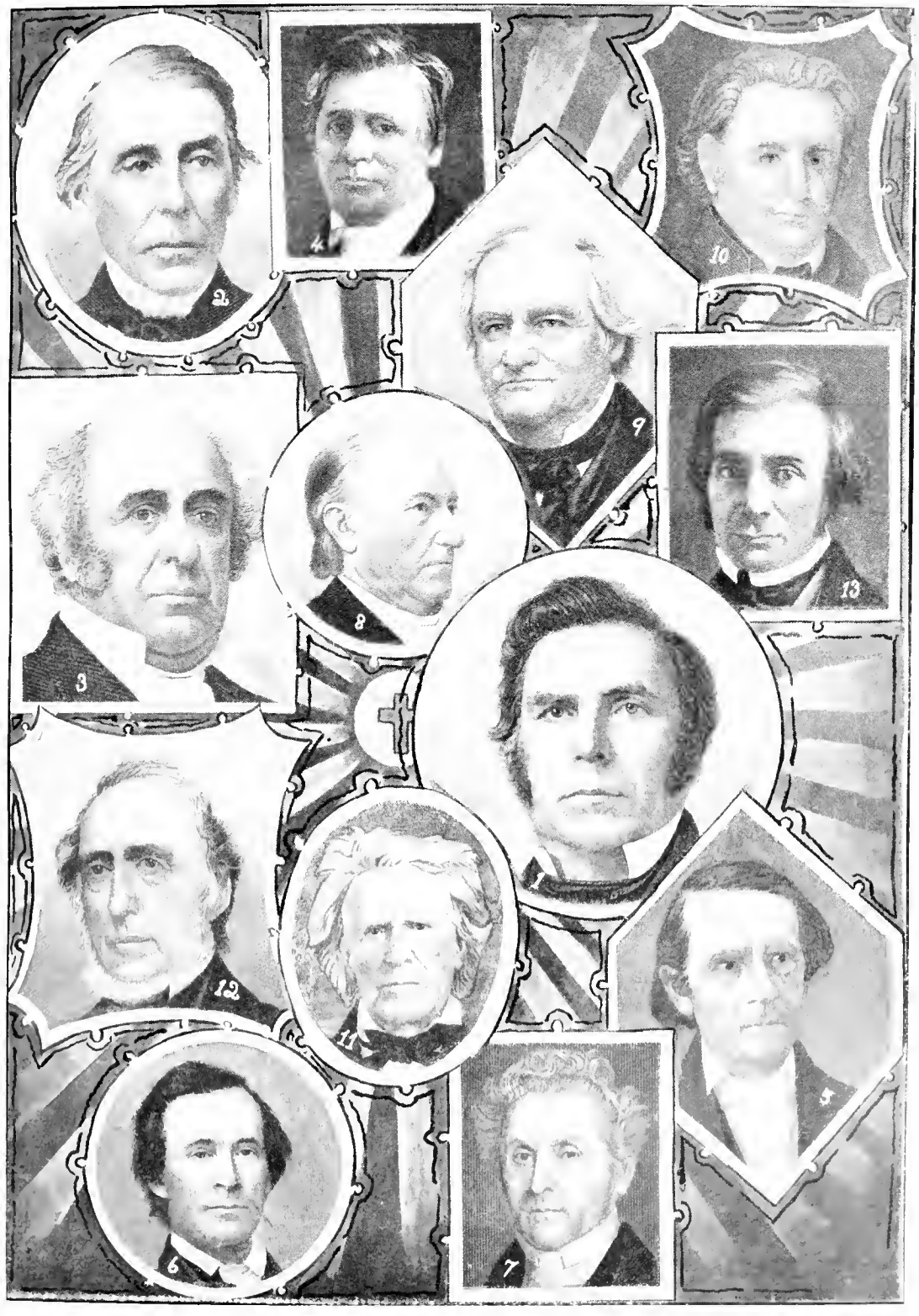
nized by the Church. It was now made a part of the Conference work, and a constitution was adopted. The Union did much good in out-of-the-way places by developing societies and helping the cause of Christian literature. Many a man owes his salvation to the beneficent influence of these organizations. In the year 1844, Dr. Daniel Kidder, who was one of the pioneer missionaries to South America, and had done good work in translating the Scriptures into Portuguese, took hold of this work, and for twelve years discharged efficiently the duties of the post.

This Conference is also notable for having authorized the publication of a journal especially intended for ladies. The Ohio Conference had sent in a memorial suggesting the need of such a journal, and the Conference directed the book agency at Cincinnati to proceed with its publication. In January, 1841, appeared the first issue of *The Ladies' Repository*, with Leonidas Lent Hamline, a future bishop of the Church, as editor. The bright contributions which he furnished gave the journal quite a vogue. The Rev. Edward Thomson, who succeeded him, proved equally successful; and three of the later editors were afterward elected to the episcopal bench.

Some important functions in the Church were carefully defined. In the bishops' address, presented by Waugh, occurs a succinct statement of the requisites for a good Methodist bishop. "To minds capable of grasping this vast machinery of our itinerant system," states the address, "it will readily appear that an effective superintendency is indispensably necessary to keep it in regular, energetic, and successful operation. It must be effective, not imbecile; general, not sectional; itinerant, not local. Destitute of either of these prerequisites, the probable result would be a disorganization of the system, and weakness and inefficiency in all its parts."

An important definition was also given forth respecting the power of a presiding officer in an Annual or Quarterly Conference to entertain a motion. Such an officer "has the right to decline putting the question on a motion, resolution, or report, when, in his judgment, such motion, resolution, or report does not relate to the proper business of a Conference." When, however, the Conference, by a vote and without discussion, records their dissent, this goes on to the General Conference as a part of the journal. It also rests with the president of an Annual or Quarterly Conference to declare when the business prescribed by the Discipline is completed, and to adjourn the sessions.

The intermediate period between 1840 and 1844 is memorable because of the religious excitement caused by the Millerite Adventists. Where the slavery question was not all-engrossing, this had room to prevail, and worked a good deal of mischief in the Church. The founder of these Millerites was William Miller, who was born at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in the year 1782, and served in the War of 1812. Almost twenty years later, while resident at Low Hampton, New York, he began to expound views respecting the second coming of Christ. Basing his calculations on passages in Daniel (viii. 14, and ix. 24), he declared that in the year 1843 the world would come to an end. It is said that no fewer than fifty thousand people in the United States, British America, and Canada looked with certainty for the speedy fulfillment of the prophecy. Miller survived the eventful year, saw most of his followers forsake him, and died in 1849 at the age of sixty-six. He is said to have enjoyed high esteem for his personal worth.



LEADERS IN THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1844.

1. E. R. AMES, of the Indiana Conference. 2. JOHN F. DURBIN, of the Philadelphia Conference. 3. JESSE T. PECK, of the Troy Conference. 4. L. L. HAMLINE, of the Ohio Conference. 5. LEVI SCOTT, of the Philadelphia Conference. 6. J. M. TRIMBLE, of the Ohio Conference. 7. PHINEAS RICE, of the New York Conference. 8. HENRY SLICER, of the Baltimore Conference. 9. GLEZEN FILLMORE, of the Genesee Conference. 10. J. B. FINLEY, of the Ohio Conference. 11. JAMES HAVENS, of the Indiana Conference. 12. GEORGE PECK, of the New York Conference. 13. E. THOMSON, of the North Ohio Conference.

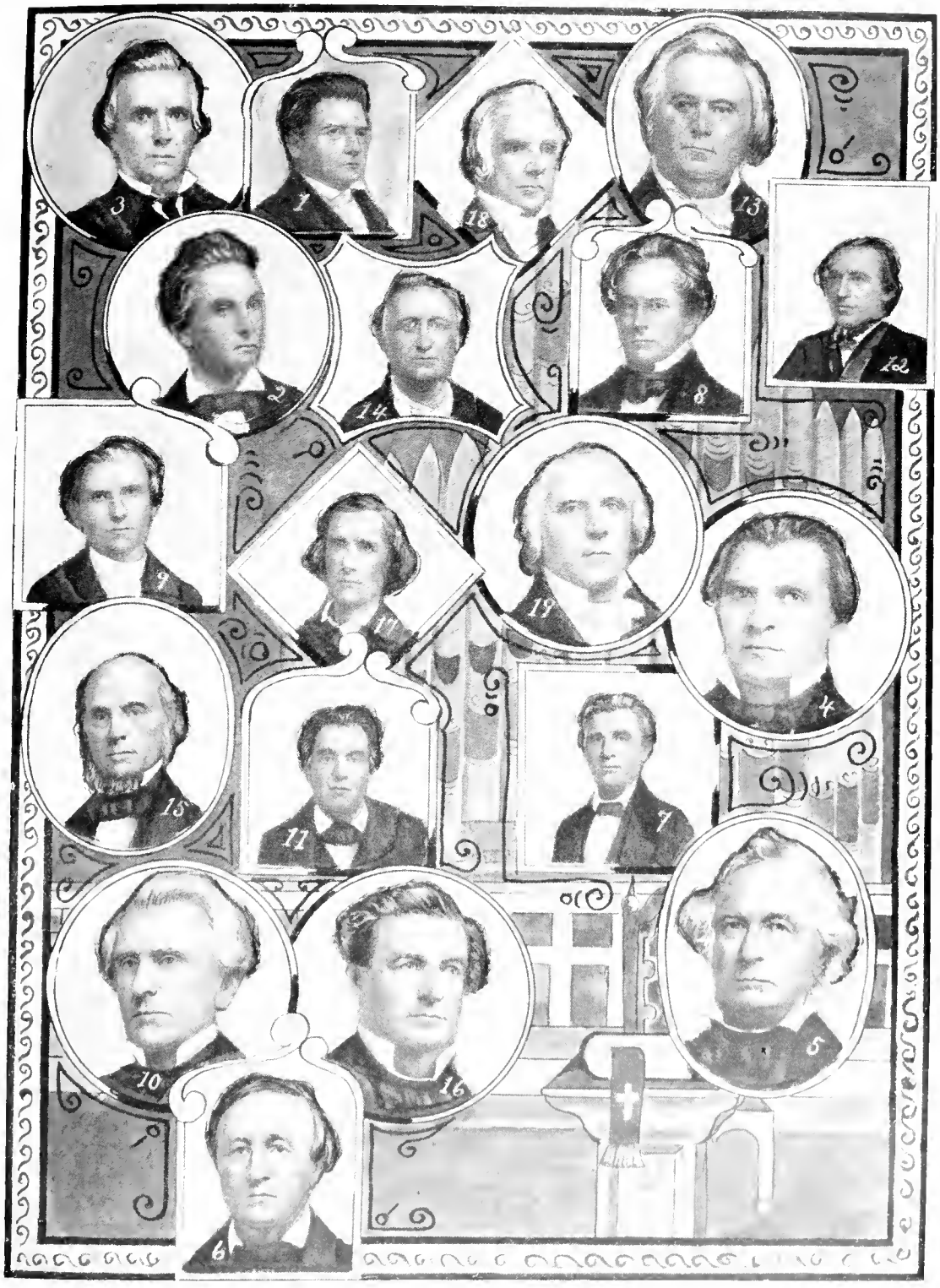
To come now to the overwhelming question of that era. The great slavery question first began to assume an acute phase in the year 1826, when there occurred a division of opinion as to the propriety of sending a slave-holder to represent the Methodist Episcopal Church at the London Conference. The delegate favored by Bishops McKendree and Soule was Mr. Capers, of South Carolina, while Bishops George and Hedding, acting in the interests of the anti-slavery party, proposed in his place Dr. Wilbur Fisk. When the matter came up for final decision in the General Conference of 1828, as an item in the bishops' address, the members indorsed the original choice of McKendree and Soule. Capers, as it proved, made an excellent representative, and received the encomiums of his English brethren for the ability, Christian spirit, and brotherly kindness he had shown in the discharge of his duties.

The intervening years until 1836 were marked by a great increase in the intensity of the anti-slavery question. A New England Anti-slavery Society was started in the year 1832, and an American Anti-slavery Society was organized in the following year. The year 1834 is memorable in the history of British institutions for the passing of the act of parliament liberating the slaves. The large sum of £7,000,000 was given in compensation to the owners, and the work of liberation was fixed to take place gradually during the next few years. Of course, this gave an impetus to the movement in the United States, and intensified the already strained feeling between North and South. The extreme party began to force the claim that no slaveholder could rightly be permitted in the Christian Church, and a signed address to this effect was presented to the two Conferences of New England and New Hampshire. The address called forth a "Counter-Appeal," in which the au thority of the New Testament was ap pealed to as sanctioning the relation o master and slave. This Counter-Appeal signed by Wilbur Fisk, Abel Stevens and Bishop Hedding, expressed at the same time their radical disapproval o the system, and their belief that the Bible on the whole was opposed to it.

The address of the bishops at the Gen eral Conference of 1840 touched upon the matter in a calm and judicious man ner. It counseled moderation, and dep recated the extremism which would brand as ungodly those who were *unavoidably* connected with the institution of slavery. They declared that, at no period of the Church, had the mere own ing of slaves subjected the master to ecclesiastical excommunication.

At this time the fraternal addresses o the British Conference began to contain references to the subject. In reply to one such address the bishops pointed out how intimately interwoven with civil institutions was slavery in many of the states, and how for them to make an onslaught upon the system would be re garded by the great body of the people as treasonable and impertinent. Doctor Coke, they stated, had on one occasion overlooked this plain distinction, with almost ruinous practical effects. They quoted, in conclusion, the warning ad dressed by the English Dr. Richard Watson in 1833 to the missionaries who were called to minister in the West Indies—that their only business was to promote the moral and religious improve ment of the slaves to whom they had access, without in the least degree, in public or private, interfering with their civil condition.

Meanwhile the pinch began to be felt in particular circuits, where the different civil conditions happened to reign. A complaint came from the official mem-



DELEGATES TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1844.

1 HUBBARD H. KAVANAUGH, Kentucky Conference. 2. GEORGE W. BRUSH, Kentucky Conference. 3. ELBERT SEVIER, Holston Conference. 4. JOHN B. MCFERRIN, Tennessee Conference. 5. THOMAS MADDIN, Tennessee uference. 6. GEORGE W. D. HARRIS, Memphis Conference. 7. ANDREW HUNTER, Wichita Conference. GEORGE F. PIERCE, Georgia Conference. 9. WILLIAM J. PARKS, Georgia Conference. 10. LOVICK PIERCE, orgia Conference. 11. JOHN W. GLENN, Georgia Conference. 12. JAMES E. EVANS, Georgia Conference. CHARLES BETTS, South Carolina Conference. 14. PETER DOUB, North Carolina Conference. 15. LEROY M. LEE, rginia Conference. 16. WILLIAM M. WIGHTMAN, South Carolina Conference. 17. HUGH A. C. WALKER, South rolina Conference. 18. JOHN EARLY, Virginia Conference. 19. WILLIAM A. SMITH, Virginia Conference.

BISHOP GEORGE F. PIERCE, AT THE AGE OF 55.

bers of the Westmoreland circuit in Virginia, where emancipation was illegal, that the Baltimore Conference, to which they belonged, made invidious distinctions, refusing orders or admission to the traveling connection where the candidates were slave-holders. The General Conference of 1840, to which the complaint was addressed, passed a resolution to the effect that such distinctions were to be deplored, and that no legal barrier to the election or ordination of ministers to the various grades of office in the Methodist Episcopal Church could be held to exist in the mere ownership of slave property.

This deliverance of the General Conference proved to be the extreme limit to which the Church was prepared to go to in the way of compromise. Two years later the uncompromising anti-slavery party seceded and held, in May, 1843, at Utica, New York, a convention which organized itself into the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America. Before a year and a half was over, this Church, which made non-slave-holding a condition of membership, numbered fifteen thousand members. The effect of the secession was to produce in the North a wave of opposition to slavery, and to prepare for an entire separation with the slave-holding members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was a distinct forcing of the issue. To the South it came as a warning that the traditional refusal of the Church to interfere with existing political and civil relations was becoming a thing of the past, and that those who wished to uphold such a moderate course had better stand firmly on their rights.

The fateful issue came in May, 1844, when the ninth General Conference of the Church met in the city of New York. There were forebodings of a conflict, although the extreme men were now outside of the Church and in a new organization of their own. The most conservative men in the Methodist Episcopal Church were present as delegates—Soule, Hedding, Bangs, Olin, Durbin, Simpson, Pierce, Capers, Bascom, and Kavanaugh—not to mention a number of other distinguished and trusted leaders.

The first test slave-holding case which came up for decision was that of Mr. F. A. Harding. Having, while a member of the Baltimore Conference, married a lady who was a slave-holder, he was required by that body to free these slaves; but he insisted that their title and ownership inhered in his wife, and that, moreover, according to the laws of the state of Maryland, a slave could not be emancipated and enjoy liberty. It was urged on the opposite side that manumission of slaves within the state had often taken place without any subsequent disturbance, and that no slave-holder had ever been a member of the Baltimore Conference. When the matter came to a vote the motion to reverse the decision of the local body was lost,

by a vote of fifty-six to one hundred and seventeen. The Southern members regarded the affirming of this decision as the "enjoining of a violation of civil law as a moral duty," and the threatened disruption might have ensued upon this issue, had not a more conspicuous personage become the mark for similar adverse criticism and action of a more pronounced kind.

We have seen that James Osgood Andrew, while a preacher in Charleston, had married a Miss McFarlane. Mrs. Andrew received from her mother as a bequest a negro boy; and, as she died without a will, the lad became the legal property of her husband, Bishop Andrew. Emancipation was impracticable, owing to the laws of the state; but the bishop declared that the boy might leave for elsewhere as soon as he showed himself able to take care of himself.

A second case of the same kind, by a peculiar accident, had fallen to the bishop's lot. Several years before the meeting of Conference an old lady had bequeathed to him in trust a young negro girl, who was to be taken care of until she was nineteen years of age, and then, by her consent, sent to Liberia. If, however, she refused to go, she was to have the option of remaining in Georgia, under as free conditions as the law would permit. When the time came for decision, she refused absolutely to cross the ocean, and, remaining in her native state of Georgia, where emancipation was impossible, she was nominally the slave of Bishop Andrew, who derived no pecuniary profit whatever from her possession.

Still a third slave-holding record stood against him. During the previous year he had married, as his second wife, a lady who possessed slaves. In order that he might have no responsibility from this property, he secured them to her by a deed of trust, and would willingly have done his best to see them emancipated, but that the laws of Georgia imperatively forbade it.

Such was the unfortunate series of complications which made the good bishop the center of this great anti-slavery excitement. In his simplicity he had not foreseen such a crisis; but many of his friends deplored the marriage, which had been the coping-stone of his troubles, and had tried in vain to avert it. It was evident that a time for decision had come; and that the intolerant attitude assumed toward this excellent man would drive the Southern brethren into a frame of mind which meant separation. To put it in the words of the great Doctor Olin: if they were ready to concede what the Northern brethren wished, if they conceded that holding slaves was incompatible with holding their ministry, they might as well go to the Rocky mountains as to their own sunny plains. The people, in fact, could not bear such a concession. His resolution, offered jointly with Doctor Capers,

BISHOP THOMAS A. MORRIS.

REV. EDMUND S. JANES, D. D.,
In early manhood.

to the effect that a means should, if possible, be found for securing the permanent pacification of the distracted Church, and that a committee of six should be intrusted with the task, proved futile. The committee were appointed, investigated the matter calmly and deliberately, and found it impossible to agree upon any plan of compromise.

For ten days the battle raged round the head of Bishop Andrew. Searching as was the investigation, it produced nothing that was not honorable to his character both as a man and a Christian. Estimable and lovely in his family life, devout and humble in his piety, unceasing in his devotion to the Church, and ceaseless in his interest toward the negro population, he offered no flaw to the keen inspection of his opponents. And yet many of his best friends and admirers regretted that he had not been prudent enough to avoid the mistake of that second marriage of his which had precipitated so grave a crisis, and caused a schism in the Church he loved.

Finally, on the twenty-second of May, two members of the Baltimore Conference introduced a resolution requesting him to resign. Had he been left to himself, his immediate resignation would have followed. It was an intention he cherished even before arriving in New York, as soon as he became aware of the wide scandal that had resulted from the report that one of the Methodist bishops was a slave-holder. But his brethren interposed a strong objection. The entire delegation from the twelve slave-holding Conferences, sent to him through a committee, on the tenth of May, an earnest protest against any such action as inevitably destructive to the Southern Church; and he found himself unable to resist their pleading. In this resolve he was no doubt right, for matters had now gone so far that his resignation, while proving a mere sop to the majority, would have been regarded by the solid South as a virtual surrender of their rights.

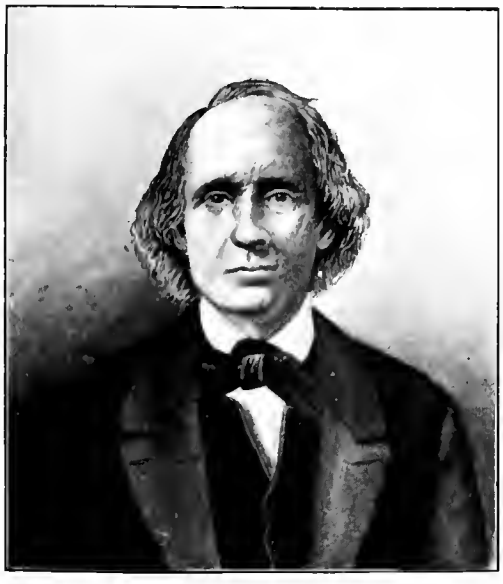
On the twenty-third of May, out of respect for the feelings of Bishop Andrew, and out of consideration for their southern brethren, the resolution requesting the bishop to resign was replaced by a milder substitute, presented by two Ohioans. It read as follows: "Whereas the discipline of our Church forbids doing anything calculated to destroy our itinerant general superintendency, and Whereas Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery by marriage and otherwise, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which, in the estimation of the General Conference, will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office as an itinerant general superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it; therefore, *Resolved*, That it is the sense of this General Con-

ference that he desist from the exercise of this office so long as this impediment remains.

(Signed) "J. B. FINLEY,
"J. M. TRIMBLE."

The question was as critical a one as well could be conceived; and, as northern delegate was succeeded by southern, it became more and more evident, from the tenor of their arguments, that radical differences existed between their fundamental theories of church and of law. A marked difference was especially noticeable in the constitutional powers they regarded as inherent in the General Conference and in the bishops, the northerners ascribing greater powers to the former, the southerners to the latter. This distinction has continued to mark the relations of these two bodies since their separation.

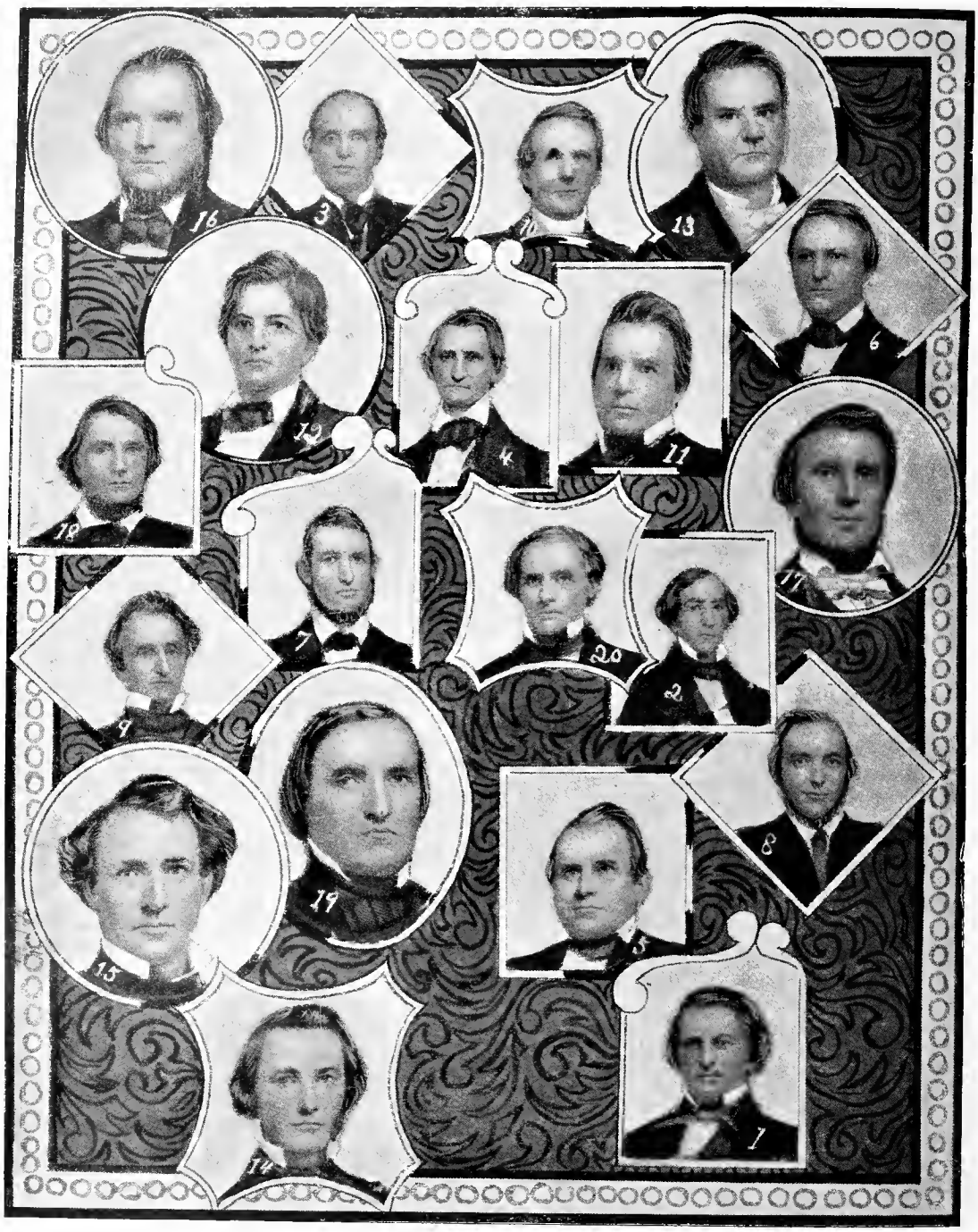
By the thirtieth of the month matters were so evidently at a dead-lock in the Conference, that Bishop Hedding suggested that no afternoon session be held that day, in order to allow the bishops to introduce some measure of pacification. Next morning, Friday, the thirty-first, the bishops accordingly offered their compromise. It suggested the postponement of the whole inquiry into Bishop Andrew's case until the next General Conference; and expressed the belief that in the meantime such a division of the general superintendency might be arranged as would allow the bishop to discharge his duties without fear of scandal. Bishops Soule, Hedding, Waugh, and Morris signed their names to this communication. By next day the chief mover in this act of compromise had to confess that it was in vain, inasmuch as the abolitionists of the North would refuse to submit to the continuance in episcopal functions, under any form, of Bishop Andrew. Accordingly Bishop Hedding asked permission, in open Conference, to withdraw his name from the



REV. THOMAS STRINGFIELD,
Of the Holston Conference; member of the General Conference of 1844.

REV. WILLIAM HUNTER.

Born in Ireland in 1811. The family emigrated in 1817 and settled near York, Pennsylvania. He was licensed to preach in 1832. He was a member of the General Conferences of 1844, 1852, 1860 and 1870. He is the author of several devotional lyrics which have found their way into a number of the standard church hymn-books. Among them may be mentioned "The Heavenly Home is Bright and Fair," with the chorus "I'm Going Home to Die no More," "Joyfully, Joyfully, Onward I Move," and "We are Bound for the Land of the Pure and the Holy." He died suddenly in 1877. A brother, the Rev Andrew Hunter, a noted pioneer preacher of Arkansas, survives him.



SOUTHERN METHODIST LEADERS IN THE FIFTIES.

1. E. H. MYERS, Georgia Conference. 2. W. R. BRANHAM, Georgia Conference. 3. G. J. PEARCE, Georgia Conference. 4. A. H. MITCHELL, Alabama Conference. 5. N. SCARRITT, Kansas Mission Conference. 6. E. E. WILEY, Holston Conference. 7. O. P. BLUE, Alabama Conference. 8. N. H. D. WILSON, North Carolina Conference. 9. A. T. MANN, Georgia Conference. 10. N. TALLEY, South Carolina Conference. 11. W. J. SASNETT, Georgia Conference. 12. F. A. MORRIS, Louisville Conference. 13. D. R. MCANALLY, St. Louis Conference. 14. H. F. REID, North Carolina Conference. 15. C. K. MARSHALL, Mississippi Conference. 16. A. R WINFIELD, Wichita Conference. 17. A. M. SHIPP, South Carolina Conference. 18. J. W. MILLS, Florida Conference. 19. P. P. NEELY, Alabama Conference. 20. S. P. RICHARDSON, Florida Conference.

document, and so it fell through. Had it been pushed, the almost certain result would have been a wide-spread secession of anti-slavery churches in New England, who would have invited Bishop Hedding to preside over the new organization. The address and recommendation of the bishops having been laid on the table, the Ohio substitute was then put to the vote, and carried by a majority of forty-two in a house of one hundred and seventy-eight. When the resolution was accordingly declared carried, Dr. Lovick Pierce, of Georgia, gave notice of a protest to be presented as soon as practicable by the minority, that it might be entered on the journals of the Conference.

As some of the members continued to assert that the decision in respect to Bishop Andrew's suspension was advisory only, and not mandatory, a resolution was offered by two members, declaring that it was not to be viewed in the light of a judicial mandate. But, as this resolution was never pressed to a division, but was promptly rejected, the view that it was mandatory is the only one possible. This construction served still further to exasperate the protesting minority. They regarded the action of suspension as a high-handed overriding of the law, securing by a majority vote what ought to have been brought about, if at all, by regular process of trial. Knowing that this view would be general among the church members in the South, they entered a vigorous protest, bearing the signature of fifty-one delegates. They objected to the resolution as a dangerous precedent, subversive of the union and stability of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Such a decision, they declared, placed in jeopardy the general superintendency of the Church by subjecting any bishop at any time to the will and caprice of a majority of the General Conference, not only without law, but in defiance of the restraints and provisions of law. They recognized in the General Conference no authority to depose a bishop in this summary way. Moreover, they declared the act a violation of the Compromise Law on the subject of slavery, the only law properly bearing in the case; and reflected severely upon the disastrous consequences of taking assumed offenses, under the plea of conscience and principle, out of the hands of the law, and resubjecting them to conflicting opinions and passions.

The second paragraph of this weighty document dealt with the essential functions of the episcopacy, as the executive department proper of the government, forming a coördinate branch with the General Conference. A bishop, accordingly, was no mere creature of the General Conference, nor could the General Conference, as such, constitute a bishop. The right of ordination, essential to his office, lay elsewhere. To assert that the right to appoint involves the right to remove is a patent fallacy, disproved by the analogy of judges and senators, who, though appointed by the legislature of a state, are not thereby subject to summary removal. The recent resolution suspending Bishop Andrew was, in their opinion, an outrage upon justice as well as law, reducing the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the condition of slaves, at the mercy of their masters and holders, the General Conference.

Thereafter the proceedings of this momentous assembly moved on steadily in the direction of a mutual and friendly division of the Church. For three days after June 5th, a committee of nine was at work devising such a scheme, and they appeared at length with their report, known in history as the "Plan of Separation." Its provisions, which had for their object the meeting of the emer-

LEADERS IN THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, IN THE FIFTIES.

1. W. P. RATCLIFFE, Wichita Conference. 2. W. H. SEAT, Texas Conference. 3. W. C. LEWIS, Texas Conference. 4. S. K. VAUGHT, West Virginia Conference. 5. S. S. RIGGS, Tennessee Conference. 6. J. ATKINS, Holston Conference. 7. J. W. KELLY, South Carolina Conference. 8. W. A. GAMEWELL, South Carolina Conference. 9. E. ROBINSON, Missouri Conference. 10. Z. M. TAYLOR, Louisville Conference. 11. M. YELL, Texas Conference. 12. J. W. WHIPPLE, Texas Conference. 13. E. HEARN, Alabama Conference. 14. D. M. WIGGINS, Mississippi Conference. 15. N. W. BURKS, East Texas Conference. 16. J. W. FIELDS, East Texas Conference. 17. J. W. PHILLIPS, Texas Conference. 18. W. C. DANDY, Kentucky Conference.

gency with Christian kindness and the strictest equity, were contained in ten articles, summarized as follows:

1. In case the delegates from Conferences in the slave-holding states should find it necessary to unite in a distinct ecclesiastical connection, then all the societies, stations, and Conferences on the northern boundary, adhering to the Church in the South by a majority vote of the members, were to remain under the unmolested pastoral care of the Southern Church; and there must be no interference with such churches or organizations on the part of ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This provision held equally respecting interference by the Southern Church with churches or societies that had remained, by majority vote, with the Methodist Episcopal Church. Interior charges, however, were in all cases to be left to the care of that Church in whose territory they were situated.

2. Local or itinerant ministers, of every grade and office in the Methodist Episcopal Church, were free, if they desired, to attach themselves to the Southern Church.

3. The Annual Conferences were to be advised at their approaching sessions that they must not appropriate the produce of the Book Concern or of the Chartered Fund to other than the ends sanctioned by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference. This required a change of the Sixth Restrictive Rule, which the committee recommended for authorization.

4. The same Sixth Restrictive Rule might be altered by a three-fourths majority in Conference, so as to allow all notes and book accounts in the New York or Cincinnati Concerns standing against the ministers, church members or citizens within the boundaries of the Southern Church to be collected by the agents at New York and Cincinnati for the sole use of that Church; and that these agents should hand over to the appointee of the South all the property, stock, and interest in the printing establishments at Charleston, Richmond, and Nashville.

5. That after this division of property had taken place, so much of the capital and produce of the Methodist Book Concern was to be transferred to the agent of the Southern Church as would bear the same proportion to the whole property of the Concern that the traveling ministers of the Southern Church bore to all traveling ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

6. The above transfer was to be made in the form of annual payments of $2,500 per annum.

7 The seventh article provided for the appointment of joint commissioners, authorized to estimate such property.

8. The eighth article provided for the due reception of agents clothed with legal authority to act for the Southern Church.

9. All the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church of every kind, within the limits of the Southern organization, was to be forever free from any claim set up on part of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

10. The Southern Church was to have a common property in all the copyrights in possession of the Book Concern at New York and Cincinnati at the time of the settlement by the commissioners.

The chairman of the committee was Robert Paine, and the adoption of the report was moved by Doctor Elliott, who characterized the contemplated division as not schism, but separation for mutual convenience and prosperity. There was a virtual unanimity in passing the various articles. On June 8th, the last General Conference of the united Methodist Episcopal Church came to a close.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FROM THE GREAT DIVISION UNTIL THE CIVIL WAR.

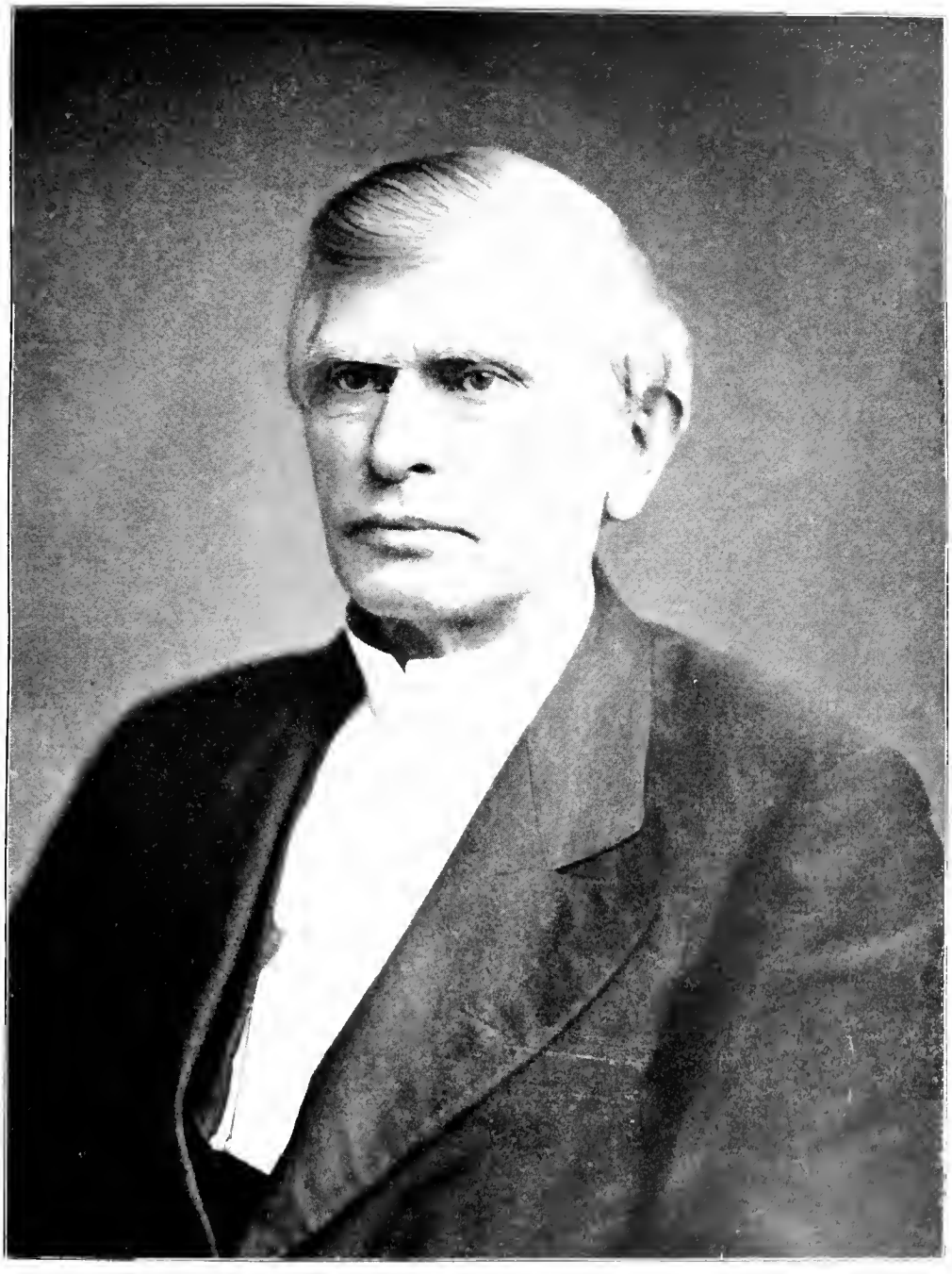
THE projected Southern Church was not long in becoming an actuality. Before the delegates from the slave-holding states had quitted New York, they held a consultation with a view to bring about uniformity of action in organizing the Church. It was decided to propose the holding of a convention at Louisville, on May 1, 1845, consisting of delegates from the Southern Conferences in the proportion of one to every eleven members. These delegates were to appear armed with instructions from their several Conferences relative to the methods of church construction which would prove most congenial to the membership within their bounds. This informal gathering likewise despatched an address to the ministers and members of their Conferences, containing a specific account of the provisional plan of pacification, by which the majority offered them relief from interference with their peculiar institutions. At the same time they declared that the proposed division was not of the nature of schism, an evil against which they had striven with force and persistence. They preferred, however, amicable separation rather than nominal unity, accompanied with unceasing strife and alienation of feeling.

The first local Conference to meet after the adjournment of the New York Conference, was that of Kentucky. With but one dissenting voice, its members came to the conclusion that the action of the late General Conference in the case of Bishop Andrew and the Rev. F. A. Harding was not sustained by the Discipline of the Church, and that the proceedings connected therewith formed a dangerous precedent. While regretting the prospect of division growing out of these proceedings, they yet approved the holding of a convention of delegates in Louisville, according to the recommendation of the southern and southwestern delegates at the late General Conference. If they were not secured against future aggression, and granted reparation for past injury, they deemed the contemplated division unavoidable. The resolutions closed with an endorsement of the cause of the delegates in the late General Conference, and an invitation to as many of the Methodist bishops as felt disposed to do so, to attend the Louisville Convention.

Similar resolutions, frequently more forcible in expression, were passed in the 1844 Conferences of Missouri, Holston, Tennessee, Memphis, Mississippi, Arkansas, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Texas, and Alabama, and the Indian Mission Conference. There was evidently no doubt among the members that the proposed division was wholly justified and necessary.

Much painful interest was displayed throughout the Church, North and South, over the forthcoming gathering at Louisville, and many who were not delegates made a point of being present at the meetings. The delegates who came together numbered just under one hundred. Three of the bishops appeared, Soule, Andrew, and Morris, but the latter refused to take any official part in the sessions. In a weighty address, Bishop Soule declared in closing that, for himself, he stood upon the basis of Methodism as contained in the Discipline, and from it he intended never to be removed.

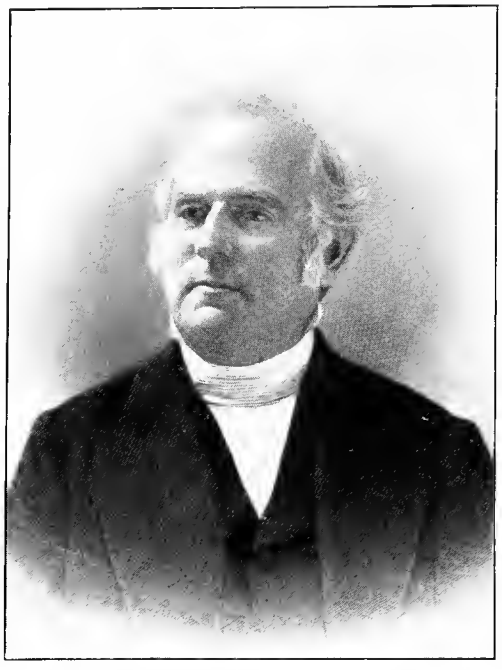
The resolution, offered by Dr. William



MATTHEW SIMPSON.

A. Smith and Dr. Lovick Pierce, which reported in favor of a separation from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the General Conference, was presented on the fifth of May, and, after nine days of discussion, was finally adopted on the fourteenth, with but one dissenting vote.

Three days later, the report of the committee on organization was put to the vote, and approved, by a majority of ninety-four in favor to three against. It announced that the jurisdiction hitherto exercised over the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding states by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was entirely dissolved; and that these Annual Conferences were herewith constituted a separate ecclesi-



BISHOP E. S. JANES.

astical connection, based upon the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to be known by the style and title of The Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The first General Conference was appointed to meet in the city of Petersburg, Virginia, on the first day of May, 1846, and thereafter, quadrennially, in the month of April or May. This brought the proceedings to a close; and the resolutions were subsequently approved, in the most emphatic way, by the various Annual Conferences.

This city of Virginia, so intimately associated with the early experiences and triumphs of Methodism, welcomed within its confines, on the following May, the delegates to the first gathering of the new organization. Sixteen Annual Conferences were represented in the persons of the eighty-seven delegates who met at Petersburg. They came with a deep sense of the responsibility resting upon them, and with an assurance that the cause they stood for was worthy and noble. Among them were seven prospective bishops of the Church.

Bishop Soule was present at the opening, but had not yet signified his intention of throwing in his lot with them; and John Early was accordingly called to the chair. On the second day of Conference, however, the venerable bishop presented a communication, in which he formally declared his adherence to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The arrival of Bishop Andrew added another bishop to the Church, and the two presided in turn over the daily sessions.

The story of the first Methodists who set out for China has already been given in a previous chapter. Some of those who took the deepest interest in the future of the work there, became members of the Southern Church after the great separation; and one of the first acts of the Louisville Convention was to commit the Church to the cause of foreign missions. By the time the Petersburg Conference was in session, things were already awaiting action. Bishop Capers, while acting as presiding elder in the interval, had received a call from a young man named Charles Taylor, who made known to him his desire to proceed as a missionary to China. Taylor, the son of a Presbyterian missionary, had been converted in the Bedford Street Methodist Church, New York city, at the early age of fourteen. He graduated with honors at the University of New York, and thence proceeded to South Carolina, where he taught for three years in Cokesbury College. He was then admitted for trial in the South Carolina Conference, and it was during his first year of trial that he unbosomed his aspirations to Doctor Capers. Having received the warmest assurances of help, he then made known his intentions through the columns of the *Southern Christian Advocate*, the editor of which, Doctor Wightman, entered warmly into the project. At the General Conference

a board of foreign missions was appointed, and the bishops were authorized to name two suitable missionaries for the China field. Doctor Capers, just made bishop, had the selecting, and he naturally chose Charles Taylor, then a young man of twenty-six.

The foreman in the printing office, Benjamin Jenkins, had read the call for volunteers in the columns of the *Southern Christian Advocate*, and had noticed that there came no response. Having volunteered himself, he proceeded to Philadelphia to prepare himself for medical duties, where he took the degree of M. D. He then married Miss Charlotte Gamewell, daughter of the Rev. John Gamewell. Her health was poor, and she was the first of the band to succumb.

The two missionaries, with their wives, left the shores of America in the spring of 1848, in the small vessel "Cleone," bound for Hong-Kong by way of the Cape of Good Hope. It was a momentous parting when they quitted Boston harbor on their long journey of nearly three months. A number of well-wishers came down to the dock to speed them off, and together they engaged in singing the Missionary Hymn and in earnest prayer. Arriving in the month of August at the busy sea-girt port of Hong-Kong, situated at the foot of a lofty mount, Mr. and Mrs. Taylor proceeded thence to Shanghai, which they had settled upon as their base of operations. The illness of Mrs. Jenkins detained them at Hong-Kong for several months. A temporary building served the missionaries for one year, and then they moved into a more suitable locality, where, in January, 1850, they held their first service in their new chapel. Their early work was mostly confined to teaching, but they tried to mingle with it religious instruction, especially in connection with the daily exercises. In the year 1851 their teacher, Liew, who, along with his wife, renounced the Buddhist faith, prepared himself for the work of an evangelist. He proved an able preacher, and during the rest of his career, which came to an end in 1866, he won the high esteem of both native Christians and missionaries.

The original band was strengthened in 1852 by the arrival of the Rev. W G. E. Cunnyngham, D. D., and his wife. They proved zealous workers, and kept valiantly to their post during the trying time of the Taiping rebellion of the following year, which was finally suppressed by the genius of that great hero, Chinese Gordon. Another reinforcement arrived in 1854, in the persons of Messrs. D. C. Kelley, J. W Lambuth, and J L. Belton, with their wives. The last to arrive before the calamitous Civil War temporarily broke up the enterprise were Messrs. Young J. Allen and M. L. Wood, who sailed from New York at the close of the year 1859.

The career of several was cut short by

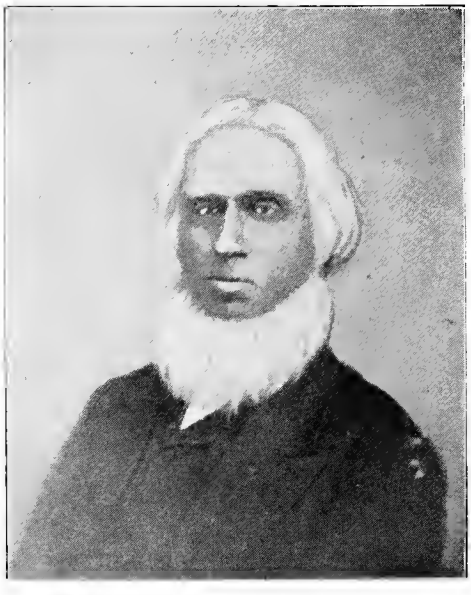
WILLIAM DEERING.

DR. LUKE HITCHCOCK.

sickness or death. Mrs. Jenkins died on the way home and was buried at sea; while Mr. Belton reached his native land only to find a grave. Messrs. Kelley and Cunnyngham were forced to quit the mission because of the ill-health of their families; and thus but three remained, Messrs. Lambuth, Allen, and Wood, to carry on the work. The first-mentioned returned home in the year 1861; and, during the financial stress of the war time, the devoted two who remained supported themselves by the translation and other literary work for the Chinese government.

Another provision was the founding of a Book Concern, an arrangement which yielded later to another better suited for the particular conditions of the South, namely the appointment of an agent who should contract for a supply of such books as were needed by the Church, and keep them on sale at certain centers and on the most moderate terms. The places chosen were Louisville, Richmond, and Charleston, and John Early was appointed agent. Three weekly religious papers were projected, to be issued at these centers; and a *Nashville Christian Advocate*, with John B. McFerrin as editor. H. B. Bascom was elected editor of a *Quarterly Review*, and provision was made for the starting of a Sunday-school journal.

It was resolved to increase the number of bishops by the election of two others to the office. The choice, at the second ballot, fell on William Capers, of South Carolina, and on Robert Paine, of Tennessee, who, at the great New York Conference, had been chairman of the committee which drew up the Plan of Pacification. He was a typical specimen of the Southern gentlemen of the old school, courteous and scholarly. He entered the Tennessee Conference in the year 1816, and saw hardships and perils in Alabama and among the Choctaw Indians. Eight years later, when presiding elder in Tennessee, he attended the General Conference at Baltimore. During these years Paine saw much of McKendree, now grown aged and feeble, and proved a valued and much-loved henchman. Later, when McKendree



REV. ANDREW MONROE,
A prominent minister of the Missouri Conference.

BISHOP BEVERLY WAUGH.

was in his grave, he wrote his Memoirs, a standard work. His next association was with La Grange College, Alabama, where he remained as president until elected bishop, a toilsome office, which he accepted with reluctance. Not until the patriarchal age of eighty-three was he set aside from active duties.

The early career of William Capers has already been given, when we dealt with the work among the plantation negroes. Both he and Bishop Andrew were conspicuous for their zeal and success in preaching to the negro race, working for them, and interesting others in their moral amelioration. Bishop Capers held his office for but seven years. When he died, in January, 1855, it was a heavy blow to the cause with which he had identified himself. As he lay in state in the chancel of the church at Columbia, many a poor slave pressed near to gaze at his peaceful face, and shed tears at losing so dear a friend. On his monument is engraved the inscription:

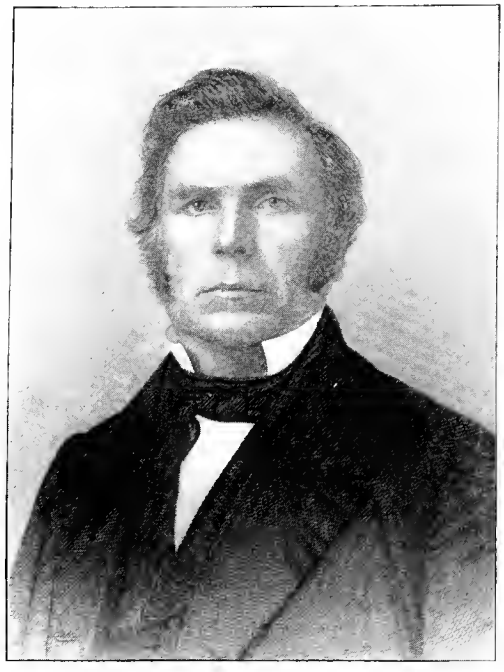
FOUNDER OF MISSIONS TO THE SLAVES.

Bishop Andrew survived to carry on the work. In the year 1861, at the beginning of the war, the plantation mission could count a membership of seventy thousand, besides twelve thousand probationers, and nearly sixteen thousand children who received catechetical instruction.

The Conference dealt with the subject of slavery, but so far from making any change in the section of the original Discipline relating to the matter, it added a paragraph to the effect that the passage was understood in the sense of the declarations made by the General Conferences of 1836 and 1840. The matter of their responsibility as Christians to the negro population received full attention. The duty was enjoined upon all, according to their ability, of giving the gospel to the negro population.

Three commissioners—H. B. Bascom, A. L. P. Green, and S. A. Latta—were appointed commissioners to act in concert with commissioners from the Methodist Episcopal Church, in settling up the business of the Book Concern; and,

BISHOP L. L. HAMLINE.



BISHOP E. R. AMES.

should no settlement be effected before 1848, they were authorized to attend the General Conference of that Church with a view to a final adjustment. It was also resolved that Dr. Lovick Pierce should attend the same Conference, which was to be held at Pittsburg, in order to tender to that body their Christian regards and fraternal salutations.

The statistics for the year showed a total of over fifteen hundred itinerants, over two thousand eight hundred local preachers, a membership among the white population of 327,284, among the negro population of 124,961, and among the Indians of 2,972. Three new Conferences were added to the existing sixteen—the Louisville, the St. Louis, and the Louisiana; and at the second of these places it was arranged to hold the General Conference of the year 1850.

The appointment of Dr. Lovick Pierce, made in perfect good feeling, to serve as fraternal delegate to the Pittsburg General Conference of 1848, met with an unfortunate response. While that Conference formally welcomed him, and invited him to attend their sessions, it yet refused to recognize the validity of his mission, treating him indeed as a schismatic. Influenced largely by their two leading papers, which had turned against the Plan of Pacification soon after its adoption, a large portion of the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church declared the Plan to be unconstitutional and void. To add to the annoyance naturally felt in the South at this attitude, it happened that the editors of these papers, when present at the New York Conference, had both delivered speeches strongly in its support. Their new position was, therefore, singularly open to adverse criticism. The brunt of the attack fell on the venerable Bishop Soule, who was charged with ambitious and unworthy motives in promoting the "schism."

So painful an effect was generally produced by these ill-considered accusations that the bishops determined to take action in the matter. At a meeting held in July, 1845, at which Hedding, Waugh, Morris, and Janes were present, they resolved upon a new plan of pastoral visitation, by which the southern Conferences were left out; and they adopted a resolution which declared the Plan of Pacification as of binding obligation upon them, so far as their administration was concerned. This judicious action of these four bishops had a calming effect on the public mind. Other leaders in the Church gave them their open support. Veterans like Doctor Bangs and Doctor Olin let it be known that they considered the honor of the Church to be at stake in the matter, and so endeared themselves to their Southern brethren. Happily, the two papers whose attitude had so intensified feeling, were not joined in their course by the other church papers. Bishop Morris, who had been invited by a minority of

the Missouri Conference to preside over them in an official way, took occasion, in a letter dated September 8, 1845, to remark on the unnecessary bad feeling displayed in respect to the separation, and to declare that, if the Plan had only been carried out in good faith and Christian feeling on both sides, no friction worth speaking of need have resulted.

Unfortunately, a sufficient number of the Annual Conferences did not lend the needed aid in passing the details of the Plan. A vote of three-fourths was requisite to make the necessary change in the Sixth Restrictive Rule, but, even with the aid of the southern Conferences, the actual vote failed to number two-thirds, and in the northern Conferences was pretty nearly equally divided. The friction on the border Conferences was considerable, and much was said by both parties that was hardly in good feeling. It was a time of intense political ferment, when the annexation of Texas as a slave state was under discussion, and the methods employed in annexing it were harshly denounced. The results, in discouraging fraternal feeling, were deplorable.

The climax was reached when the Pittsburgh General Conference, by an overwhelming majority, declared the Plan of Pacification null and void; and informed the commissioners appointed by the Southern Church to attend to common property, who appeared at the Conference and reported themselves ready to act, that arbitration of the kind suggested was impossible. The snub administered to Dr. Lovick Pierce has already been mentioned; and the Southern Church felt very sore. In the General Conference of 1850 it approved of the action of the rejected commissioners, who, before leaving Pittsburgh, sent word to the Methodist Episcopal Conference that no offer of fraternal relations would ever be renewed by their Church until the other side was willing to recognize the Plan of Pacification as the only mutual basis.

This proved to be actually the case. Not until the year 1872 were relations renewed, and it was the Northern Conference that made the overture. The General Conference of that year, after preliminary negotiations, finally appointed three members to bear their friendly greetings to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which was to convene in May, 1874; and the delegation was cordially welcomed.

Unhappily, the matter of the commissioners' rejection, and the refusal to pass the Sixth Restrictive Rule by a sufficient majority, led to legal proceedings. Suit was entered in the United States circuit courts of New York and Ohio in the year 1849 for the recovery of that division of the property which properly belonged to the Southern Church. The

RICHARD IVY SEWELL,
An aged and faithful layman in the Methodist Church in Georgia and Alabama.

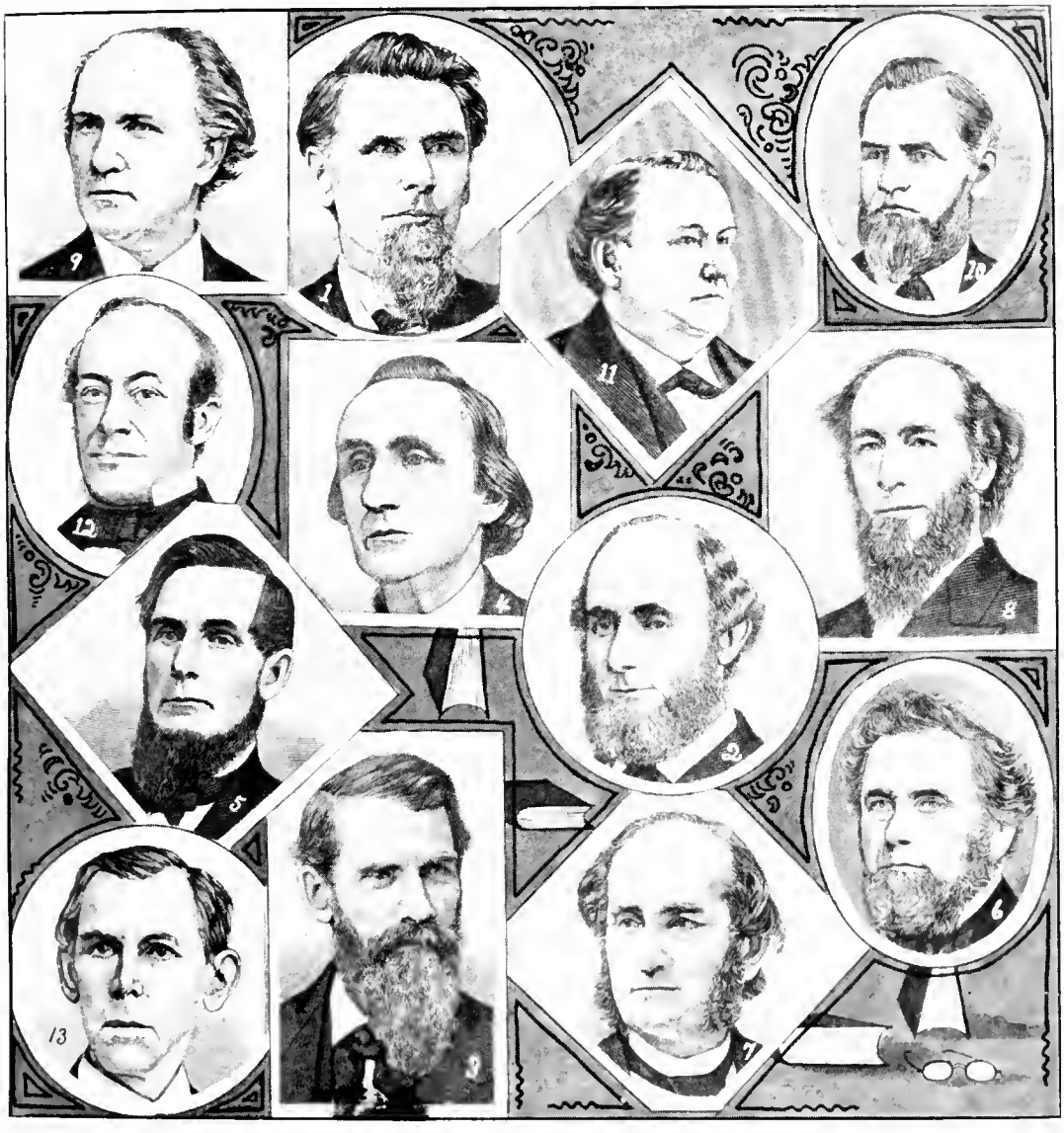
case was argued on their side in New York by D. Lord and Reverdy Johnson, and, on behalf of the defendants, by Rufus Choate, G. Wood, and E. L. Fancher. When judgment was rendered, at the close of 1851, it proved favorable to the claimants on every material point. The result was different in Ohio, where the case went adversely to them. This decision, given in July, 1852, was appealed against, and two years later, in April, 1854, the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously reversed it.

The second General Conference met in the great and growing city of the West which rises on the further banks of the river Mississippi. There was a certain depression in having to meet under the stigma of schism leveled at them by their northern brethren, and during pending cases of litigation entered against their brethren in the law courts of the land. On the other hand, the progress of the organization had been thoroughly satisfactory. Both the white and the colored membership had increased, so that the total was now considerably over half a million; while the Indian work reported an increase of five hundred members, the total number of Indian members being now 3,487 The foreign mission board was able to report progress in China, where the Rev. B. Jenkins and the Rev. Chas. Taylor, M. D., both of the Carolina Conference, were now at work in the great seaport city of Shanghai.

A fresh political excitement had succeeded to the famous Texas annexation. This was the rush of gold miners to California, ceded in the year 1848 to the United States. By the year 1849 thousands were flocking to the new El Dorado, and were populating the country with a rapidity hitherto unexampled in history. It was evident that a duty fell upon the Christian Church to take care of these adventurers; and accordingly the bishops of the Southern Church appointed three missionaries to proceed to California. Messrs. Boring and Wynn, of Georgia, and Mr. Pollock, of St. Louis, had sailed thither by way of Panama in February, 1850, carrying a plentiful supply of standard Methodist literature. Arriving at San Francisco, they began a career of wonderful prosperity. The formation of circuits and the enrolling of membership proceeded at a pace which far exceeded their expectations; and although the absence of a regular ministry rendered a good deal of the work transitory, yet the final results proved solid and valuable.

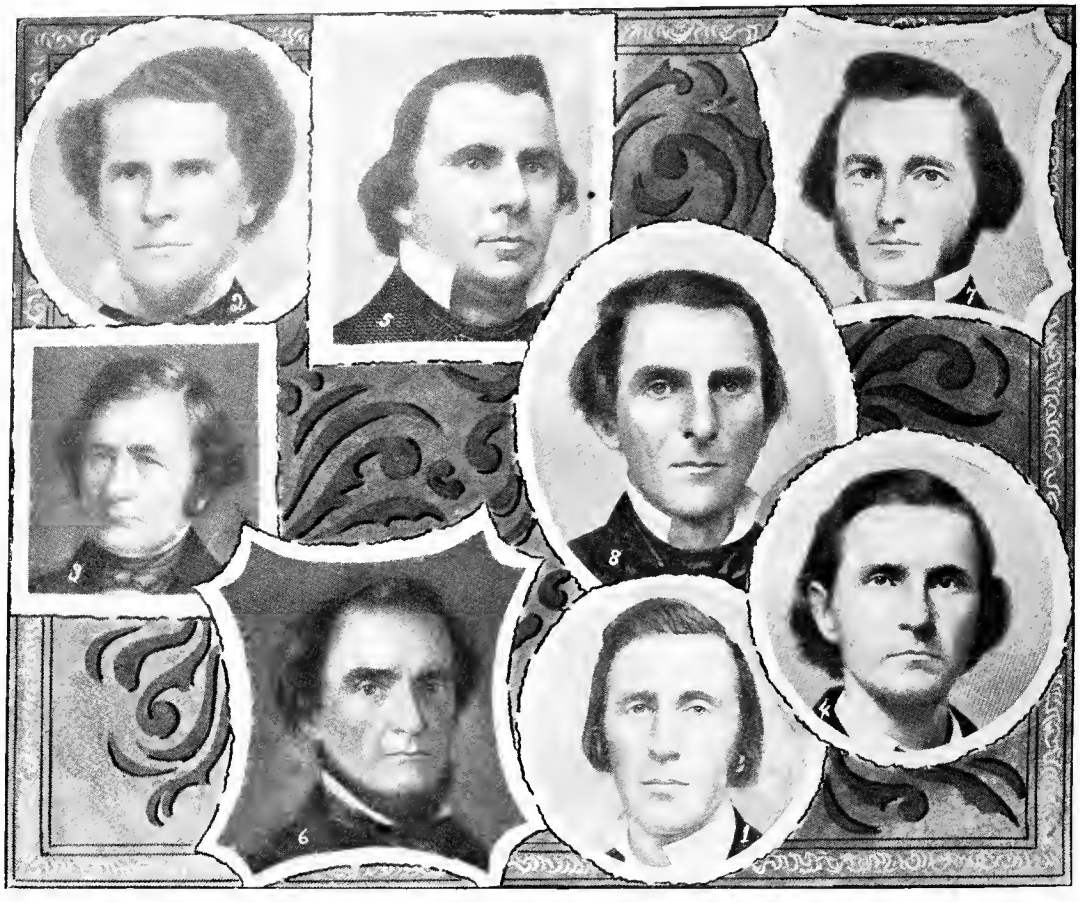
These years, between 1850 and 1854, bringing with them, as they did, the news of success in their two law cases, by which the Church regained valuable vested property; and, in addition, showing a constant increase in the church membership, were times of blessing and rejoicing. The unfortunate controversy with the North, carried on in the newspaper press, was no doubt a source of irritation and sorrow; but that was bound to pass away in time. The itinerancy had advanced in numbers from seventeen hundred to over two thousand, and the membership from five hundred and twenty thousand to over six hundred thousand, a very grateful four years' increase.

The third General Conference of the Church was held in the state of Georgia, at Columbus, with one hundred and nineteen delegates in attendance. The gratifying legal success reported by the commissioners appointed to deal with the North allowed it to proceed to the establishment of a publishing-house. Six towns were named for the honor, but in the keen ballots which ensued no distinct preference was shown for any one of them. Neither Louisville, nor Mem-



REPRESENTATIVE MINISTERS AND LAYMEN OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

1. REV. ALEXANDER MARTIN, D. D.; joined the Pittsburgh Conference in 1847; Principal Northwestern Virginia Academy, 1851-54; Professor in Allegheny College, 1855-64; elected President Indiana Asbury University in 1875. HON. JOHN W. F. WHITE, LL. D.; born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, 1821; educated in Allegheny College; an eminent jurist of his state. 3. REV. ALFRED WHEELER, D. D.; born in Ohio, 1824; educated at the Ohio Wesleyan University; in 1876 he was elected Editor of the *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate*. 4. REV. ELLWOOD HAINES STOKES, D. D.; joined the New Jersey Conference in 1844; served the Church as pastor in Newark, Morristown, New Brunswick, Trenton, Bordentown, Camden, and other places. 5. REV. FRANCIS H. ROOT; born in New Berlin, New York, 1815; was a member of the State Methodist Convention which resulted in the establishment of Syracuse University; active in benevolent and business organizations. 6. HON. FRANCIS H. PIERPONT; born in Monongahela county, Virginia (now West Virginia); filled positions of responsibility and trust in his state for many years; was Governor of West Virginia. 7. REV. BRADFORD KINNEY PEIRCE; born in Royalton, Vermont, 1819; graduated from Wesleyan University Middletown, Connecticut, in 1841; joined the New England Conference in 1843; he was appointed Editor of *Zion's Herald* in 1872. 8. REV. CHARLES H. PAYNE, D. D., LL. D.; born in Taunton, Massachusetts, 1830; graduated from Wesleyan University, 1854; President of Ohio Wesleyan University, 1876-88. 9. REV. ALPHA J. KYNETT; born in Adams county, Pennsylvania, 1829; he was the author of the plan for the Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 10. REV. OTIS GIBSON, D. D.; born in Franklin county, New York, 1826; graduated from Dickinson College, 1854; sailed from New York to China, 1855; served the Church in Foochow Mission for ten years, and afterward returned to America and was appointed Missionary to the Chinese in California. 11. WASHINGTON C. DE PAUW, ESQ.; born at Salem, Indiana, 1822; because of his great interest in the Indiana Asbury University, and his large endowment, the name of the university was changed to that of De Pauw University. 12. REV. GEORGE R. CROOKS; born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1822; graduated from Dickinson College, 1840; in 1860 he became the Editor of *The Methodist*, a position he held for fifteen years. 13. REV. JOHN F. DRAYO; born in West Newton, Pennsylvania, 1819; educated at Allegheny College; he was President of the National Local Preachers' Association, 1872-3; founder of Beaver College.



LEADING METHODIST PREACHERS IN THE SOUTH.

1. JOSEPHUS ANDERSON, of the Florida Conference. 2. JOHN E. EDWARDS, of the Virginia Conference. 3. A. L. P. GREEN. 4. THOMAS L. BOSWELL, of the Memphis Conference. 5. NELSON HEAD, of the Virginia Conference. 6. ROBERT ALEXANDER, of the Texas Conference. 7. N. F. REID, of the North Carolina Conference. 8. EDWARD WADSWORTH, of the Alabama Conference.

phis, nor Atlanta, nor St. Louis, nor Richmond, nor Columbus, was able to secure the requisite majority. Finally, on the sixth ballot, a dark horse, Nashville, came to the front with sixty votes out of one hundred and seventeen, and secured the coveted prize. Louisville followed next with fifty-seven votes. It was arranged that the publishing establishment, which should both manufacture and publish books, was to be under the control of two agents and a book committee. It was to carry out its purposes by the dissemination, at a cheap rate, of literary and scientific books, tracts, and periodicals; and the agents were authorized to spend the lump sum of seventy-five thousand dollars in necessary grounds, offices, and fixtures.

The death of Bishop Bascom, which followed so soon after the previous General Conference at St. Louis, made necessary a strengthening of the episcopacy. The senior bishop, the venerable Soule, was now seventy-three years of age, and in a frail state of body. His old colleague, Bishop Andrew, was also pretty well worn-out, and Bishop Capers was no longer robust. The remaining holder of the office, it is true, was still in the prime of vigorous manhood; but vigorous as Bishop Paine was, his range of duties was sufficiently great to task all his powers. Three new members were chosen for the sacred office: George F. Pierce, of Georgia; John Early, of Virginia, and

DELEGATES TO THE LOUISVILLE CONVENTION OF 1845.

1. ANDREW H. MONROE, Missouri Conference. 2. J. BOYLE, St. Louis Conference. 3. R. M. STEVENS, Holston Conference. 4. FOUNTAIN E. PITTS, Tennessee Conference. 5. JOHN W. HANNER, Tennessee Conference. 6. WILLIAM MCMAHON, Memphis Conference. 7. LEWELL CAMPBELL, Mississippi Conference. 8. JOHN G. JONES, Mississippi Conference. 9. BENJAMIN M. DRAKE, Mississippi Conference. 10. R. ALEXANDER, Texas Conference. 11. JEFFERSON HAMILTON, Alabama Conference. 12. T. O. SUMMERS, Alabama Conference. 13. J. B. PAYNE, Georgia Conference. 14. SAMUEL ANTHONY, Georgia Conference. 15. R. J. BOYD, South Carolina Conference. 16. PEYTON P. SMITH, Florida Conference. 17. JESSE BORING, Georgia Conference. 18. E. STEVENSON, Louisville Conference. 19. ROBERT PAINE, Tennessee Conference. 20. A. L. P. GREEN, Tennessee Conference.

Hubbard H. Kavanaugh, of Kentucky. All three were solemnly ordained on the twenty-fourth of May, 1854, in the Methodist Church of Columbus.

After he joined the Georgia Conference in 1831, Bishop Pierce filled important appointments in his native state and in South Carolina, and gained a name as a power in the pulpit. As a platform speaker he secured a national reputation for force and brilliancy. In 1848 he accepted the presidency of Emory College, and discharged the duties of that office until his election.

John Early was an older man by a quarter of a century, and was a member of Conference six years before George Pierce was born. His early work among the negroes in camp-meeting was highly successful. He was associated later with the founding of Randolph-Macon College; and at the first General Conference of the Southern Church he was appointed its book agent. For twelve years after 1854, Bishop Early served faithfully at his post, and then retired. In 1873 he closed an honored career at the ripe age of eighty-seven.

Hubbard Hinde Kavanaugh, whose father, from being a Methodist itinerant, had joined the Episcopal Church, was a Kentuckian by birth. His mother, who came of good Methodist stock, trained him up carefully. In the year 1818, while serving as a printer, he was converted, and became an itinerant among the mountain circuits of his native state. During the thirty-two years of his ministry he was known for his powerful and highly picturesque style of preaching. During the Civil War he was the only southern bishop within the Federal lines; and he passed through a number of dramatic experiences. His career closed in 1884 at the age of eighty-two.

One of the first duties of Bishop Kavanaugh was to organize at Washington, Arkansas, the new Conference for that state, which was provided for by the General Conference at Columbus. It created, at the same time, a Kansas Mission Conference, to include Kansas territory and a portion of the New Mexico territory. The proceedings of this Conference are remarkable for containing the names of so many men destined later to be prominent in the Church. Such was Charles F. Deems, who, twelve years later, became pastor of the Church of the Strangers at New York, and won a well-earned fame. Three future bishops appear for the first time: E. M. Marvin, H. N. McTyeire, and John C. Keener.

The fourth General Conference held its sessions in the city, which, through the choice of the previous Conference, had become the publishing center of the Southern Church, and was to become the ecclesiastic center. When the assembly met in the hall of representatives in the capitol at Nashville, Tennessee, on the first day of May, 1858, the publishing-house authorized four years before was already in working order. The number of delegates had swollen to one hundred and fifty-one; an increase justified by the general increase in Church prosperity. The regular ministry now numbered over two thousand five hundred, and the local preachers almost touched five thousand; while the membership showed a gross increase of nearly one hundred thousand in the four years.

A resolution that requires some explanation was adopted on the nineteenth of the month, by the overwhelming majority of one hundred and forty-one to seven. The rule on the subject of slavery was expunged from the general rules of the Church; and the Annual Conferences were to be informed by the bishops of the fact that they might take concurrent action. The following reasons were given for the change:

HENKLE AND OTHER SOUTHERN METHODIST LEADERS IN THE FIFTIES.

1. S. CARLISLE, Arkansas Conference. 2. R. J. HARP, Louisiana Conference. 3. J. T. PERRY, St. Louis Conference. 4. T. STANFORD, Arkansas Conference. 5. D. B. NICHOLSON, North Carolina Conference. 6. W. CROSS, North Carolina Conference. 7. S. FIELD, West Virginia Conference. 8. W. B. ROWZIE, Virginia Conference. 9. C. D. OLIVER, Alabama Conference. 10. J. G. BRUCE, Kentucky Conference. 11. M. M. HENKLE, Tennessee Conference. 12. W. C. JOHNSON, Tennessee Conference. 13. W. MOORES, Washita Conference. 14. W. HICKS, Holston Conference. 15. G. W. LANGHORNE, Virginia Conference. 16. F. A. OWEN, Memphis Conference. 17. J. J. HUTCHINSON, Alabama Conference. 18. S. D. BALDWIN, Tennessee Conference.

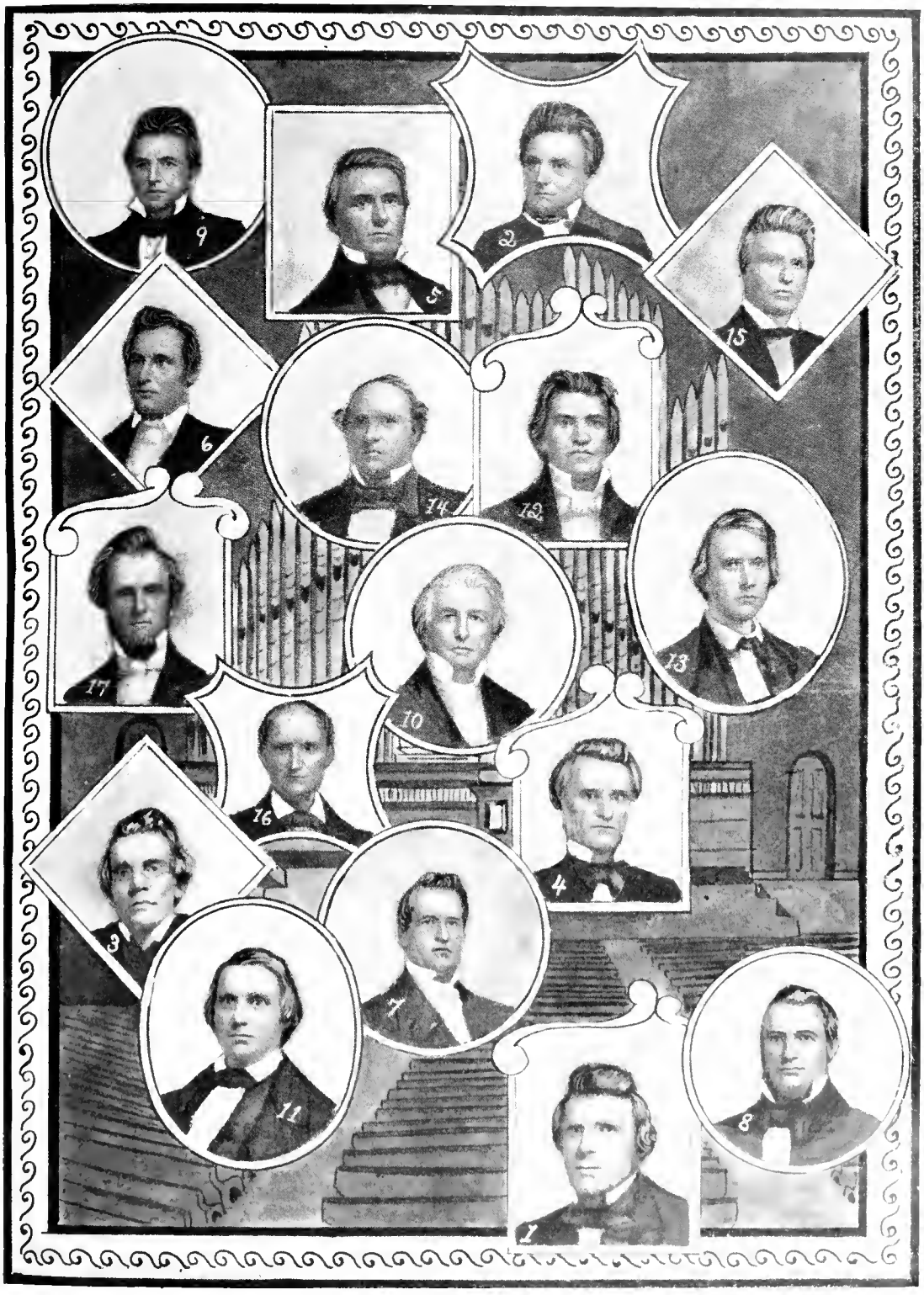
"It is not the province of the Church to deal with civil institutions in her legislative capacity. This is our position. The primary single object of this action is to conform the Discipline to that profession. We have only set ourselves right on the question that has so long troubled the Church. The legislation in reference to it was contradictory and absurd. While denouncing slavery as an evil, and pledging the Church to its extirpation, it provided by statute for its allowance and perpetuation."

It was decided that New Orleans should be the place of meeting for the next General Conference; but the succeeding four years were destined to bring about startling changes. In May, 1862, the city chosen was in the hands of an unfriendly army, and the gathering had to be indefinitely postponed. The emancipation of the slaves, a few months later, worked a drastic change in social conditions throughout the South; and when the Southern Church assembled again in its corporate capacity, it had to face entirely new conditions. Sorely tried as it had been by the frightful devastation of these years, it remained solid and steadfast; and, though depleted in numbers, was in nowise shattered or destroyed.

While the Methodist Episcopal Church lost two from its list of bishops by the 1844 separation, it retained the two younger members who were elected at that stormy Conference. One of these was Leonidas Lent Hamline, who had done excellent work as editor of *The Western Christian Advocate* and *The Ladies' Repository*. His episcopal career was not a long one. After six years in the field he was laid aside by chronic ailment from active duties; and in 1852 he formally resigned his office—an act unfavorably commented on by some sticklers for ecclesiastical propriety. For eight years he lived in happy retirement until his death; afflicted in body but cheered by higher consolations.

The other choice was Edmund Storer Janes, a native of Massachusetts, who joined the Philadelphia Conference in 1830, and served later as financial secretary of the American Bible Society. Thirty-one years of strenuous and highly successful episcopal labors were before him, and few on the list of modern bishops have wielded so commanding an influence on their contemporaries. At once as a platform speaker, a preacher, and an administrator he was a born leader of men. The choice of Janes as bishop was singularly well justified.

These trying days called for the exertion of no little prudence and ability on the part of the church authorities. The Plan of Pacification proved a bone of contention. In the northern section of the republic the general feeling in respect to the proposed secession was distinctly unfavorable. It was looked upon by many as an evident preliminary to the political separation which was already mooted, and was to be so bitterly contested and repressed a score of years later. The antagonism to the Plan showed itself strongly in the different Annual Conferences, and was markedly on the increase. A painful incident occurred in September, 1845, subsequent to the Louisville Convention, when Bishop Soule, who continued to insist on the possibility of serving in both organizations at the same time, visited the Ohio Conference. In his capacity as chairman, Bishop Hamline courteously invited him to preside; but as soon as he was seated it became evident that the sense of the meeting was against him. A scene of uproar and confusion resulted, and when, finally, Bishop Hamline put the motion that had been introduced, declaring that it was inexpedient and



DEEMS AND OTHER SOUTHERN METHODIST LEADERS IN THE FIFTIES.

1. G. JONES, Memphis Conference. 2. T. J. KOGER, Alabama Conference. 3. W. H. ANDERSON, Missouri Conference. 4. J. F. HUGHES, Tennessee Conference. 5. J. H. BROOKS, Memphis Conference. 6. J. STACY, South Carolina Conference. 7. T. W. DORMAN, Alabama Conference. 8. L. P. LIVELY, Arkansas Conference. 9. T. N. GARDNER, Florida Conference. 10. M. J. BLACKWELL, Memphis Conference. 11. J. HARRELL, Indian Mission Conference. 12. R. MICHAELS, Virginia Conference. 13. S. KELLEY, West Virginia Conference. 14. H. H. MONTGOMERY, Mississippi Conference. 15. J. C. HARRISON, Kentucky Conference. 16. R. FISK, Louisville Conference. 7. C. F. DEEMS, North Carolina Conference.

highly improper for Bishops Soule and Andrew to preside in Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it was carried by a majority of a hundred and forty-five to seven.

Five bishops were present at the sixteenth General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church which met at Pittsburgh in May, 1848: Hedding, Waugh, Morris, Hamline, and Janes. For some reason they presented no formal address to the Conference dealing with the general affairs of the Church; perhaps to avoid raising unpleasant and harrowing reminiscences. The representative from the English brethren, Dr. James Dixon, was received with particular warmth, and delivered an excellent address. The committee which reported upon the "Plan of Separation," assigned three reasons for declaring it null and void: the failure of the Annual Conferences to alter the Sixth Restrictive Rule; various infractions of the Plan on the part of the Southern Church, particularly in the acts of its bishops in the Baltimore, Ohio, and Philadelphia Conferences; and the indorsement of this administration by its General Conference. With the view of presenting to the members and the general public a true history of these critical four years, the Conference appointed Dr. Charles Elliott its historian; and the result appeared seven years later in his exhaustive treatise, "History of the Great Secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Year 1845."

A charitable movement, which had been discussed within the Church for some time previous, came to a practical result in the year 1850, when the Ladies' Aid Society was organized in New York. Its object was to provide shelter for those aged people in the denomination who had been unfortunate in worldly affairs, and were without a retreat for their old age. The house which this society opened on Horatio street proved the forerunner of many spacious benevolent homes of a like nature, which have done a vast amount of noble work. The close of the half-century is also memorable for the organizing of the Pacific work, which was now formed into a Conference, known as the Oregon and California Mission Conference. The California work grew apace, and in October, 1851, was able to support a Church journal, the *California Christian Advocate.* Next year Oregon was formed into a separate Conference.

The seventeenth General Conference, which met for the first time in the New England city of Boston, transacted much business of the first importance. The bishops' address contained a careful inquiry into the propriety of increasing the term of a candidate's probation from two to four years; and they recommended the change as beneficial in itself and as bringing the Church in harmony with their elder sister, the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The question of the advisability of forbidding ministers to unite with secret societies, notably the Masonic fraternity, came up at this time for decision. The North Ohio Conference had, in the year 1845, passed such a recommendation, but several ministers had refused to consider it as binding, and were thereupon found guilty of imprudent conduct. The action of the local body, however, was not sustained by the Conference, which declared that it was "unauthorized by the Discipline."

The death of the venerable Hedding and the resignation of Hamline had depleted the ranks of the bishops. The four new men who were elected were taken respectively from the Philadelphia, New Hampshire, and Indiana Conferences. Levi Scott, destined in time to become the senior bishop of the Church,

IVY AND OTHER LEADERS IN THE SOUTHERN METHODIST CHURCH.

1. J. A. IVY, Louisiana Conference. 2. T. K. MUNSEY, Holston Conference. 3. W. A. MCSWAIN, South Carolina Conference. 4. S. J. DAVIES, Louisiana Conference. 5. S. A. WILLIAMS, East Texas Conference. 6. A. R. ERWIN, Tennessee Conference. 7. G. W. CARTER, Virginia Conference. 8. C. C. GILLESPIE, East Texas Conference. 9. T. L. BOSWELL, Memphis Conference. 10. H. C. THWEATT, Louisiana Conference. 11. R. T. HEFLIN, North Carolina Conference. 12. J. H. DAVIS, Virginia Conference. 13. S. WATSON, Memphis Conference. 14. F. G. FERGUSON, Alabama Conference. 15. J. B. TULLIS, East Texas Conference. 16. E. C. SLATER, Memphis Conference. 17. T. W. RANDLE, Tennessee Conference.

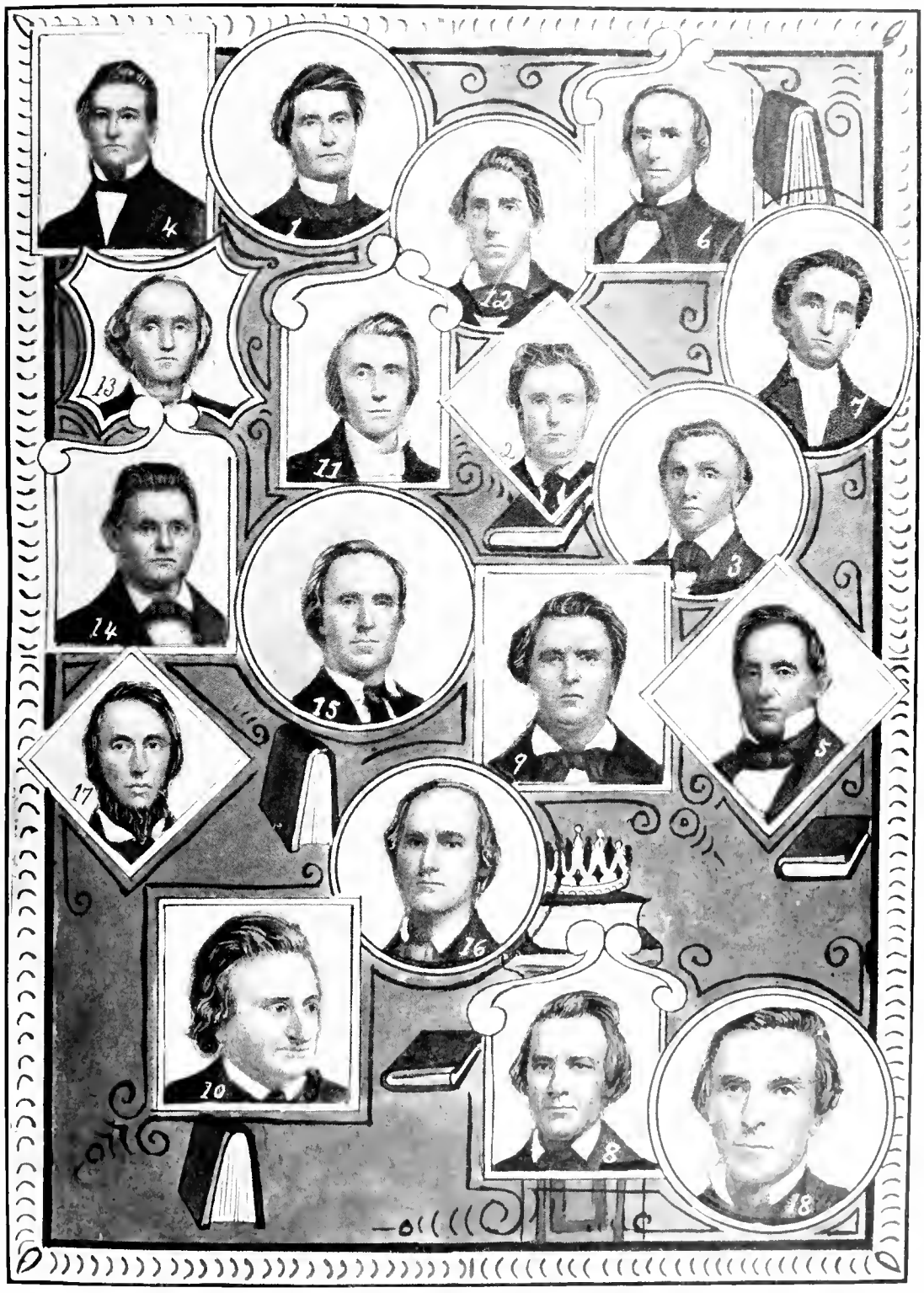
was born in the state of Delaware. In 1803, while he was still an infant, his father became a member of the Philadelphia Conference. When twenty years of age he came under deep religious convictions, and finally, in 1825, he was licensed to preach. After serving in Philadelphia and in his native state, he accepted the post of principal in the Dickinson Grammar School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Eight years later he was elected assistant book agent at New York, where he remained until his election to the episcopate.

Osmon Cleander Baker, who was of New England stock, was Scott's junior by ten years. Born at Marlow, New Hampshire, he entered Wilbraham Academy at the age of fifteen, and came under the beneficent influence of Dr. Wilbur Fisk. At the early age of seventeen he was licensed to exhort; and during a three years' course at Wesleyan University he served as a local preacher. For ten years subsequently he acted as teacher and then as principal in the seminary at Newbury, Vermont; and two years later he accepted a chair in the Biblical Institute at Concord, which was moved later to Boston. After six years in this congenial task he was elected bishop.

Matthew Simpson, who was elected with him, was destined to prove a tower of strength. He was born at Cadiz, Ohio, on June 11, 1811, and came of the sturdy Scotch-Irish stock through his father, who emigrated when a young man. His mother, Sarah Tingley, was of French-English descent. Left fatherless in his infancy, he owed his careful upbringing to his devout mother and his uncle, Matthew Simpson. His academical training was received at Madison College, Pennsylvania, which had recently come under the Pittsburg Annual Conference, and had Doctor Bascom as its principal, then in the height of his fame as a pulpit orator. At eighteen the young man became tutor in the college. After a short time devoted to the study of medicine, he determined to enter the Church, and, in 1833, was received on trial by the Pittsburgh Conference. Four years later he returned to his *alma mater*, now absorbed by Allegheny College, in the capacity of vice-president and professor of natural philosophy and chemistry. Two years later he transferred his services to Indiana Asbury University, now known as De Pauw, and remained for nine years its president. In 1848, having been elected editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*, at Cincinnati, he removed thither and discharged editorial duties until the Boston General Conference made him a bishop. He was but forty years of age at the date of his election, the youngest bishop on record, except Janes.

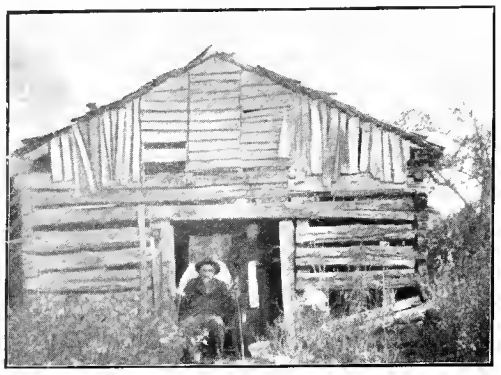
The last of the four, Edward Raymond Ames, was, like Simpson, at once a native of Ohio and a member of the Indiana Conference. Born in 1806, he was educated at Ohio University, where he united with the Church. From 1830 onward he was associated with the Indiana Conference, and in 1840 became missionary secretary, his work being mostly in the West, among the Indians of the northern lakes. During the eight years previous to his election as bishop he served as presiding elder in Indiana.

Bishop Scott began his episcopal labors by visiting Africa, where he presided at the Liberia Conference. The deadly malaria prevalent in the district seized upon him, and induced a long period of sickness. The report he brought back of his work and impressions in that colony formed a notable item in the bishops' address of 1856. This eighteenth General Conference was held at the city of Indianapolis, in the



MARVIN AND SOME OF HIS ASSOCIATES IN THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1858.

1. R. W. KENNON, Texas Conference. 2. W. BARRINGER, North Carolina Conference. 3. G. SHAEFFER, Alabama Conference. 4. L. PEARCE, Mississippi Conference. 5. J. LUSK, Mississippi Conference. 6. W. L. MCALISTER, Indiana-Mississippi Conference. 7. T. DINES, Missouri Conference. 8. W. G. CAPLES, Missouri Conference. 9. J. H. LINN, Kentucky Conference. 10. W. SEHON, Missionary Secretary. 11. JOSEPHUS ANDERSON, Florida Conference. 12. W. KNOX, Georgia Conference. 13. N. H. LEE, Louisville Conference. 14. N. SULLIVAN, Memphis Conference. 15. W. BRADFORD, Kansas-Missouri Conference. 16. W. ROBESON, Holston Conference. 17. E. M. MARVIN, St. Louis Conference. 18. E. WADSWORTH, Alabama Conference.



WILSON ALLEN'S FIRST HOME, AT HONEY GROVE, TEXAS; BUILT IN 1835.
At this house the pioneer preachers of Methodism in Texas used to be entertained.

state from which the Church had recently taken two of its bishops. As a result of Bishop Scott's recommendations, permission was granted to the Liberia Conference to elect an elder in good standing to the office of bishop.

This authorization was followed in January, 1858, by the election at Liberia of Francis Burns, the first colored bishop in the Church. Burns was a native of Albany, New York, and had early shown signs of character and ability. In 1834 he was sent to Liberia, where he performed excellent work as an evangelist, and as a teacher in Monrovia Seminary, and later as presiding elder. Returning to his native land to be consecrated, he was duly ordained at the Genesee Conference by Bishops Janes and Baker. His career as bishop in Liberia lasted for barely five years. With the view of regaining health he sailed for Baltimore in the spring of 1863, but died a few days after disembarking. His character was a high and consistent one.

The Indianapolis Conference dealt with a matter that was destined to recur again, and with a different sequel. The proposition that the length of time which a preacher might remain in one charge be extended from two to three years was reported upon unfavorably by the committee to which it was referred; and the open vote was lost by a majority of thirty-six. But the check was only temporary.

Another important subject dealt with was the German work in the Church. The publication of a Sunday-school paper in the German language was authorized, and led to the starting at Cincinnati of the *Sonnstagschul-Glocke*, which has since done so much for the cause. The course of study for German traveling preachers was also established, and has been adhered to with but slight modifications. While Greek and Hebrew were not included, emphasis was laid upon a thorough acquaintance with systematic, practical and historical theology.

The intervening period until 1860 was marked by distinct growth and development of Methodist work in Germany. The Indianapolis General Conference authorized the bishops to constitute the work in that country into a Mission Conference; and in September of the same year the superintendent, the Rev. L. S. Jacoby, carried out the plan. When organized, this Conference included nine itinerants, four local preachers, and four hundred and twenty-eight members. A tour made in Europe by Bishop Simpson in the following year helped to strengthen the work. Besides paying this episcopal visitation to the Continent, the bishop attended the British Conference as delegate.

The nineteenth General Conference of the Church met on May the first, in the city of Buffalo. The year was 1860, when the mutterings of the Civil War were ominous and unmistakable. The bishops, in their address, took notice that there were now forty-seven Annual Conferences in the denomination, and three-quarters of a million of Sunday scholars. The burning question of slavery forced itself upon the gathering. Several definite propositions urging a change in

the Discipline on this matter had been sent up from local Conferences, and the general feeling of the meeting seemed to favor an alteration in the wording. The committee entrusted with the case, of which Calvin Kingsley was chairman, returned both a majority and a minority report. The final result was a change of the rule, although the requisite Annual Conferences had not sanctioned the amendment. The new rule, after declaring emphatically against the system of slavery as contrary to the laws of God and nature, ended with the sentence: "We, therefore, affectionately admonish all our preachers and people to keep themselves pure from this great evil, and to seek its extirpation by all lawful and Christian means."

A month or two after the close of the Buffalo General Conference, there was organized at Pekin, Niagara county, New York, the latest of the secessions from Methodism. The new body, which gave itself the name of the Free Methodist Church, asserted that it recurred to a simple and truer form of Methodist dogma and ritual. It complained that a mere intellectual faith had been allowed to take the place of the supernatural faith taught by Paul and Wesley; that sanctification, being the power over all sin, is no longer given its due prominence, and that the execution of discipline had fallen into abeyance. It also deplored the relaxing of the rule requiring attendance at class; the abandonment of the free-seat system in places of worship; the reading of written sermons; and the secularization of church edifices by fairs and other worldly methods.

The movement which sprang up in the Genesee Conference had been on foot for a good many years, the term Nazarites being applied to its supporters. It reached an acute stage in 1855, and the next three years were marked by mutual recriminations, church trials, and the like, until in 1858, two of the chief complainants, the Rev. B. T Roberts and the Rev. Joseph McCreery, were expelled for contumacy. The most distinguished of the two was undoubtedly Mr. Roberts, who became a bishop in the new organization. He had been educated at Wesleyan University along with Edward A Andrews and Gilbert Haven, and was an able and effective speaker. The article which gave offense was entitled "New School Methodism," and was issued in pamphlet form. Other cases of expulsion followed, causing a wide sympathy for the sufferers, with the result that a well-signed petition was presented to the General Conference held at Buffalo in the year 1860, pleading for a revision of these acts. As it proved unavailing, the secession resulted.

In doctrine, the Free Methodist Church agrees essentially with the parent body, while insisting emphatically on two articles. The first is the doctrine of entire sanctification as a work, subsequent to justification, wrought instantly on the believing soul. The second is an insistence on the doctrine of future reward and punishment. In its organization it

ANDREW CHAPEL, METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.

The first building of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Maryland; dating from 1854.

has dispensed with the episcopacy, and substituted a four years' general superintendency. It has also changed the name presiding elder into "district chairman;" it makes attendance at class-meetings a condition of church membership; and allows laymen equal rights of representation and discussion. Choir singing and instrumental praise are discouraged, and congregational singing is hearty and universal. In respect to outward demeanor, the members are definitely required to lay aside all jewelry and superfluous ornament; to avoid societies which require oaths or promises of secrecy; and to refrain from the use of intoxicating liquors and tobacco. In the year 189(the organization reported seven Confer ences, scattered over the northern states with seven hundred traveling preachers and over two hundred thousand members

In 1860, as the exponent of the prin ciples of the new organization, Bisho Roberts founded a journal which he calle *The Earnest Christian*. Another journa *The Free Methodist*, a private enterprise was established at Aurora, Illinois. Tw seminaries have been founded by the Church, one in New York state, at Chili, the other in Michigan, at Spring Arbor.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CANADIAN METHODISM.

IN 1883 there occurred a remarkable event in the history of Methodism in Canada. At the town of Belleville, situated at the mouth of the river Moira, which flows into the historic Bay of Quinte, the scattered forces of Methodism came together in a great church coalition. This union has been productive of marvelous results, and is one of the noble facts in modern Christianity.

The strongest factor in the coalition was the Methodist Church of Canada, which brought a total of over twelve hundred ministers, one hundred and thirty thousand members, and two thousand two hundred churches. Next came the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose headquarters were at Belleville, with its two hundred and sixty ministers, over twenty-five thousand members, and five hundred and forty-five churches. The Primitive Methodists mustered about one-third as large as the Methodist Episcopal body, with the Bible Christians close in their rear. The total membership of the united Church thus came to one hundred and seventy thousand, with over three thousand churches. In the seven following years occurred an increase of thirty-eight per cent., showing that the vitality of the Church had not suffered from the spirit of union. Before considering its progress as a united whole, let us trace the history and development of its component parts.

After the regrettable War of 1812–14, there was an evident difficulty in retaining the Canadian brethren within the fold of the Methodist Episcopal Church. With a view of getting rid, as much as possible, of sinister hints of lack of patriotism rife in the British province, the General Conference of 1820, which met in Eutaw Sreet Church, Baltimore, authorized the establishing of an Annual Conference in Canada, separate from the Genesee Conference under which the work had hitherto proceeded. At this time the presiding elders of the Canadian districts were Henry Ryan and William Case, the latter of whom became, eight years later, the first president of the Canadian Church Ryan was a man of great force of character. By birth a Roman Catholic, of pure Irish stock, he was brought up in the state of Massachusetts, where he enjoyed a good education. In the year 1881, when sixteen years of age, he came under intense religious conviction; and when he declared his change of belief to his father, the old man disowned him. Two years later he was in the Methodist ministry. When thirty years of age he was serving as a missionary in Canada, on the Bay of Quinte circuit, having the celebrated William Case as his fellow-laborer. Here he won the reputation of a man who, to use Bishop Hedding's striking words, "labored as if the judgment thunders were to follow each sermon." During the War of 1812 every American missionary was ordered to quit the province, but Ryan, who was at the time presiding elder in Upper Canada, refused to quit his post, and worked zealously to keep the societies together. After the declaration of peace his difficulties were by no means at an end. The condition of affairs in which a foreign religious organization held sway in Upper Canada, was destined to be of an unproductive nature. The available church inflow into the upper province came mostly from stanch Wesleyan Methodists from the old country, who had objections to

"OLD BLUE CHURCHYARD," BURIAL-PLACE OF PAUL AND BARBARA HECK.
On the banks of the St. Lawrence river, midway between Prescott and Maitland.

allying themselves with an American institution. Contrariwise, in the lower province, now by mutual agreement given over to British control, many Methodists with American proclivities preferred to become American Presbyterians rather than identify themselves with British Methodism.

These intervening years were marked by growing activity in Indian missionary enterprise. In 1822 began a work of evangelization under the devout Alvin Torry, who located himself on the Grand river; a work which resulted in wonderful conversions among the Mohawks and Delawares. In the year 1824 an Indian church was built, and numerous day-schools and Sabbath-schools followed in its wake, effecting a permanent and salutary change among these children of the forest. These years were marked by internal dissension and schism. Neither Case nor Ryan was satisfied with the existing condition of things. The latter became so extreme in his opposition that in 1827 he left the organization. Indeed, though originally a citizen of the United States, he had become intensely anti-republican, and fulminated against the alien domination. He also advocated an equality of lay representation. Although the General Conference which met at Pittsburgh authorized the Canadian Conference to form itself into a separate Church, the concession did not placate Mr. Ryan, who set himself to the task of creating an entirely new organization. The result was the formation, in 1829, of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church, which accepted the principle of lay representation in all its courts. Though numerically feeble, it diffused for years an excellent influence. Its preachers had to carry on their work under severe privations. In 1833, when the organization was but four years old, its indomitable founder, Henry Ryan, passed away at the comparatively early age of fifty. He is buried in a little cemetery, overlooking Grimsby Camp-ing-ground. The Church struggled on. Two years after his death it numbered thirteen circuits, with twenty-one ministers, forty-two local preachers, and two thousand five hundred members. Six years afterward, when the union with

he Methodist New Connexion Church was consummated, the membership had sunk below two thousand.

The work of William Case, his early associate, drifted into other channels, and made him, during the closing thirty-three years of his life, an apostle among the Indians. Case was a native of New England, having been born in the year 1780 on the Massachusetts seaboard. When a young man of twenty-three, resident in New York state, he was converted, and two years later was received on trial in the New York Conference. His two years in Canada with Ryan were his first experiences of the itineracy. A short period in New York state followed; and then for two years he was again busy in Canada, between the Thames and St. Clair rivers, where he conducted a large revival. During the War of 1812–14 he was acting as presiding elder in his own state, but in 1815 he returned again northward, and served both in Upper and in Lower Canada as one of the presiding elders. In the period between the war and the organization of the independent Methodist Church of Canada, he conceived and carried out his cherished plan of evangelizing the native Indian races. During the first five years of its history, besides being acting general superintendent, he was special superintendent of missions. Had the Church at this time constituted itself episcopal, there is no doubt that he would have been its first bishop. When, in 1833, it definitely rejected the episcopal form, and allied itself with the British Conference, he devoted himself entirely to Indian missions; but was one of the Canadian delegates to the Cincinnati General Conference of 1836. He was diligent in his pastoral supervision of the aborigines, and did much in the way of translations. He was also in immediate charge of an Indian Industrial School at Alderville.

OLD CHURCH, TADOUSAC.
The oldest church in the Dominion of Canada.

WILLIAM CASE,
The father of Canadian missions; born in Massachusetts in 1780; ordained by Bishop Asbury. From 1810 to 1828 he was presiding elder in Canada; he acted as Superintendent of Indian Missions and Schools in Canada.

At the crisis of 1840, when the Canadian Church broke away from the British Conference, and remained apart for

BAY OF QUINTE, CANADA.

The building in the center of the engraving is the first Methodist Church built in Canada. To the extreme right is the monument erected to the memory of the United Empire Loyalists.

seven years, Case, American-born as he was, clung to the British alliance, along with John Sunday, the ablest of the native preachers, who carried his Indians along with him. In the year 1844 he appeared at New York as a delegate for the second time, on this occasion from the British Conference; and witnessed the stirring scenes of that historic gathering. Happily, before his death he witnessed both the reunion between the Canadian and British Conferences, and also the church consolidation of 1854, which made the two Canadas, as well as the Hudson Bay Territory, into one organization. A year later, just a few months after preaching his jubilee sermon before the Conference, this apostolic man, the "Father of Canadian Missions," was called to his rest.

The separation of the Canadian and American Conferences took place in the following fashion: A Conference held at Ernestown, Ontario, in October, 1828, at which Bishop Hedding presided, took the decisive step of forming itself into the Canada Methodist Episcopal Church; and Wilbur Fisk was chosen its first bishop. He declined the nomination, however, as also did Nathan Bangs and John B. Stratton, who were successively elected. The triple failure exercised so depressing an effect on the organization that the episcopal form of government was allowed to fall into desuetude; and, in pursuance of the English fashion, a president was placed at the head. At this time the united membership almost touched ten thousand, of whom one-tenth were Indians. The founding of the still flourishing *Christian Guardian* followed shortly after a journal which did much to promote the just claims of the Methodist organization, deprived by the arrogant representatives of the Church of England of their just share in the "Clergy Reserves."

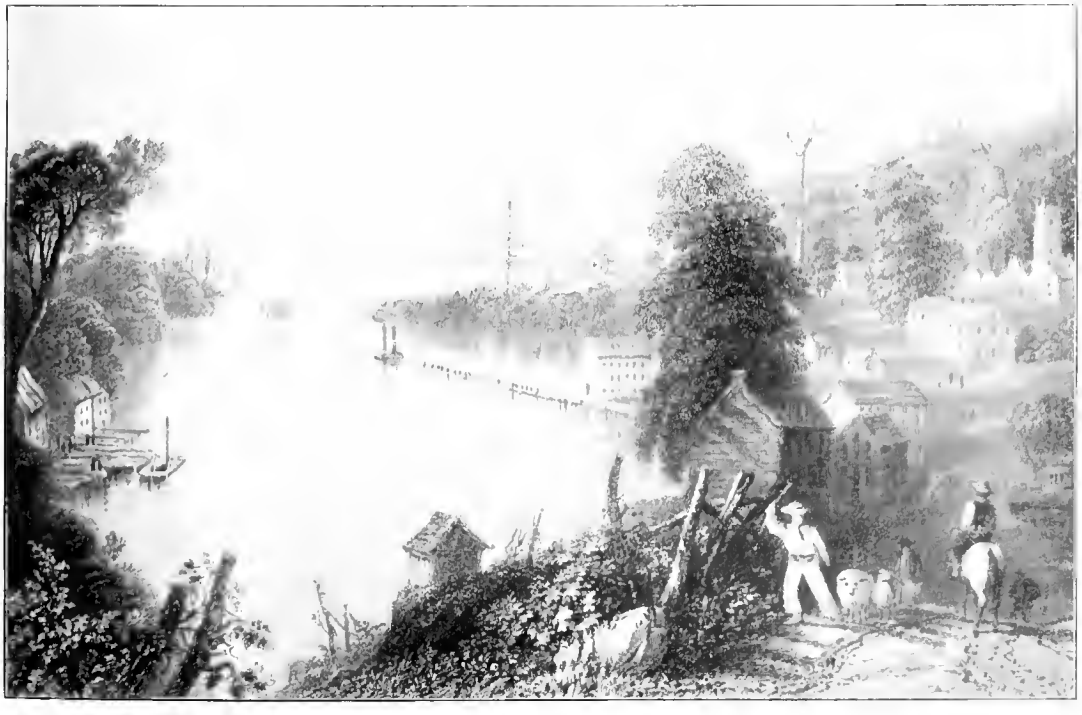
The leading factor in this crusade was the able young editor of the *Christian Guardian*, Egerton Ryerson. In the year 1825 three promising young candidates were admitted to trial at Fifty-mile Creek in Upper Canada. One was James Richardson, who afterward became bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada; the second was Anson Green, who was thrice president of Conference, and for many years had charge of

the Book Concern; and the third, who was destined to be more famous than either, was Egerton Ryerson. At this time he had barely passed his majority, and a long and active career of nearly sixty years was before him. The name of Egerton Ryerson is intimately associated with all the momentous events in the history of the Church, which he then entered on probation.

He was one of six brothers, five of whom joined the Methodist ministry. The eldest, John, became a distinguished ecclesiastical leader, and was on several occasions called to the presidential chair. He was also chosen more than once to represent the Church at the Quadrennial Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Annual Conferences of the English Wesleyans. Along with Dr. Anson Green, he represented Canadian Methodism at the Evangelical Alliance held in the year 1846 in London. Another of the Ryerson brothers, having been sent as a delegate to London, came under the fascination of Edward Irving, and joined the Catholic Apostolic Church. He was considerably older than Egerton, and, at the time of the latter's death, was serving in extreme old age as one of the "angels" of the Irvingite Church at Toronto.

A third brother, William, attained high fame as a pulpit preacher, being reckoned the most moving and effective speaker of his day at a church gathering or a camp-meeting. A competent judge reports of William Ryerson that he moved people by his word, as forest trees are swayed to and fro by the wind. On two occasions he was chosen president of the Conference.

Converted at the age of eighteen, Egerton resolved to enter the Methodist ministry, to the disgust of his father, who had another career mapped out for him, and wished him to become a lawyer. When the irate father forbade him the house, the lad went to his brother George, who was head of a grammar-



HALLOWELL, ON THE BAY OF QUINTE.
The home of Methodism in Canada.

VIEW ON THE FRONTIER LINE NEAR STANSTEAD PLAINS, IN UPPER CANADA.

school near London, Ontario; and he served as usher there for two years. A reconciliation with his father ensued, and he remained at the home farm until his entry into the ministry.

Owing to his aptitude in acquiring languages, he was chosen by Father Case for the Indian work, in which he spent but one year—a time, however, of real happiness and contentment, gratefully recalled in after years. In 1829, the year following the church separation with the United States, he became first editor of the infant connexional organ, the *Christian Guardian*. Fifty years later he recalled in its pages, with some zest, the circumstances under which he had written the first editorial. The young editor was known to wield a trenchant pen. His chief antagonist was Archdeacon Strachan, afterward bishop of the Anglican Church in the province. This ecclesiastic, anxious to secure state aid for his own denomination, had indulged in severe criticism of the Methodists. When still twenty-three years of age, young Ryerson put forth a response in pamphlet form, under the signature "A Methodist Preacher." The pamphlet seemed to strike home, for in the space of two weeks four antagonists appeared in print, three of them Anglican clergymen.

In his pamphlet he had repudiated the unworthy charge that the Methodist preachers were preaching the gospel out of idleness, and were uneducated men wholly unprepared for so serious a task. He denied that they were imbued with republican principles, which they, being almost universally of American origin, instilled in the minds of the people. The "Methodist Preacher" declared that examination would show only eight out of the whole body of their itinerants who had not been born and bred in the Brit-

ish dominions; and of these eight no less than six had become naturalized British subjects. No wonder that he wrote with zeal, for at this time the Methodist people were without a legal provision enabling them to hold a rood of ground on which to build a place of worship or bury their own dead.

A period of controversy supervened, and the public mind was deeply roused. The English parliament received petitions demanding a careful investigation into these allegations against Methodist preachers and their doings. Finally, the committee of the house made its report in which it stated that "the tendency of their influence and instruction was not hostile to British institutions, but, on the contrary, was eminently favorable to religion and morality; their labors were calculated to make people better men and better subjects, and had already produced in the province the happiest effects." This was a great triumph for the Methodists, and Ryerson might well be proud of the success of his efforts. An act was passed through the local legislature which allowed all Christians to hold land for church purposes; such land not to exceed five acres in extent, where the purpose in view was a church, meeting-house, chapel, or burying-ground. The right to celebrate matrimony followed in 1831.

In the critical times which ensued between 1833 and 1847, Ryerson resolutely promulgated his own convictions. The union with the English Wesleyans, which resulted in the change of the church name into "Wesleyan Methodist" and the secession of the Episcopal Methodists, was dissolved again in 1840. The conservative element contended that they were the original Church; and that the discarding of "bishops" for annual "presidents," and of "presiding elders" for "chairmen of districts," was equivalent to a surrender of the church property. The progressive party relied on Ryerson for counsel, and in the cases of litigation

TORONTO AT THE MIDDLE OF THE CENTURY.

WINDSOR, NOVA SCOTIA.
From the residence of Judge Haliburton, author of "Sam Slick."

which followed, only once were the Wesleyan Methodists defeated. Even in this instance the decision was reversed by a higher court. Under the system which was then adopted, local preachers were not ordained, and were thus denied the privileges of administering the ordinances and of performing the ceremony of marriage.

Doctor Ryerson, who received his degree from Middletown University, Connecticut, in 1841, was early associated with the higher education. In the founding of Upper Canada Academy at Cobourg, in the early thirties, he was an active agent. The corner-stone of the building was laid in 1832, and three years afterward the school was in operation. Much of the endowment came from funds obtained in England through Ryerson's devoted efforts; and in the year 1841 he had the satisfaction of seeing the institution advanced to the rank of a college, with university powers, under the name of Victoria College. For three years he served as its principal; and throughout his life he advanced its interests in every possible way.

In 1844, when he resigned the principalship, it was to become chief superintendent of education in the province, a post he occupied with distinction for thirty-two years. In his desire to bring the system to a state of practical perfection he put forth herculean efforts; and happily they were not without recognition or reward. He made the school system of Ontario a model for the world. The chief features of his methods were "compulsory attendance of children, local assessment, complete equipment, graded examinations, and separate schools." In addition to his administrative functions, this wonderful man found time to write school-books; one, for instance, on agriculture, another entitled "Christian Morals."

Throughout these thirty-two years he retained his zeal in church matters, and preached, it is said, no fewer than ten

housand sermons. A series of essays e contributed to the *Methodist Magazine* n the "Epochs and Characteristics of Methodism in Canada," was later pub-shed in book form.

In the year 1831, for the first time in :s history, the Conference was held at Tork, now known as Toronto. The iembership had increased to fifteen housand; and it was resolved to carry n with energy the erection of a high-rade institution at Cobourg, a town ome seventy miles northeast of the apital, and a few miles inland from ake Ontario. Methodist ministers, hrough the recent passage of the Mar-iage Bill, had obtained the right to elebrate matrimony, and they loyally)ledged their marriage fees to this laud-.ble enterprise. The institution, which inally became Victoria University, has njoyed a long and honored career. It s now an integral part of the great Uni-ersity of Toronto.

The years which followed were dis-urbed by many heart-burnings. The Wesleyan Missionary Society of London

REV. WILLIAM BRIGGS, D. D.,
Book Steward, Toronto, Canada.

again saw fit to send representatives into the upper province, largely or wholly in response to the plea of emigrants from England, who felt the need of greater church privileges. In 1832, at Hallowell, near Picton, there was consummated an act of union by which the Canadian Conference came into direct fellowship with the parent body. This at once did away with the possibility of the restoration of the episcopate, besides substituting in each district a Local Preachers' Meeting in place of the original District Conference. After more than two years of constant disputation, there took place, in the early spring of 1835, a secession of those wedded to the original system. At a meeting held at Belleville in February, the Rev. John Reynolds, a local preacher, was elected general superintendent of the protesting organization, and four

REV. JOHN POTTS, D. D.,
General Secretary of Education for the Methodist Church, Canada.

months later he was consecrated bishop. Thus a definite Methodist Episcopal Church, the history of which is given elsewhere, was created in the province.

The secession of this protesting minority did not, however, leave the Wesleyan Methodists in peace. In the strongly anti-clerical attitude assumed by Doctor Ryerson and his friends in their struggle for a less partial disposition of the "Clergy Reserves," the sympathy of the London Missionary Society was with their opponents. They were regarded as meddlesome politicians, who were leading the flock astray.

The crisis came in August, 1840, when the British Conference decided upon separation. In October of the same year eighty members of the Canada Conference assembled in Toronto, and set themselves to the work of reorganization. Twelve of their number, including the venerable Father Case, withdrew, and joined the Wesleyan District Meeting. The remainder had to discharge a difficult task, being without missionary funds, and having the responsibility of eight domestic missions, besides six of the nine Indian missions. In the following year, 1841, the membership stood at seventeen thousand, as against fifteen hundred who belonged to the Wesleyan District Mission; and for six years longer the unfortunate division continued to produce hard feeling. The smaller body, by its zeal, command of funds, and general ability, was able in great measure to make up for its lack of numbers. At length, however, in 1846, the Canada Conference took steps to bring to an end the unfortunate state of affairs. A deputation was appointed to wait on the British Conference and propose a compromise. The result was the arrival in Canada, for the second time, of Doctor Alder, the missionary secretary, who had been instrumental in cementing the articles of union agreed upon at Hallowell fourteen years before. Two meetings were held simultaneously in Toronto in June, 1847, one attended by the Canada Conference, the other by the District Meeting; and articles of union, honorable to both parties, were agreed upon. Doctor Alder occupied the chair of the Canada Conference, which welcomed the members of the District Mission. He was the first of

FREDERICTON, NEW BRUNSWICK.

ALBERT CARMAN, D. D.,

General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, Canada, since 1883; first Chancellor of Albert University; elected, 1874, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada.

a long series of English presidents, who, by a provision of the articles of union, were henceforth to occupy the Conference chair. The leaders chosen for so important a post were men of distinction. Among them was the apostolic James Dixon, sage in council and an incomparable preacher; Joseph Stinson, a wise administrator and a cultured speaker; and the wonderfully endowed William Morley Punshon, who devoted five of the best years of his life to the interests of the Church in Canada. The building of the fine Metropolitan Church in the city of Toronto was largely due to his initiative and exertions. In the year 1862 began a series of native presidents, among whom Anson Green and James Elliott were conspicuous.

Seven years after the notable union at Toronto which finally unified Wesleyan Methodism in Canada, occurred a further

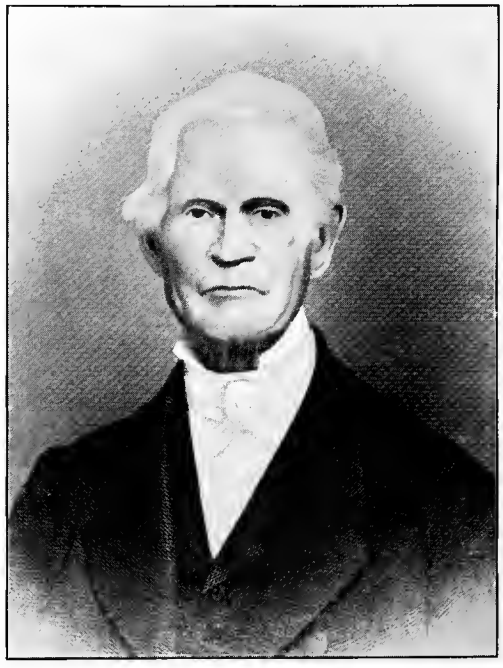
REV. GEORGE DOUGLAS, D. D., LL. D.,
Formerly Principal and Professor of Theology, Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal.

amalgamation with the Eastern District Meeting. The Conference of 1854, which was held at Belleville, welcomed a delegation from East Canada, which came with the full approbation of the English Conference, and the union was easily and heartily consummated.

Early though the lower provinces had been in receiving missionaries, their progress had been far less rapid than the upper provinces. The first Methodist church in all the territory now known as Canada was opened at Sackville, in New Brunswick, in the year 1790, and was followed in the same year by another at St. Stephen. Mainly through the apostolic zeal of William Black, a third was erected at Halifax two years later, to which the patriarchal name of Zoar was given. The Germain Street Church, at St. John, New Brunswick, an historic edifice, dates from the winter of 1807–8. The veteran circuit preacher of this province was a brave Scotchman named Duncan McColl, who had served in the British army. Ordained by Bishop Asbury in 1795, he worked zealously in the valleys and bleak uplands of this maritime district.

The gem-like Prince Edward Island, known as the Island of St. John's until 1799—the year, by the way, when American missionaries ceased to operate in the maritime provinces—had early received a visit from William Black. In the year 1807 it obtained a regular minister in James Bulpit, who came from Newfoundland; and he was followed by several able and zealous preachers. Cape Breton, another portion of the lower provinces, lying contiguous to Nova Scotia, received its first permanent minister in 1829, in the person of Matthew Cranswick, an eloquent preacher and attractive Christian.

Newfoundland, that home of early pioneer work, received an uninterrupted supply from 1794 onward, and in 1815 could boast of six circuits, with a staff of six regular ministers. Next year an ac-



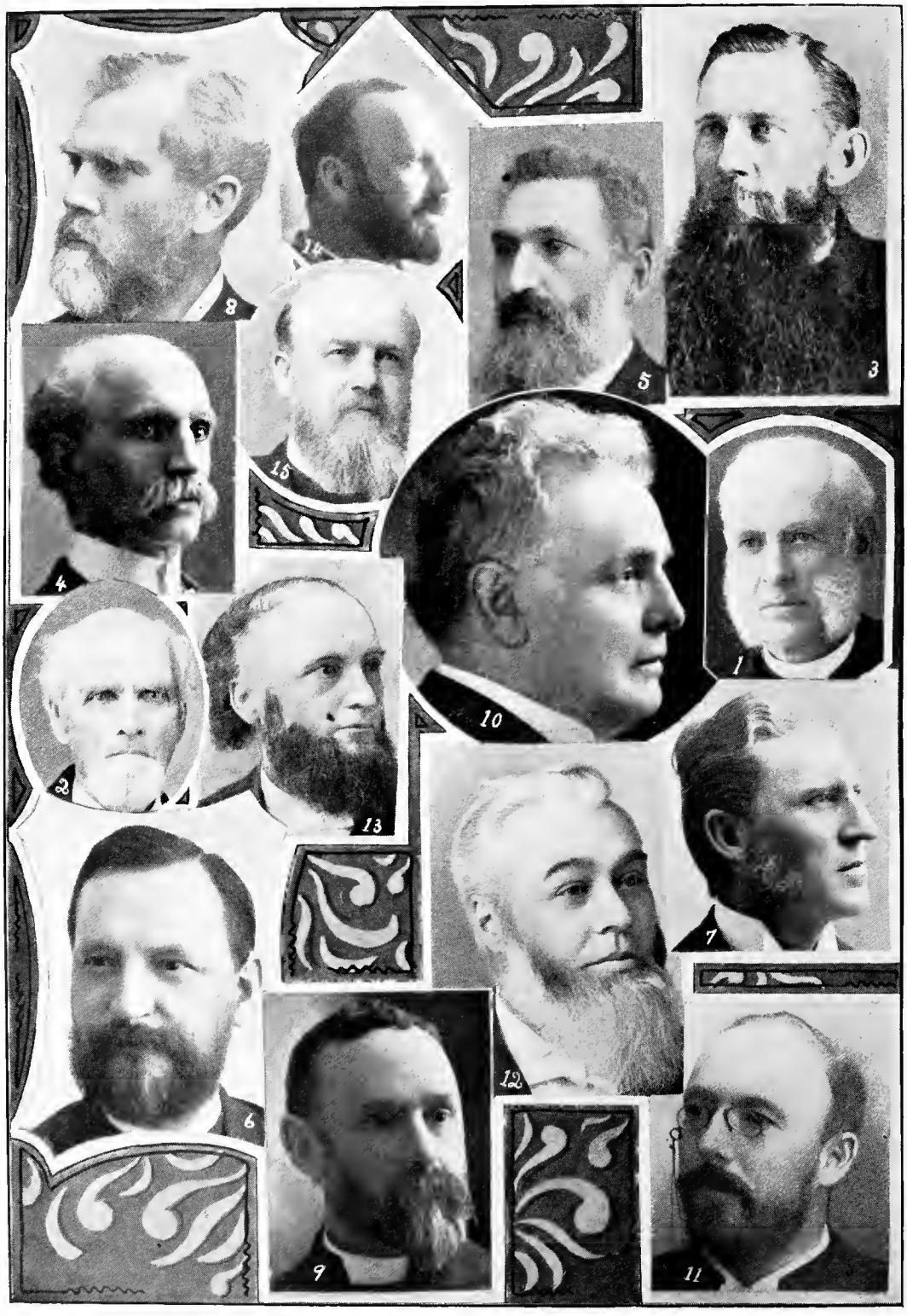
REV. PHILANDER SMITH,
Born in the state of New York in 1796; elected Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada in 1847; died in 1870.

MONTREAL, IN THE FORTIES.

cession of six new missionaries arrived from England, men of high quality; and the work they effected among the fishermen and their families is one of the bright records of Christian heroism. On the dreary waste of land that stretches from Conception bay as far as the coast of Labrador, where hardly a Christian station was to be found as late as the thirties, the preachers were busy at work until half of the whole population had been won over. The buildings erected to the service of God at St. John's, Newfoundland, at Carbonear and elsewhere, were stately and admirable.

Attached to the same colonial and foreign missionary work of the English Wesleyan Conference was the southerly island of the Bermudas, with its coral reefs and sapphire waters. The early history of the work there was interrupted by the tyranny of the ungodly. In July, 1790, John Stephenson, a Methodist missionary, was put in jail for six months at St. George's, Bermuda, and fined in the sum of fifty pounds sterling, for preaching the gospel to captive Africans. For eight years the work was suspended; but the arrival some time afterward of Joshua Marsden revived the work. Congregations were multiplied, several places of worship were erected, and the good work prevailed.

In the month of July, 1855, there met at Halifax, Nova Scotia, a Conference, under the presidency of the Rev. Doctor Beecham, who had been sent as a deputation from England. There were present representatives of the Wesleyan missions of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, and the Bermudas, who proceeded to constitute themselves the First Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion, or Church of Eastern British America, under the sanction of the British Conference. At this time the Conference numbered eighty-eight ministers, thirteen thousand members, and over sixty thousand estimated adherents. The affiliated dispensation, which lasted nineteen years, worked well. The



LEADING CANADIAN METHODISTS.

1. REV. WILLIAM J. HUNTER, D. D.; born in Province of Quebec, 1835; ordained, 1860; President of Niagara Conference, 1886. 2. REV. JOSEPH H. HILTS; born near Niagara, 1819; ordained minister of Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, 1856; a zealous itinerant; author of "Experiences of a Backwoods Preacher," etc. 3. REV. ERNEST M TAYLOR, M. A., Knowlton, Province of Quebec; born, 1848; ordained, 1877; Government Inspector of Public Schools Bedford; active in editorial and literary work. 4. JOHN T. GERMAN, M. A., D. D.; born, 1842; ordained, 1866; ex-Secretary and ex-President of Toronto Conference. 5. REV. JAMES COOK SEYMOUR; born in Ireland, 1839; entered Meth-

number of ministers rose to over two hundred, and the members increased to twenty thousand.

At the close of these nineteen years the Methodist Church of Canada was formed out of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of Ontario and Quebec, the Conference of Eastern British America, and the New Connexion Conference. The maritime districts, dissolving the affiliated relation, were formed into three Annual Conferences of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. Their record had been singularly free from the disputes and frictions that rent the upper provinces. Save for a few congregations of Bible Christians in Prince Edward Island, there had existed an absolute unanimity.

The Canadian Church was singularly fortunate to receive at this time, for the space of five years, the invaluable services of the great Punshon. British Methodism could not have lent them a greater influence; and the five years of his presidency sent forward Canadian Methodism "half a century," to quote the words of a leading Canadian. To a Canadian resident, Professor Reynar, of Victoria University, who married his only daughter, we are indebted for the standard Life of Doctor Punshon, written in co-operation with Frederic W Macdonald. It was also under his inspiration that the Japan mission was set on foot. Two admirable representatives were sent out in the persons of George Cochran, D. D., now dean of the University of Southern California, and Davidson Macdonald, M. D. They began work first at Shizuoka, the home of the retired Shoguns, and then in the city of Tokyo. No name in Japan is more loved than Doctor Macdonald's, now a veteran in the field.

In an earlier chapter an account has been given of the rise of the sect known as Bible Christians, whose habitat was originally in the southwest of England. It was in the year 1831, ten years after their first Conference, that this active and devoted society decided upon sending out two missionaries to North America. The result of their decision was to increase their mission fund in the following year from one hundred and four to one hundred and sixty-four pounds, an index of future expansion. The missionaries, John Glass and Francis Metherall, went respectively to West Canada and to Prince Edward Island. Metherall's early experiences were discouraging. The ship in which he sailed at the beginning of September, 1831, sprung a leak, and had to return to port for repairs. It was not until the next June that Mr. and Mrs. Metherall, with their two children, set foot on the

odist ministry, 1857; author of "The River of Life," etc.; contributor to various magazines. 6. J. COOPER ANTLIFF, D. D., Montreal; son of Rev. William Antliff, D. D., Principal of Theological Institute, Sunderland; born in England, 1844; ordained, 1866; first Secretary of the General Conference of the United Methodist Church, Canada. 7. MANLY BENSON, D. D., Ganonoque, Ontario; born, 1842; ordained, 1867; Director of Services at Grimsby Park; well known as a popular lecturer. 8. WILLIAM I. SHAW, LL. D.; born at Kingston, 1841; ordained, 1868; Professor (1877) and Principal (1894) of the Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal. 9. JABEZ BEER SAUNDERS, M. D., D. D., London, Ontario; born in Devonshire, England, 1847; studied medicine in connection with London University; entered Methodist ministry, 1868; was ordained by Doctor Punshon, at Montreal, 1872; President of the Montreal Conference, 1897. 10. D. V. LUCAS, M. A., D. D., "Fairholme," Grimsby, Ontario; born near Niagara Falls, 1834; ordained, 1862; active in the temperance cause since 1874; author of "Indian Tribes of Canada," etc.; well known as a public lecturer in Australia and elsewhere. 11. CHARLES H. PAISLEY, M. A., D. D.; born, 1843; ordained, 1870; Professor of Church History and New Testament Exegesis, Mt. Allison University. 12. J. S. ROSS, D. D., Guelph, Ontario; born at Kingston, 1848; ordained, 1867; President of Niagara Annual Conference, 1893; author of "The First Hundred Years of Modern Missions," etc. 13. REV. ISAAC B. AYLESWORTH; born, 1831; ex-President of the London (Ontario) Conference; Representative at Methodist Episcopal General Conference, Philadelphia, 1884. 14. CHARLES R. FLANDERS, D. D.; entered the Methodist ministry 1873; Fellow of McGill University; Principal of Stanstead Methodist College. 15. E. RYERSON YOUNG, Toronto; born, 1840; ordained, 1867; missionary among the Indian tribes of the Northwest; author of "Stories from Indian Wigwams and Northern Camp-Fires," etc.; well known as a popular lecturer in England and the United States.

REV. ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND, D. D.,
General Missionary Secretary of the Methodist Church, Canada; ordained, 1859; author of "A Summer in Prairie Land."

gem-like island, which was their destination. For the next nine years he struggled manfully to gain converts. By the second year the membership had grown to sixty and the preaching-places to thirty-six; and the society felt justified in sending an assistant to his aid. In time he was helped by two native preachers whom he had himself reared for the work; and other worthy helpers arrived from England. A year of particular prosperity was that of 1843–4, when three hundred and fifty-one new members were reported, largely the result of an extensive revival. At length, after over twenty years of hard work and exposure in the wilds, Mr. Metherall had to ask that a successor be appointed. Cephas Barker was sent out from England in answer to this request, and for the next nine years, when Prince Edward Island was still separate from the Dominion, he performed excellent work, and superintended the building of church edifices at Charlottetown and other centers. Wher in 1865, it became a part of the Domir ion, his services were transferred to Or tario.

The work there had been in capabl hands. John Hicks Eynon, who ha married an excellent Christian woma named Elizabeth Dart, set sail fron Padstow, Cornwall, in May, 1833, an reached Quebec after a long and storm passage of seven weeks. Though presse to stay in that city, he determined to pro ceed to his original destination. His predecessor, John Glass, had become dis couraged and had abandoned the field. He chose Cobourg, seventy miles east o Toronto, as his headquarters, and immediately set on foot an eager work of conversion. The first society he organized numbered only four persons, but by the close of the first year they had increased to eighty-eight. Mrs. Eynon showed herself as devoted a missionary as her husband, and often spent weeks in solitary house-to-house and township-to-

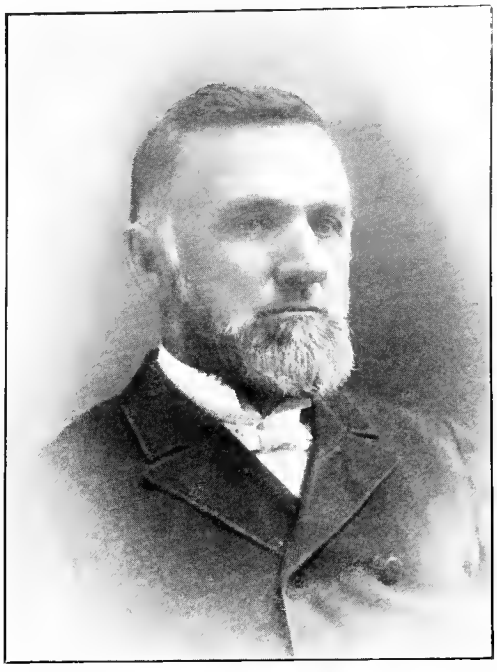
REV. W. S. GRIFFIN, D. D.,
Treasurer of the Superannuation Fund of the Methodist Church, Toronto, Canada.

nship visitation. The country, now ght with wheat-fields and orchards, s then a vast forest. By the year 6 two churches were built, one at bourg, another at Precious Corners. a years later the number of mission- es had increased to seven, and the mbership to over six hundred. Sur- sing conversions were brought about. one of the townships back of Belle- le, on the Bay of Quinte, he secured bar-room of an Irish tavern-keeper his first service, and soon after, like Philippian jailer, the man joined Church with all his household. With increase of helpers from the old antry, they were able, in 1846, to send o representatives to the states of Ohio d Wisconsin. Four years later the bourg mission ceased to draw finan- al aid from England, and in a year or o all the stations were self-supporting. In the year 1855 the first Canadian nference of the Bible Christians met Columbus. Matters had been satis- torily arranged with the home Con- ence, and its feelings of jealousy were ayed. The number of preachers re- rted was twenty-one, representing fifty- e churches and one hundred and four eaching-stations, with a total mem- rship of nearly two thousand two ndred. The most trusted leader, after e veteran Eynon, was Paul Robins, o, in addition to invaluable adminis- tive aid, had begun and fostered a ok-room at Bowmanville. Under his se pilotage, the organization waxed d flourished until the momentous year 1865. The fusion of the Prince Ed- rd Island churches in that year raised e total of membership to five thousand. rfect accord with England, gained er some misunderstanding, allowed e organization to make use of some cellent helpers from the old country. ie work was pushed westward with the continuous trend of the population, and in 1879 the province of Manitoba was entered as a mission field.

The jubilee of the denomination was now fast approaching, and preparations were on foot for its suitable celebration. But the idea of Methodist union began now to take definite shape. The Ecumenical Council of Methodism, which met in London in 1881, gave an impetus to the movement. Two representatives attended its sessions, and were strongly affected by

REV. NATHANIEL BURWASH, LL. D.,
Professor of Theology in Victoria University, Toronto; President of the Conference, 1889; author of "Wesley's Doctrinal Standards."

what they saw and heard; and at the Conference of 1882 the subject of union was definitely considered in its practical aspects. During the negotiations which followed, when the committee appointed met the other committees in Carlton Street Church, Toronto, a preliminary basis was agreed upon. The proposal received the support of more than two-thirds of the members, and was accordingly ratified at the Exeter Conference of 1883. The approval and good wishes



REV. S. F. HUESTIS,

Book Steward at Halifax, Nova Scotia; General Secretary of Conference, 1892-6.

of the parent body in England were obtained, and the union was accordingly consummated. At Bowmanville, in 1884, the denomination held its final separate Conference, after an honorable career of over half a century.

The story of the Primitive Methodists in Canada is full of interest. While the Bible Christians belonged originally to the southwest of England, and owed their growth to the arrival of emigrants from the neighborhood of Bristol and Plymouth, the Primitive Methodist who was the father of the Church in Canada hailed from the north country. This was not strange, as the first Conference of the home association was held in 1819 at Hull. Three years later the work spread northward to Cumberland, and interested a local Methodist preacher, named William Lawson, who was stationed at Brampton. His readiness to associate himself with the work of this sectarian body, as it was deemed, led to his expulsion from the society, and his eventually identifying himself witl the Primitive Methodist Connexion. A visit from two of its most eloquent preach ers, William Clowes and John Fleshers confirmed him in his decision.

Hard agricultural times supervening Mr. Lawson, accompanied by his wif and six young children, left the town c Maryport in the spring of 1829, and ai rived six weeks later in Quebec. Con tinuing their journey up the lakes, the arrived in the middle of June at Toronto where Lawson succeeded, after a fe months, in securing a small school-hous as a preaching service. He was joine by two worthy laymen, named Walke and Thompson; and the nucleus was lai of an active organization.

Meanwhile the number of Primitiv Methodists emigrating to the Unite States had so increased that in 1829 fou ministers were sent from England t watch over them. One of these, a M Watkins, was summoned from Ne York, and for a short time took charg of the Canadian organization, durin which he formed three new societie Next year his place was taken by ai other of the four, Mr. Summersides, Philadelphia, who showed himself zealous and able worker. In the yea 1832 the Hull circuit in England decide to take the Canadian societies under i immediate charge, and sent two mi isters to prosecute the work. The se ond of these, William Lyle, came to l widely known and esteemed, and wc the affectionate term of "Father Lyle. A man of fine presence and attracti face, he labored with singular succe for the next thirty years, and then spe ten happy years in retirement. H death in 1883 was worthy of his nob life.

The association with the Hull circu came to an end in 1842, when a Gener Missionary Committee was formed l

the home Church. This new committee organized a special Canadian work, which showed in 1850 a membership of over sixteen hundred; an increase which justified the inauguration in 1854 of a Canadian Conference. The integral connection with the home Church was still, however, kept up. The organ of the Church in Canada, published in Toronto, was the *Christian Journal*, which was merged in 1883 in the *Christian Guardian*. In the following year arrangements were made with the English Conference to close up the missionary business with the English committee, and their old friends wished them well in their new departure.

It took nearly forty years for the members of the Methodist New Connexion in England to set on foot work in Canada. The points on which this organization had insisted may be summed up under four heads. They objected to have their hours of worship restricted by the intervals between services in the Established Church; they demanded that their people should be baptized and receive the ordinance of the Lord's Supper in their own places of worship, and from their own ministers; they demanded lay representation in the district meetings and in the Annual Conference; and they also asserted that the Church had rightfully a voice in the reception and expulsion of members, in the choice of local officers, and in the calling of candidates for the ministry. Under the more democratic conditions of Canada, these demands were likely to meet with approval.

In the year 1824, the denomination began mission work in Ireland; but it was not until thirteen years later that the Conference resolved to include Canada in its operations. The Rev. John Addyman was the minister chosen for the responsible task; and two years afterward he was joined by the Rev. Henry O. Crofts. Addyman, though specially instructed to establish a mission in Upper Canada, lingered for some time in the East, where good hopes of success seemed to offer. When he reached Upper Canada, and came to inquire into the condition of affairs there, he was struck with the essential similarity of the polity he represented and that of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church. The discussion led to a long and careful consideration of the whole subject at the Conference of the Canadian body, held in June, 1840, at Cavan. The result was an equitable basis of union, which was sent down to the quarterly boards of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church, and was also submitted to the executive committee of the Methodist New Connexion in England. This body being of opinion that no fundamental principle need be sacrificed by union, the incorporation took place in the following year, under the title, "The Canadian Wesleyan Methodist New Connexion."

REV. J. W. SPARLING, D. D.,
Principal of the Wesley College, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

REV. A. C. COURTICE, D. D.,
Editor of the *Christian Guardian*, Toronto.

An educational board was appointed to supervise the training of candidates, and a theological institute was organized, the Rev. William McClure being elected tutor. This able minister was the son of the Rev. John McClure, the first minister of the Methodist New Connexion in Ireland. Left an orphan at the age of five, he early became an earnest believer, and in the year 1830 joined the ministry. Seventeen years later he was sent out to Canada as assistant superintendent of missions. He was thrice elected president of the Conference, and from 1860 to 1870 he acted as tutor in the institute. Next year he was suddenly called to his rest. He left behind him a high reputation for ripe scholarship and Christian meekness and piety.

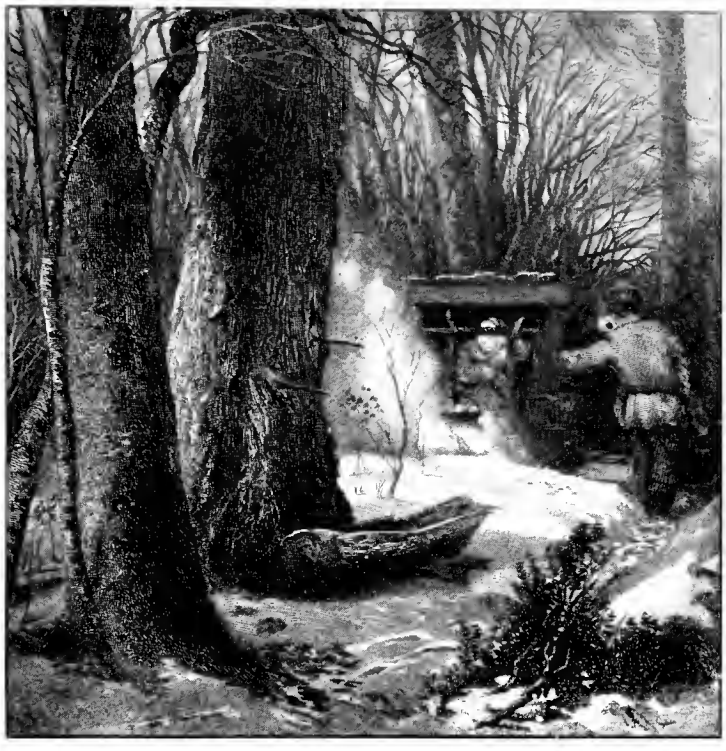
Although the system finally agreed upon brought the Canadian body largely under the influence of the New Connexion in England, yet the relation was only temporary, as complete independence was provided for when "the body in Canada shall become a distinct religious community, united only to the brethren in England in Christian love, and in those kind offices which will always be proper and acceptable."

The organization numbered, in the first year of its career, twenty ministers and two thousand five hundred members. In the year 1843, by uniting with the Protestant Methodists of East Canada, it raised its membership by over five hundred. Nine years later it could report fifty ministers and preachers, and four thousand five hundred members. In the year 1864, when the name of the denomination was altered to "The Methodist New Connexion in Canada," these numbers were almost doubled.

Soon after the two unions of 1841 and 1843 a church magazine was started, named the *Christian Messenger*, to which every minister on probation was expected to contribute an original article every six months. This organ, however, was not long-lived. In the year 1854 it was succeeded by the *Evangelical*

REV. JOHN LATHERN, D. D.,
Editor of *The Wesleyan*, Halifax, Nova Scotia; author of "Institute Lectures," etc.

Witness, which was ably conducted for sixteen years by the Rev. J. H. Robinson. He left it to become editor of the English organ of the denomination, the *Methodist New Connexion Magazine;* but after four years, during which he served as president of the Conference, he returned again to Canada. The great union, soon to be consummated, with the three other Methodist bodies of the Dominion, was already assuming practical shape, and it seemed as if a strong minority might refuse to unite Mr. Robinson believed that his duty lay in providing for the wants of this minority; but happily the impression proved to be unwarranted.



A SUGAR-BUSH, OTTAWA, CANADA.

The removal, in 1893, of the Victoria University to Toronto, as a result of its affiliation with the State University, was an event of great significance. Forty years before a provision of the same nature was inserted in the University Act of 1853, but proved abortive. At this time the college was hard pressed. An excellent president had been found in the Rev. S. S. Nelles, a graduate of Wesleyan University, Middletown; but the task before him was a heavy one. The college treasury was empty, and there was no endowment whatever. The drastic remedy of issuing scholarships was applied, with the result that thirty thousand dollars were raised, while at the same time the income from fees was cut off for a quarter of a century. However, under an able and zealous staff, the institution prospered. A faculty of medicine was established in 1854 in the city of Toronto, and a similar faculty of law was added six years later. The loss of the government grants in 1868 again threw the university into financial straits; but the valiant efforts of Dr. Morley Punshon, who was at this time associated with the Canadian work, restored the situation, and a handsome endowment of a hundred thousand dollars was raised. In 1871 the faculty of theology was established, largely through the beneficence of Edward Jackson and his wife; and other handsome donations followed.

In 1857 the Methodist Episcopal Church founded an educational institution at Belleville, which was incorporated as Belleville Seminary. Three years later it was affiliated with Toronto University as Belleville College, the ladies' department taking the designation of Alexandra College. In 1866 it received university privileges in the faculty of arts, extended four years later to all the faculties; and for fourteen years thereafter, until its amalgamation with Victoria University, performed an invaluable

DOCTOR C. S. EBY, D. D., FOUNDER OF THE CENTRAL TABERNACLE, TOKYO, JAPAN, AND PROFESSOR DIXON AND HIS SISTER ON A JAPANESE TOUR.

service for the Church. Since then it has been carried on as a collegiate institution in this historic home of Methodism. Other institutions followed in its wake; the Ontario Ladies' College at Whitby, and Alma College at St. Thomas.

In the province of Quebec, Methodism is represented in the higher education by the Wesleyan Theological College at Montreal, one of four similar institutions associated with McGill University. In 1889 its charter was altered so as to include the conferring of degrees in divinity, and it is now second in the number of its students and the extent of its work among the four colleges.

In the maritime provinces the munificence of the late Charles T. Allison led to the founding, in 1840, of an academic building at Sackville, New Brunswick. An academy for young ladies was added; and by the year 1860 a college charter was obtained from the legislature, and a theological department added. The Methodists of the province assisted nobly in the development of the institution, and many handsome buildings now lend dignity and attractiveness to its site.

The educational demands of the expanding Far West have not been neglected. As early as 1873 an academy was established at Winnipeg, which after a struggling existence and a change of nomenclature became, in 1888, as Wesley College, a part of the recently founded University of Manitoba In Newfoundland, which is not yet a portion of the Dominion, there is a Methodist College at St. John's, and there are over six score Methodist schools scattered over the colony.

Canadian Methodism in Japan confined itself to a field of work within a comparatively limited area in the center of the main island. After intrenching themselves in Tokyo and Shidzuoka its missionaries pushed out toward the west coast, founding stations at Kofu and Fukiu in the mountains, and northward at the western seaport of Niigata As the outcome of the work begun by Doctor Cochran, six churches exist in the capital. The greater part of Doctor Macdonald's life in Japan has been spent in Tokyo as a medical missionary and representative of the home board. The work which he superintended in Shidzuoka has been left in the hands of ca

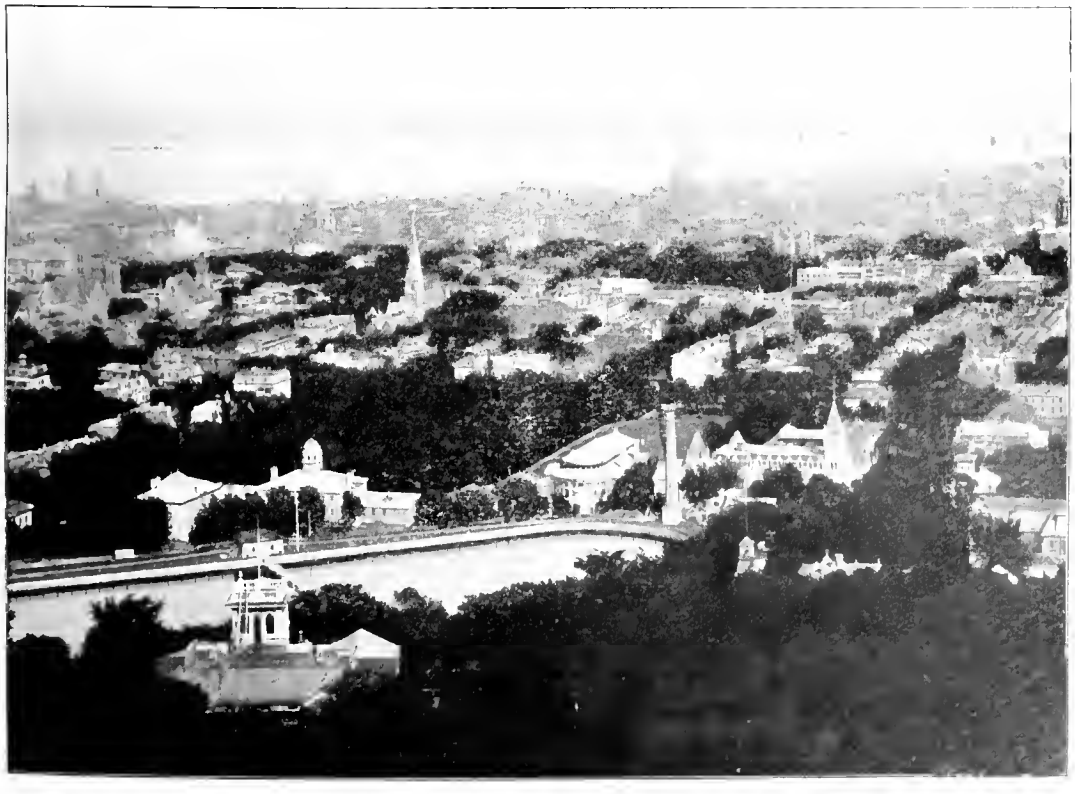
pable subordinates. In 1881 the Tokyo Eiwa Gakko was founded at Azabu, with two departments, biblical and academic. It is now under a trusted Japanese head, Mr. Ebara.

Dr. C. S. Eby, who arrived in 1876, began his work at Kofu, and removed to the capital five years later. He set himself to stem the tide of rationalism sweeping over Japan, constructing, to give greater opportunity for this work, a large tabernacle in the educational district for Christian lectures and preaching services. He was impressed with the idea of evangelizing the empire by means of young men who should support themselves meanwhile by teaching; and a band of able young men responded to his appeal. New centers were opened at Kanazawa and at Nagano, and recently a native preacher has been stationed in the northern island of Yezo. Work has been projected there to meet the religious demands of the colonists who emigrate thither from the south.

An unfortunate complication which occurred some years ago led to the resignation of Doctor Eby and many of his sympathizers; and, by rending the mission in two, greatly hindered for a time a work that had been singularly blessed.

A year or two ago the Canadian Church started a mission in northwestern China, and a Chinese membership of fifty-four was announced in the Conference of 1900. In these trying times it is impossible to say what has become of this initial band. The membership for Japan showed a total of over two thousand two hundred and fifty.

The home Church, by far the most numerous Protestant body in the Dominion, has now a total membership of two hundred and sixty-three thousand; while Newfoundland adds another ten thousand. There are nine separate Confer-



MONTREAL, FROM MOUNT ROYAL PARK.

ences in the Dominion—Toronto, London, Hamilton, Bay of Quinte, Montreal, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Manitoba and the Northwest, and British Columbia.

The leaders who have guided the Church to its present state of prosperity deserve some place in these pages. The general superintendent of the Methodist Church is the Rev. Albert Carman, who traces his descent on both sides to United Empire Loyalists. Born in 1833, he took his degree at Victoria University, Cobourg, and for several years was engaged in teaching. He was the first chancellor of Albert University, at Belleville, and from 1874 until 1883 served as bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Since then he has occupied his present position. In 1891 he represented his Church at the Ecumenical Conference held at Washington. As a presiding officer at great ecclesiastical gatherings he has no superior and few equals.

Another veteran in the department of organization is the Rev. Alexander Sutherland, who was elected in 1874 general secretary and clerical treasurer of the Mission Society, and still, in 1900, retains the position. Doctor Sutherland was born in the same year as Doctor Carman, and was educated at the same university. His zeal in promoting the cause of missionary work has resulted in the extraordinary expansion of missionary work in the Church. In British America, the Bermudas, and Japan he has personally superintended operations; and in addition has acted as editor of the *Missionary Outlook*. In 1897 the theological faculty of Vanderbilt University selected him to deliver the course of lectures on the college foundation. Doctor Sutherland was the first president of the Toronto Conference of the united Methodist Church; his immediate successor was Dr. William Briggs.

Doctor Briggs is an Irishman by birth and was educated in Liverpool. After serving as a local preacher, he crossed to Canada in the year 1859, and was appointed financial secretary fifteen years later. Since 1879 he has served as book steward; and under his care the Book Concern has become the largest publishing-house in the Dominion.

Dr. John Potts, who ranks as one of the leading orators in the Church, came to Canada in 1855 from his native Ireland. Originally an Episcopalian, he was led to join the Methodist Church; and, while still a young man, was called to the great Metropolitan Church in Toronto, where he proved eminently successful. As general secretary of education for the Methodist Church, since 1886, he has discharged functions of no little responsibility. He is a man of liberal views and aims, who is associated with many schemes for the social and moral uplifting of the community. Several times he has acted as representative of his Church in the United States.

CHAPTER XXIX.

BRITISH METHODISM SINCE THE REFORM BILL.

THE stormy era of the Reform Bill, which changed the British constitution from a strongly aristocratic to a popular basis, and brought its institutions into virtual sympathy with those of the republic across the Atlantic, was marked by disturbances in the Methodist fold. The liberal political leanings of many of the ministers were so pronounced as to lead them to throw their whole energies into the cause of radicalism. On the side of conservatism stood almost solidly the Established Church, which was bitterly opposed by the Congregational Union and other dissenting churches. But Wesleyan Methodism was from its origin unpolitical in its scope and bearings; and it was rightly regarded as contrary to the peculiar calling and solemn engagements of a Methodist minister to spend his time in furthering the purposes of party; and especially to take a prominent part as an assailant of the Church of England.

The Reform Bill, passed amid great excitement in 1832, had for one of its strong supporters the journal known as the *Christian Advocate*. Its editor was Joseph Rayner Stephens, son of a prominent ex-president, the Rev. John Stephens, and he was assisted by the brother of a prominent Methodist minister. The paper, in its inception, was regarded as a safe and irreproachable organ, and the high standing of its staff won for it a wide circulation among good Methodist people. But gradually it began to assume a bitterly political complexion, and extended its attacks to inoffensive personages who chose to vote in a certain way. Dr. Jabez Bunting was fiercely assailed in its columns for daring to cast his vote at a general election in favor of a political leader whom the *Advocate* did not favor. Moreover it extended its attacks to the London Missionary Society, showing no little bitterness, and creating a feeling of soreness among religious people. As it was still considered an organ of Methodist opinion, the harm done had evidently to be counteracted within the Church. Resolutions condemnatory of its course came up before the Conference of 1833, and some who criticized it most keenly were leading Liberals—William Atherton, Jacob Stanley, and James Dixon. Resolutions were passed, defending Doctor Bunting and disclaiming on the part of the Conference any connection whatever with the *Christian Advocate* newspaper. This so weakened its influence that, after a short period in which it ran a general course of depreciation against the Conference and Methodism, it was finally merged with the *Patriot*, which became later the *Nonconformist*.

The career of Mr. Stephens was a stormy one. In 1834, having been for three years in full connection, and having to his record a period of four years as missionary at Stockholm he resigned from the Methodist ministry. About seven hundred members of the society at Ashton seceded with him; and he began a vigorous movement against the church and state connection. He became a familiar figure on democratic platforms, and gained notoriety as an agitator at open-air mass-meetings. Finally the government got hold of him, and he was sentenced to imprisonment for a term of years. When he returned again to society, he became a strong Conservative.

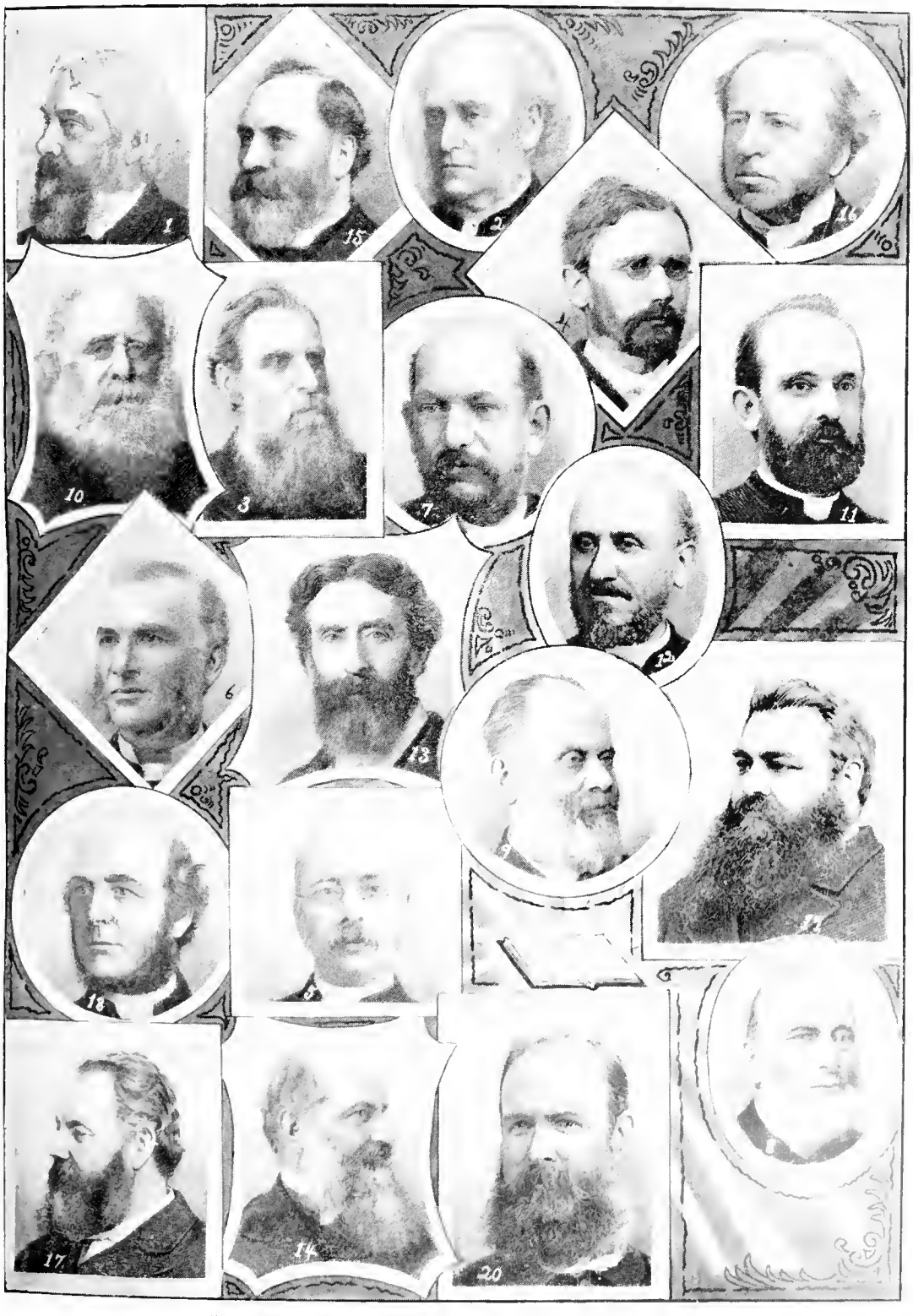
The Annual Conference, which met at the great manufacturing town of Shef-

field in the year 1835, had to deal with many difficult questions. Four hundred and eighty-eight representatives had gathered together, from the veteran James Wood, who could number sixty-two years in the ministry, to the dignified Richard Reece, the scholarly Thomas Galland, and those able leaders, Robert Newton and Jabez Bunting. John Stephens, president eight years before, is weighed down by the thought that one of his brilliant sons has had to resign his position in the ministry, while another is following dissident ways as a journalistic critic of the connexion, and intensifying the many difficulties that make this a critical period in its career.

And yet, a few days later, there was held at Exeter Hall another gathering which was destined to found a new colony in which three sons of the same Stephens would play honored parts. It was resolved to found a new colony of South Australia, since a flourishing territory, and the gathering was pleased to know that the king, the house of lords, and many of the ablest men in the kingdom were warmly interested in their enterprise. In the following February the two first vessels—bearing emigrants—the "John Pirie" and the "Duke of York," sailed for the southern seas. On board the latter was Samuel Stephens, first manager of the South Australian Company, and the lady destined later to be his wife. True to the instincts of his noble father, he, along with the other settlers, knelt down as soon as they landed on shore, and lifted their hearts in prayer. It was an auspicious beginning. Before the close of the year the city of Adelaide, which they had chosen as their seat of government, began to show signs of activity; although as yet there was neither slate, shingle, board nor galvanized iron. The first adult colonist was Samuel Stephens, who, during the voyage, had conducted divine service every Sabbath and on Wednesday evenings, and who continued to exercise the same beneficent influence in his new home. His life was unfortunately a brief one, for he was killed in 1840 by a fall from his horse.

Another brother, John, who, possessing a caustic journalistic pen, had helped his brother Joseph to conduct the *Christian Advocate*, and had done his best to sow dissension in the community, gave up these doubtful ways, and threw his whole interests into the cause of the new colony. In 1838 he published a book in the interests of South Australia, which he named "The Land of Promise." A second edition was published shortly after, bearing the title "The Rise and Progress of South Australia." Five years later he was in Adelaide, editing first the *Observer* and then the *Register*, and until the year 1850 proved himself the stanch and uncompromising advocate of civil and religious liberty and the foe of all that he deemed evil and oppressive. He was, however, hardly a peace-maker, and his later years were spent outside of the Methodist community. He objected to the act of the pioneer Methodist Church in accepting aid from the state coffers.

A third son, Edward, who left Hull for Adelaide late in the year 1836, was a pillar of the Church. He arrived with his wife, in charge of the first chest of gold containing the necessary currency, his part being cashier and accountant of the new bank. Mrs. Edward Stephens was an excellent woman, of saintly character. She and her two sisters, one of them married to a distinguished Methodist preacher, were centers of religious influence. As manager of the Bank of South Australia and as editor of a weekly journal, *The Adelaide Miscellany*, he was a leading man in the



PETER THOMPSON AND OTHER NOTED WESLEYANS.

1. W. Henry Thompson.
2. Wallace McMullen.
3. Rev. J. E. Moulton (Tonga).
4. George G. Findlay.
5. Alfred H. Vine.
6. Charles Robertson.
7. C. F. Nightingale.
8. William Parsonson.
9. Rev. John Pogson.
10. Rev. John Posnett.
11. George Patterson.
12. William Nicholas.
13. Nehemiah Curnock.
14. Seth Dixon.
15. Rev. James Cuthbertson.
16. Rev. Giffard Dorey.
17. Rev. James E. Hargreaves.
18. W. Rodwell Jones.
19. Rev. Peter Thompson.
20. Rev. C. T. Newman, Adelaide, South Australia.

colony; and he added parliamentary duties to his other cares. After eighteen years in Australia his health broke down, and he returned to England to die; but his name will always remain as one of the three chief pioneers of the Methodist Church in South Australia. That Church had the credit of erecting the first stone edifice of the kind in the city of Adelaide. Sixty years later the churches in the colony had increased to over two hundred and seventy, the ministers to sixty-six, and the local preachers to over four hundred.

This era of the thirties was notable for one of the very few doctrinal eccentricities within the Methodist Connexion. In the year 1835, during a large revival at Redditch, a school-master of considerable ability, resident in the town, who was also a zealous local preacher, began to enunciate views of saving grace, of a Sandemanian character, representing the change as an ordinary mental operation. The matter was associated with no scandal so long as he lived at Redditch; but after he removed to Derby he became associated with two ardent lady adherents, and the eccentricities that accompanied their meetings led to acts of discipline that were violently resisted. Finally they seceded to the number of seven hundred, and assumed the name of Arminian Methodists. They built a chapel in Derby, and were popularly known as Derby Faith Folks. As in the case of Doctor Warren, their leader failed to remain by the seceders, and became an Independent.

A change in the ritual of ordination, made about the same time, is of some significance. Until the year 1836 the phrase used in the New Testament, the "laying on of hands," had been interpreted in its literal meaning as "lifting up of hands." The additional act of imposition of hands, which had become so integral a part of Christian usage, had been in use for several years in the case of Wesleyan missionaries; now it was made general. In view of the arrogant claims of monopoly in ordination advanced by the aggressive High Church party in England, it was a quiet assertion of the validity of the Methodist ministry.

We have referred to the members of the Conference of 1835 as weighed down with their sense of responsibility. Other questions besides the schismatic actions of the extreme Liberals were presenting themselves for solution. The Conference of 1833, in carrying on the idea of forming a literary and theological institution, reappointed the committee, which suggested the names of three ministers whom it deemed best fitted to take charge of the different departments. Doctor Warren considered that two other gentlemen of his acquaintance were better fitted for the posts; and was also of opinion that the institution should be called a "college." In these amendments he was not supported by the majority of the members; and from this time forward began a course of violent antagonism to the prevailing order of things, displaying a particular animus toward Dr. Jabez Bunting. He received the support of only thirty-four ministers out of the whole Conference.

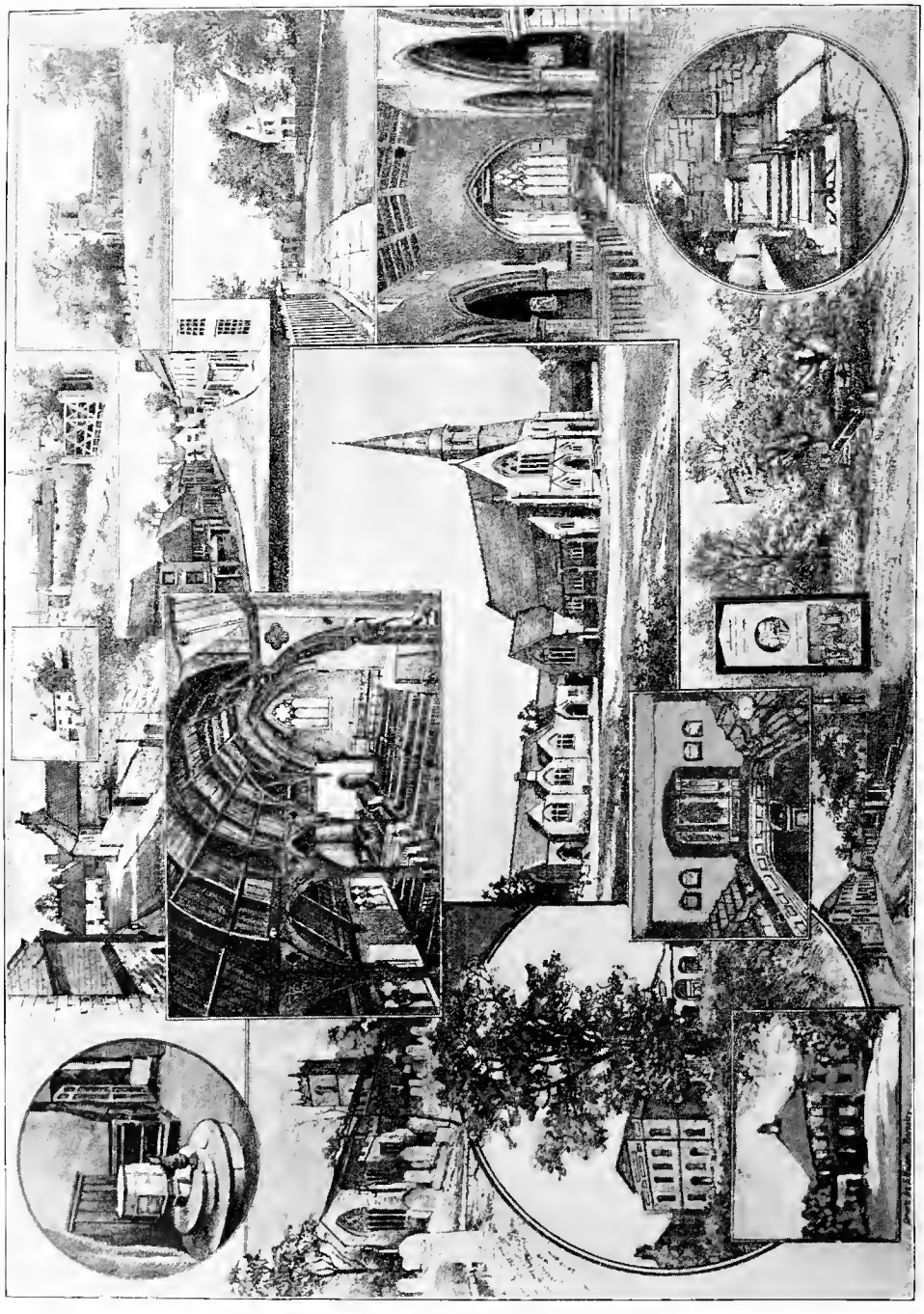
The result was the appointment as president of Doctor Bunting, whose qualifications were outstanding; and, as house-governor, of the amiable and excellent Joseph Entwisle. A scholarly and well-qualified tutor was found in John Hannah. It drew forth a bulky pamphlet from Doctor Warren, entitled "Remarks on the Wesleyan Theological Institution for the Education of the Junior Preachers, Together with the Substance of a Speech Delivered in the Conference. By Samuel Warren, D. D." The pamphlet was in effect an accusa-

JOHN TELFORD AND OTHER NOTED WESLEYANS.

1. Allen Rees.
2. R. Cully.
3. Josiah Hudson.
4. Rev. John W. Crake.
5. Rev. Ishmael Jones.
6. Rev. David Young.
7. Rev. Edmund Holroyd.
8. John Telford.
9. W. F. Slater.
10. Rev. Theophilus Woolmer.
11. Rev. David C. Ingram.
12. Rev. Albert Clayton.
13. Rev. Wesley Guard.
14. Thomas T. Dilks.
15. Marshall Hartley.
16. Sidney I. P. Dunman.
17. John A. B. Harry.
18. T. W. Johnstone.
19. Owen Lloyd Davies.
20. Ralph M. Spoor.
21. Josiah Bonham.
22. Rev. William D. Walters.

tion of ambition leveled at Dr. Jabez Bunting. Its writer was by no means an inexperienced man. At this time he had served for thirty years in the ministry, was superintendent of the First Manchester circuit, and was favorably known as author of "A Digest of the Laws and Regulations of Wesleyan Methodism."

The issue of the pamphlet was the beginning of a series of bitter disputes ending in legal action and of untold evil to the Wesleyan body. An organization was formed, known as the "Grand Central Association," with the view of antagonizing the Theological Institution and embarrassing in every way the exist-



REMINISCENCES OF THE WESLEY FAMILY.

ng polity of the Church. Doctor Warren appealed against his suspension from Oldham-road Chapel, and two bills were filed in the vice-chancellor's court. He retained the services of five able barristers, as against three distinguished counsel who appeared for the defendants. The result was a decision in favor of the defendants, and the vice-chancellor, in his summing up, took occasion to deliver a glowing eulogy in behalf of the services that Methodism had rendered to the nation at large, and the noble characters whom it had reared within its pale. The undaunted plaintiff then appealed to the chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst, the acutest legal mind of the day, who, after a review eminently favorable to the whole machinery of Methodism, affirmed the decision of the vice-chancellor, and took occasion to speak in terms of severe rebuke respecting the intemperate language and gross personalities in which the plaintiff had indulged. The result was a singular triumph for the ruling party in the Methodist Church, and a remarkable testimony to the wisdom with which the organization had been carried on throughout its whole existence.

The defeated minority, after a vain attempt to continue agitation within the denomination, seceded under the designation of the Wesleyan Methodist Association. A considerable number of the members, who numbered about a thousand in all, met in Sheffield at the time the Conference, to which we have already referred, was in session. The Conference, however, refused to recognize their status, and the malcontents finally coalesced with the Protestant Methodists, with whom they were virtually in sympathy from the outset. Their leader, Doctor Warren, however, soon found his most congenial resting-place in the Church of England, and,

TWO EVANGELISTS, WHO LIVED EARLY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1. J. SUMMERFIELD; born in England, 1798; came to America, 1821, and died four years later. 2. THOMAS SPENCER, who labored in England early in the nineteenth century.

entering its ministry, he became incumbent of a church near Manchester, where he passed the rest of his life.

The attacks made on the Conference by the *Christian Advocate* led to the establishing of a distinctively Methodist organ which was called the *Watchman*. Its object was not political, but religious in the broadest sense; and for fifty years it sought to defend and expound the principles and economy of Methodism, as settled by the venerable founder and his successors.

The disturbed era of the thirties closed with a glorious celebration. The centenary of the wonderful formation of the original society was close at hand. In the winter of the year 1738–9 there met at Wesley's lodging, in London, "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word

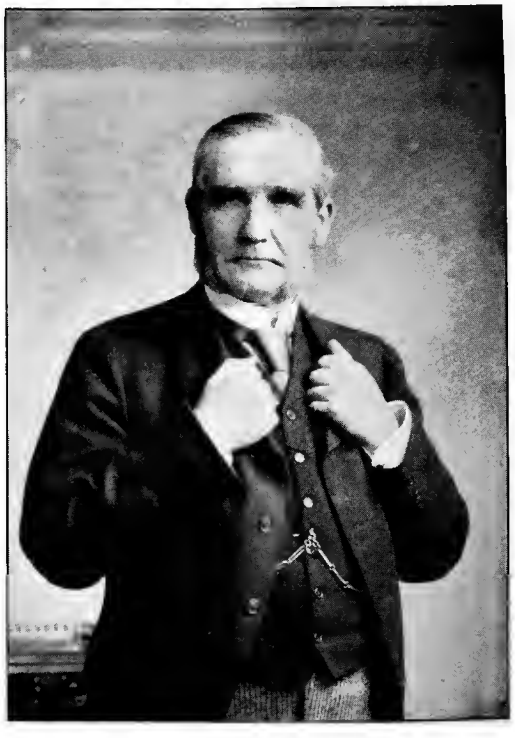
REV. JOSEPH FOWLER.

A distinguished Wesleyan Methodist preacher; father of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Fowler, G. C. S. I., M. P.; grandfather of Misses Ellen Thorneycroft and Edith Henrietta Fowler.

of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they might help each other to work out their salvation." From this first class-meeting had grown up the great religious organization which was now world-wide. A great meeting, organized to prepare for the celebration, and consisting half of ministers and half of laymen, met at Manchester and inaugurated a system of liberal Christian giving which marked a notable advance upon any previous standard. The free giving of English manufacturers on this occasion made an impression not only on their own compatriots, but produced an effect even on the Vatican, so that the Pope, in an encyclical, called attention to the manner in which these "heretics" were shaming the faithful. Four or five years later, when Doctor Chalmers and his noble following left the Scotch Establishment and formed the Free Church of Scotland, the stimulus of their southern Methodist brethren had a great deal to do with the lavish manner in which the Scotch laity came to the aid of the new organization.

The Theological Institution was one of the chief beneficiaries of this great outburst of liberality. So contagious was the enthusiasm that the Rev. James Everett, who had been one of the chief opponents of the scheme, and was closely in sympathy with the seceders of 1829 and 1835, subscribed twenty pounds sterling, and burned fourteen hundred copies of a pamphlet of his, entitled "The Disputants," in which he had fiercely assailed it. At a meeting in Newcastle he publicly avowed his change of opinion and his full approval of the institution.

The sum of £72,000 was assigned to the Theological Institution, which was divided into a north and south building, the first situated at Richmond Hall, near London, the other in Lancashire, between Manchester and Stockport. Another large sum of £70,000 was devoted to the Missionary Society, for which an



RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY FOWLER, G. C. S. I., M. P.,

British Cabinet Minister; son of the Rev. Joseph Fowler; born, 1830; appointed under-Secretary of the Home Department, 1884, and Secretary of India, 1894.

MISS ELLEN THORNEYCROFT FOWLER,
st daughter of Sir Henry Fowler; writer of "Con·
ning Isabel Carnaby," "A Double Thread," etc.

MISS EDITH HENRIETTA FOWLER,
Sister of Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler; writer of
"A Corner of the West," etc.

quate mission-house was secured in heart of the great city; and a mis- ıary ship was purchased and equipped three years' service. Schools and ɔol-masters in Ireland received £5,000, a like sum was devoted to a Cente- y Memorial Chapel in Dublin. The sion debt and mission chapels re- 'ed the liberal allowance of £16,000; equal sum was devoted to the relief ɔutworn ministers and of ministers' ows; £40,000 went to the help of t-burdened chapels, £5,000 to the sleyan Education Fund, and £1,000 he British and Foreign Bible Society. ɜum of £5,700 was also set apart to clear off a debt that rested upon the Woodhouse Grove estate, where a school had been established some thirty years before for the education of ministers' sons. The grand total reached the magnificent sum of £222,589.

After the enthusiasm of the centenary celebration was over, an era of captious criticism returned. An anonymous volume of "Wesleyan Takings," being caricatures, more or less bitter and offensive, of leading characters in the denomination, set things in a ferment, and caused needless trouble to sensitive and conscientious men. In the years 1846, 1847, and 1848 this was followed by a series of

REV. JAMES MACDONALD,

A Wesleyan Methodist preacher; born in Enniskillen, Ireland, in 1763; died in 1833. Father of Rev. George B. MacDonald, and grandfather of Rev. Fred. W. MacDonald; grandfather of Lady Burne-Jones; great-grandfather of Sir Philip Burne-Jones; grandfather of Lady Poynter; grandfather of Mr. John Lockwood Kipling, and great-grandfather of Rudyard Kipling.

anonymous tracts named "Fly-Sheets," which, under the guise of opposing a dangerous tendency toward centralization present in the Church, invaded private sanctities and indulged in deplorable personalities. Previous efforts in this department were far outdone; and when, in 1848, these sheets were printed in a collected volume, and became generally accessible to the laity, the effects were disastrous.

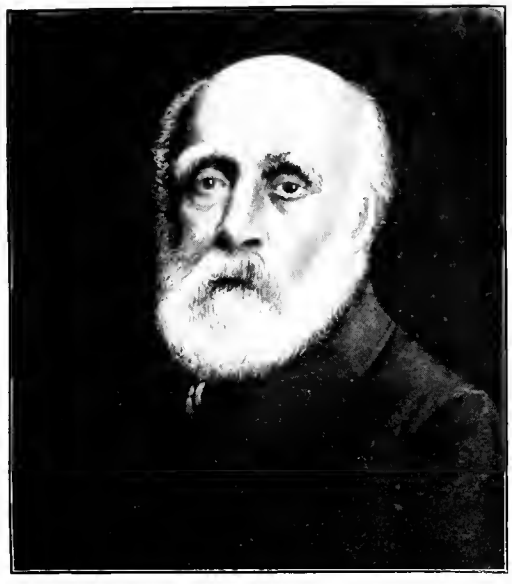
The predominant influence of Dr. Jabez Bunting, who towered head and shoulders above all the brethren, was an element that appeared a matter of regret to many worthy men in the Church. That he could carry almost anything he desired by means of the great majority who believed intensely in his leadership, was undoubted; yet on several occasions his known opponents had been chosen for the presidency and other leading appointments. When in 1844 he occupied the chair for the fourth time, three important measures to which he was confessedly opposed, were approved in Conference. After all, his predominance was of an inoffensive nature, the result of inherent qualities of leadership.

The authorship of the offensive "Takings" and "Fly-Sheets" and other satires was traced to James Everett, whose two coadjutors were Samuel Dunn and William Griffith. Mr. Dunn, as editor of a publication named *The Wesley Banner*, was accused by the Nottingham and Derby district of endangering the peace of the Church and aspersing the character of ministers; and was ordered to suspend its publication. Mr. Griffith who refused to state whether he had contributed to the "Fly-Sheets," to *The Wesley Banner* or to *The Wesley Times* was expelled from the connexion along with him. Everett was also expelled.

Then began a period of agitation, resembling civil war, within the Church. The members who sympathized with the expelled brethren raised the cry of "No Secession" and "No Supplies," and demanded reforms in church methods which virtually meant the change of

REV. GEORGE B. MACDONALD,

A Wesleyan Methodist preacher, son of the Rev. James MacDonald, grandfather of Rudyard Kipling.



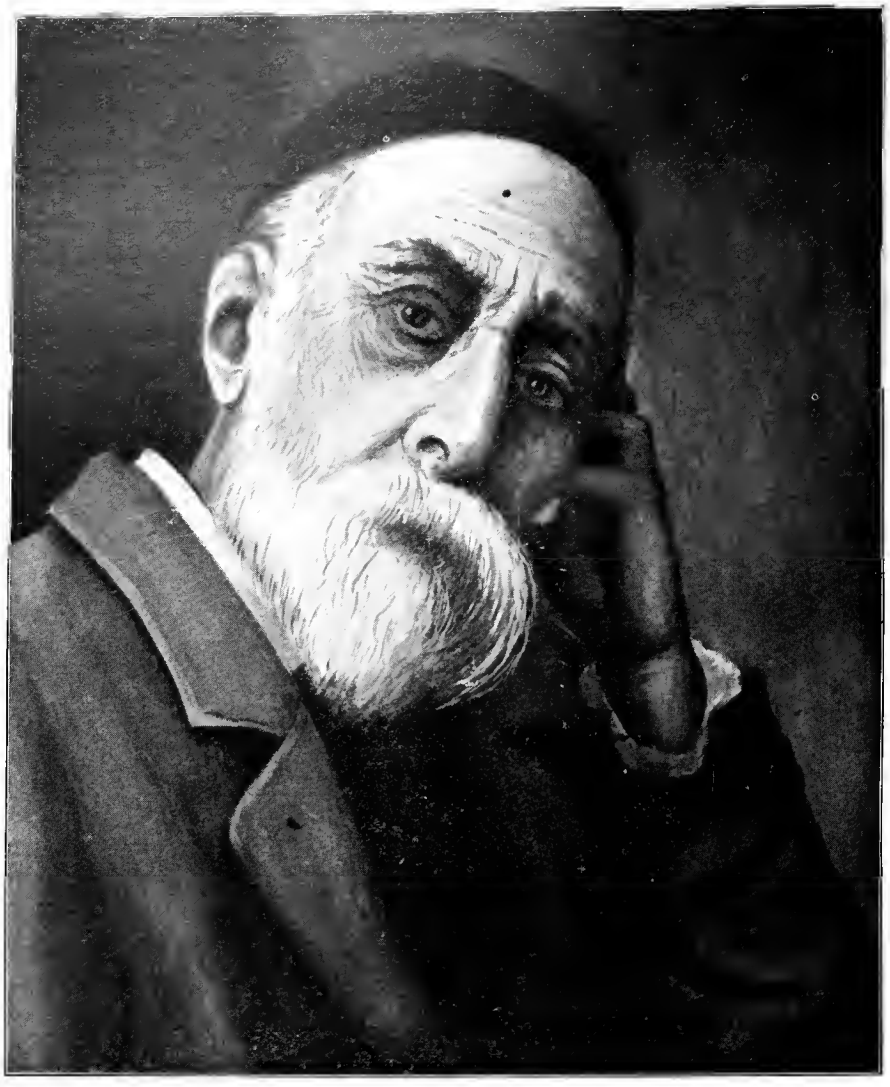
J. LOCKWOOD KIPLING, C. I. E.,
Eldest son of the Rev. Joseph Kipling a Methodist minister, and father of Rudyard Kipling.

the connexion into a loose independent organization. Mr. Griffith, indeed, who continued to be a pastor in Derby for nearly thirty years, was forcibly described as a Methodist Independent minister. Mr. Dunn and others of his supporters finally joined the Independents. These were ruinous days for the church membership. Thousands were lost in certain particular circuits, and the grand total of decrease rose in 1851 to over fifty-six thousand. This depressing diminution shrank to twenty thousand in the following year, and by 1856 a reaction had set in. In the year 1860 the net increase exceeded seventeen thousand.

The total loss in these years of shrinkage was in great measure a loss to the Christian community. But a portion of it was found among the seceders who joined the Wesleyan Methodist Association, which was merged in the United Methodist Free Churches. The plan of this body differed from that of the New Connexion or the Primitive Methodists, in granting no decisive jurisdiction to Conference. The connexional principle was, indeed, modified by the congregational, and that mark of the Methodist system, the itineracy, was made optional. At the union in 1857 the total membership of the organization was forty-one thousand, a number which had risen in 1887 to eighty-four thousand.

This trying period of the Reform agitation was not allowed to pass by without the adoption of certain well-considered modifications. It was resolved, in 1851, to define more clearly the proper constitution of a Quarterly Meeting; to provide a Special Circuit Meeting in which an accused member or local officer might be tried; to limit the disciplinary power of trustees who might happen to be serving on more than one chapel; to reaffirm the right of appeal from local church-meetings to the Conference; and to make it easier for circuits to memorialize Conference on connexional subjects. No such memorials, however, were to infringe the fundamental doctrines or discipline of Methodism, or to interfere with the local affairs of a neighboring circuit. These regulations having been duly sent down

SIR E. J. POYNTER, K. B.,
President of the Royal Academy, London.



G. F. WATTS, R. A.,
The celebrated painter; grandson of Dr. Adam Clarke.

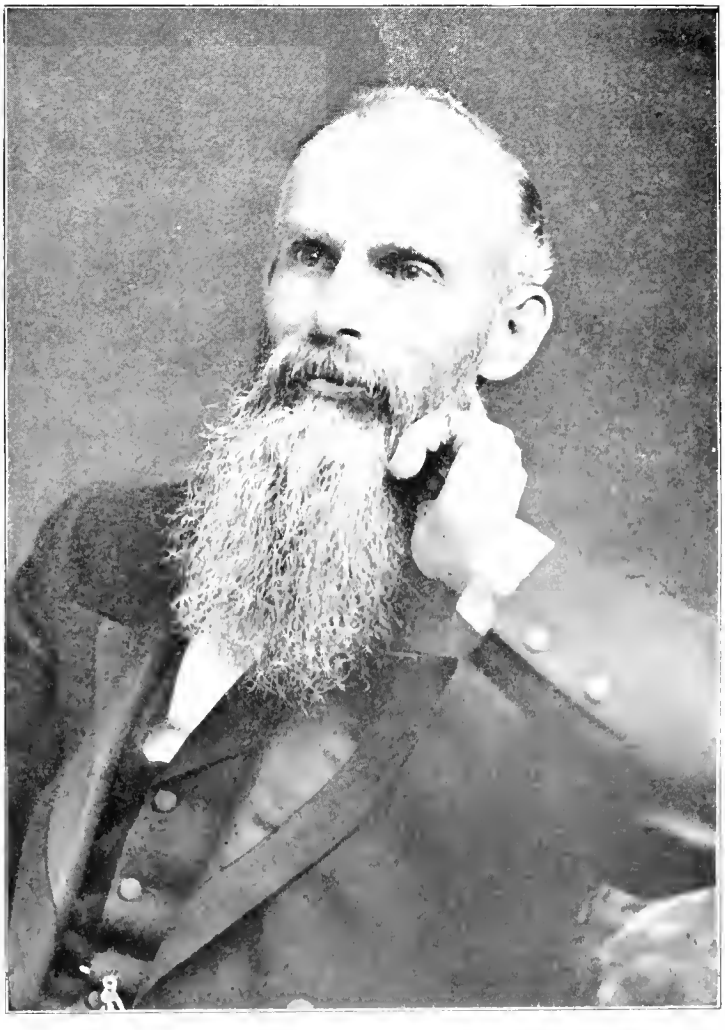
to the quarterly meetings, and having received their approbation, were confirmed by the Conference of 1853.

The great career of Jabez Bunting came to an end in the year 1858, when he was laid to sleep in the City-road burying-ground, beside the other fathers of Methodism. Many regretted that so accomplished a man left so few written memorials behind him. With the exception of his own sermon, "Justification by Faith," and the editing of Benson's sermons, he prepared nothing for publication. His devotion to the immediate needs of the connexion left him but little time, as he remarked, for other pursuits. But his influence remained in the hearts of men. The exquisite hymns of James Montgomery, who attended his ministrations whenever he could, owe much to his inspiration. It is remarkable that the best-known lines ever written by Montgomery, those beginning "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire," deal with this sacred influence; and that Bunting was uniquely gifted in prayer. His audiences were spellbound when he prayed; "it seemed," remarked one, "as if heaven was opened. . . . My soul was melted before the

Lord." James Calvert, when he returned from his labors in Fiji, and was attending the Conference for the first time, wrote to a friend that "Doctor Bunting's prayer was agony." Bunting's career was singularly disturbed by the clashing of warfare, and few leaders have had to bear the brunt of so much keen antagonism; but in many of the issues involved he was absolutely justified in the cause he upheld, and his real greatness rises above all the petty dust that was raised around him.

The only contemporary of Bunting's who could at all vie with him in influence was Robert Newton, who was called to fill the president's chair on four different occasions. Born in Yorkshire, that home of preachers, in 1780, he became a lay helper at eighteen. His success as a preacher was remarkable. A sign of his power was his ability to raise money for religious and charitable purposes. No one in the Church gathered so much for the cause of missions. In 1840 he became favorably known in the United States, through the address he delivered as representative to the General Conference of that year. His death took place in 1854. Other distinguished names also call for mention.

The public career of James Dixon, which began in the year 1812, is inseparably connected with the history of Wesleyan Methodism. He was a native of Leicestershire, where he was born in the year 1788. It was some time before his remarkable gifts became evident; and a visit he paid to Gibraltar was considered unsuccessful. Thereafter he gradually won fame, until in 1841 he was elected president of the Conference. Six years later he crossed the Atlantic to act as president in Canada; and his appearance at the Pittsburgh General Conference of 1848 attracted favorable comment. The impressions he formed in these capacities were embodied in his well-known work, "Methodism in America." For fifty years he was a familiar figure on platforms, and a power in the nation. Owing to failure in sight, he retired from active work in 1862; and, after eleven years of retirement at Bradford,



REV. SILAS K. HOCKING.

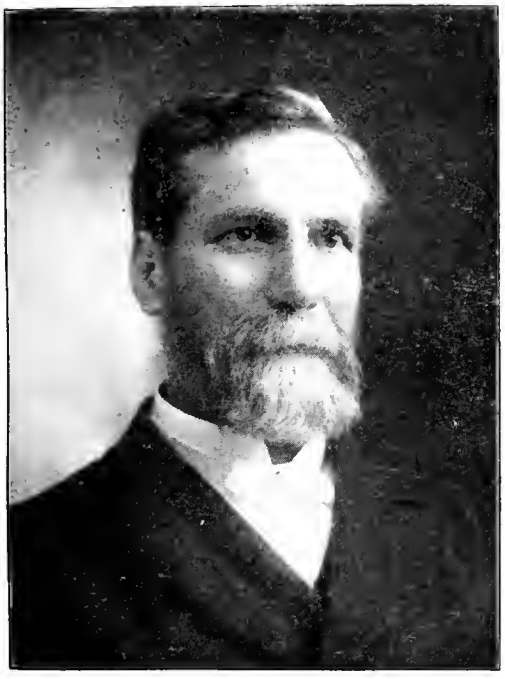
The celebrated writer; ordained minister in the Methodist Free Church, 1870; author of "Her Bennie," "In Spite of Fate," etc.

in Yorkshire, he passed away at the ripe age of eighty-three. Like Doctor Hannah, he left a distinguished son behind him, but both the younger Dixon and the younger Hannah rose to eminence, not in the organization which fostered them, but in the Established Church. Doctor Dixon was one of the main agents in the founding of the *London Quarterly Review*, which found later so capable an editor in Doctor Watkinson.

SILAS HOCKING'S HOUSE, HIGHGATE, LONDON.

The name of Dr. John Hannah also forms a bond between English and American Methodism. Born of humble parents in the ancient cathedral city of Lincoln, he yet obtained a good knowledge of ancient and modern languages and of mathematics. He early became an itinerant preacher in Lincolnshire, and, when twenty years of age, became so interested in foreign missions that he almost started with Dr. Thomas Coke for India. At the General Conference held in Baltimore in 1824, though quite a young man, he formed part of the British delegation. From 1834 his chief work consisted in preparing candidates for the ministry at Hoxton, Stoke Newington, and Didsbury. In 1842 and 1851 he was elected president of the Conference; and in 1856 he crossed the Atlantic with Doctor Jobson to Indianapolis, to represent his denomination at the Indianapolis Conference. Eleven years later he closed, at Didsbury, a career of singular dignity and usefulness.

Frederick James Jobson was a notable leader among the Wesleyan Methodists of his day. His early years were spent in an architect's office at Norwich, but in 1834, when twenty-two years of age, he joined the ministry, and soon won for himself a name as a pulpit force. Beginning his preaching career in Yorkshire, he moved



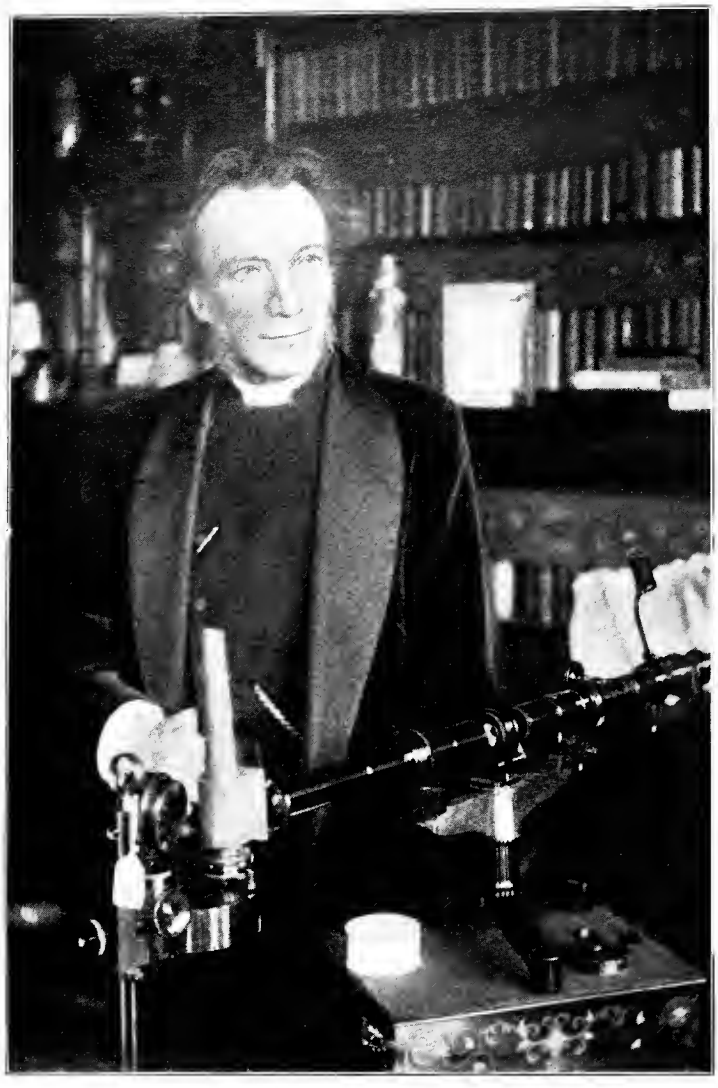
BISHOP CHARLES B. GALLOWAY,
Fraternal delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the British Wesleyan Conferences of 1892.

thence to Manchester, and later became assistant at the famous City-road Chapel. Here he remained for nine years. He has left his mark upon several of the leading institutions of the denomination, notably the Gothic pile at Westminster, housing the Normal Training College, the new Kingswood College at Bath, and the Theological Institution at Richmond. He became known to Americans through his appearance as delegate, along with Dr. John Hannah, at the General Conference which met in 1856 at Indianapolis, and he embodied his impressions in a work entitled "America and American Methodists," published in the following year. From 1864 onward he acted as book steward of the Wesleyan Methodist organization and as editor of the *Methodist Magazine* in London. In 1869 he was elected president of the Church. His death took place twelve years later.

First and foremost among all Methodist pulpit and platform orators of the nineteenth century—a speaker unrivaled, perhaps, since the days of Whitefield—was the Yorkshireman, William Morley Punshon. His words found a ready entrance not only among the humble and the uncultured, but among the refined and the intellectual. For over thirty years he was at the very heart of English Methodism.

Born at Doncaster in the year 1823, of sound Methodist stock, he was carefully brought up; and at fourteen years of age he entered a commercial house. The death of his much-loved mother brought up a religious change, and deepened his whole being, spiritual and intellectual. Beginning to preach at the age of sixteen, he was soon eagerly sought after by crowds of admirers. After preparing for the ministry in the Richmond Theological Institute, he entered upon circuit work in Kent, at Newcastle, and in his native county of Yorkshire. His fame as a preacher reached the ears of religious people in the metropolis, and he

BISHOP JOHN W. HAMILTON,
Fraternal delegate to the British Wesleyan Conferences of 1898.



REV. WILLIAM HENRY DALLINGER, D. C. L., F. R. S.
The celebrated biologist; born at Devonport, 1841; entered Methodist ministry, 1881; Principal of Wesley College, 1880.

was called to speak at the great annual May missionary meeting. Henceforth, on the platform at Exeter Hall and in church pulpit, he won triumphs as a lecturer. The fruits of these lectures went to noble objects, and dozens of Wesleyan chapels were indirectly indebted to him for their construction, enlargement or relief from financial burdens. This lecturing work was extended to the western continent, and he both worthily gained and worthily spent on the other side of the Atlantic large sums of money gained by platform efforts.

In 1867 began his five years' occupancy of the post of president of the Canadian Conference. His first official appearance in the United States was at Chicago in 1868, when he represented British Methodism at the General Conference. Four years later, in Brooklyn, he appeared as representative of the Canadian Methodist Church. On this visit he preached on Sunday to an audience of four thousand people. Henry Ward Beecher and Gavazzi, the great Italian, happened to speak in the same city on the same day; and men who heard all three were of opinion that Punshon surpassed the others. His effect upon American audiences was electrical; and tempting offers to leading pulpits came to him from several churches in the United States. But he returned to his quiet church in Kensington. After serving as president of the Conference, he was elected missionary secretary, an office which he held until the close of his life. In the adoption of lay representation by the Conference of 1876 he took a prominent part.

The last connexional movement in which he took a prominent part was the effort to raise one million dollars to clear off the debt on missions. His yeoman service helped not a little to the triumphant success of the movement. Not only was the million reached, but another half million was added to it. Ill-health, aggravated by a succession of domestic sorrows, threw a gloom over his later years. Early in 1881, while visiting the north of Italy, he fell dangerously ill, and was brought home to die.

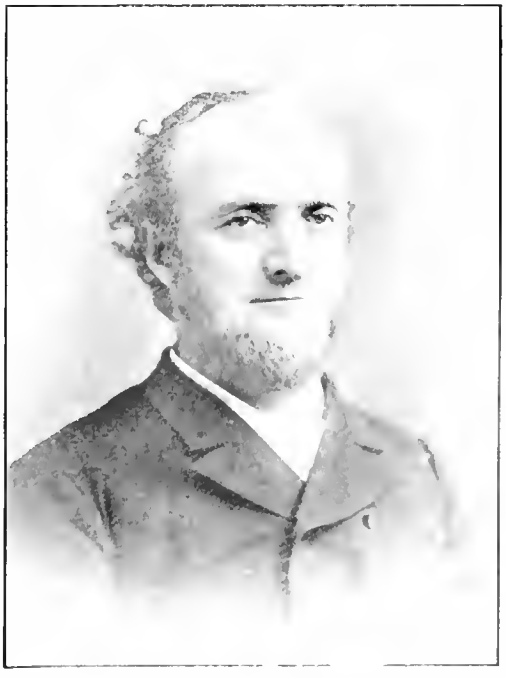
"The entire Church," remarked the great Spurgeon, "laments its grievous bereavement. He who stood foremost as a standard-bearer is fallen. Yet, thank God, he is taken from us without a spot on his escutcheon."

Dr. James H Rigg, who ranks to-day as the Nestor of British Methodism, began to make his reputation in the early fifties. Entering the ministry in 1845, when twenty-four years of age, he early became a contributor to periodical literature, being associated first with the *British Review*, and then with the *London Quarterly Review*. In 1850 appeared his "Principles of Wesleyan Methodism." He has since published the most elaborate work in existence on popular education; a subject in which he has gained a national reputation. In 1868 he became principal of the Westminster Normal School; and was elected a member of the first London school board.

In the year 1857 there took place at Rochdale, England, a union of several of the broken fragments of Methodism. The resulting organization, under the name of The United Methodist Free Churches, represented five bodies: the Protestant Methodists who had seceded in 1828 during the trouble over the Leeds organ case; the Arminian Methodists of Derby, Leicester, and Redditch; the Welsh Independent Methodists; the Wesleyan Methodist Association, which seceded in 1835, when discussion arose over the founding of theological schools; and the Wesleyan Reformers who left in 1849, because of sympathy with Everett, Dunn, and Griffith, who had been expelled from the Wesleyan Conference. The body now ranks third in number among English Methodists, with four hundred ministers and ninety thousand adherents.

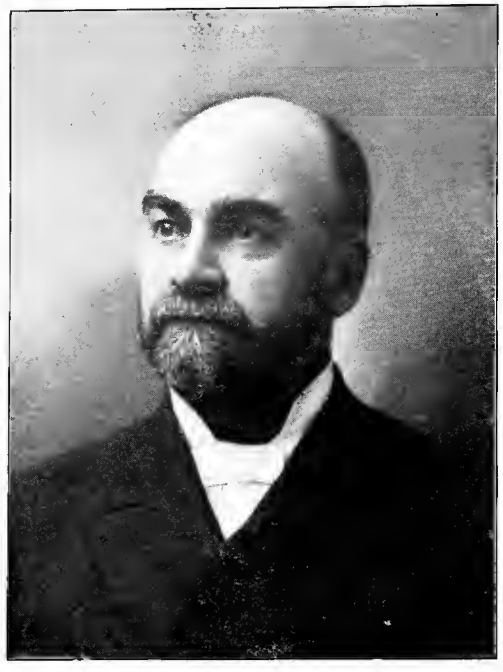
A like coalition took place in Ireland in the year 1878, when the Primitive Methodists, who had organized themselves sixty years before, united with the parent body. The Irish Conference, although a separate body, is very closely affiliated with the English Conference. The chairman of the Irish Conference is a representative of the English Wesleyan Conference, and ten of the Irish ministers are members of the legal hundred.

The year 1878 was signalized by the adoption of a new order of things in Conference, by which the old ministerial element in the membership was qualified by an equal number of lay delegates. This difficult and delicate process, which had been under immediate consideration for several years, was happily effected without any heart-burnings or secessions. The advance was made in a conservative fashion, with due regard to the interests of all concerned. It necessitated the division of the Conference into the Pastoral and the Representative. All economical and financial business was assigned to the mixed representative



BISHOP C. H. FOWLER.

Fraternal delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church to the British Wesleyan Conferences of 1898.



BISHOP E. R. HENDRIX,
Fraternal delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the British Wesleyan Conferences of 1900.

session, while matters pertaining to the strictly pastoral province were reserved for the pastoral session. No voting by orders, such as holds elsewhere, was permitted. It was only in cases—hard to define with precise accuracy, and purposely left within broad lines—where the essential peace and purity of the Church is concerned, that the pastoral session was expected to act alone.

This grand development was not allowed to pass without appropriate celebration. During the two years, from 1878 to 1880, the generosity of the people was tested, with a result that proved most inspiriting. A grand total of nearly three hundred thousand pounds was raised, which at once cleared off the loads of debt on the Foreign Missionary Society, the Home Mission Fund, the Education Fund, and other hard-pressed institutions. The whole financial machinery of the Church was strengthened and toned up.

Next year there took place at London the first great Ecumenical Methodist Conference, one of those gatherings with which the world had become familiar since the Pan-Anglican Synod of 1867, and the Pan-Presbyterian Council which followed later. As a representative gathering, the Methodist Conference far surpassed either. Delegates came together from different sections of the British Isles, from the great territory of the United States, from Canada, the West Indies, South America, Australia and Africa, from six of the continental nations of Europe, and from India, China and other of the great mission fields of Asia. They represented churches with a registered membership of nearly five millions, and an attendance approaching twenty-five millions. To deliver the opening sermon at this epoch-making assembly, in the City-road Chapel, London, Bishop Matthew Simpson was chosen, who had, on several previous visits, shown how securely he could appeal to an English audience. As representative of his Church at the Conference held in 1870 at Burslem, he had kept his hearers spell-bound; and this was a much more sacredly historic spot, and a more momentous gathering.

No spot is so rich with memories to devout Methodists. Entering the open court that leads to the chapel, the visitor passes on the right the house where John Wesley breathed his last. On the left, behind the parsonage occupied by the preacher of the City-road Chapel circuit, is the room where the godly Joseph Benson wrote his Commentary. The pulpit of the chapel is itself a hallowed relic; for it is the same that was used by Wesley himself when thousands hung spell-bound on his lips. In the humble graveyard at the back rest the mortal remains of the great founder; and of that prince in Israel, Adam Clarke, and of many other Methodist notables.

The neighborhood is also redolent with hallowed memories. Across the street from City-road lies the cemetery known as Bunhill Fields, which contains the graves of John Bunyan, greatest of Christian allegorists; of Isaac Watts, the father of modern church hymnary, and of that mother in Israel, the great and good Susannah Wesley.

The Conference had been definitely planned so far back as 1876, when it was urged on behalf of such a scheme that it would give a great impulse to the cause of temperance and of Sabbath observance, to Sunday-schools, and to all the beneficent activities of the Church. Happily the response was cordial. The gathering was conducted in a thoroughly eclectic spirit. British Methodism was represented in the chair by four denominations: the Wesleyan, the Methodist New Connexion, the United Methodist Free Churches, and the Primitive Methodist; the United States by representatives from the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Protestant Church; and the Methodist Church of Canada by one of its representatives.

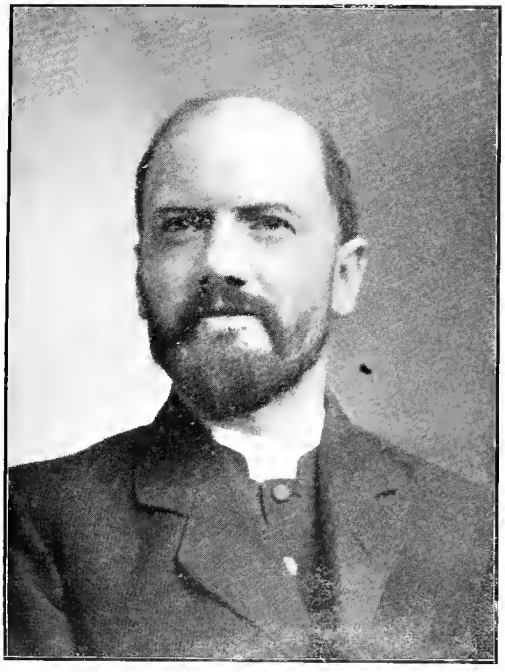
After the opening sermon by Bishop Simpson, the opening address was delivered by Doctor Osborn, the president of the Wesleyan Conference for that year. The Rev. Dr. George Osborn, D. D., was a veteran Wesleyan minister of over fifty years' standing. His career began in 1829, and for twenty-two years he traveled some of the most important circuits. In 1851 he became one of the secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, a post which he held for seventeen years. His first call to the presidency of the Conference was in the year 1863. After giving up the secretaryship he became associated, as theological tutor, with Richmond College. In the departments of theology and church law he enjoyed a unique reputation. Of the four hundred delegates, hardly a score were absent at the sessions, and these only such as were prevented by providential circumstances. The second day was devoted to the "Recognition of the Hand of God in the Origin and Progress of Methodism." Thereafter the following subjects were discussed in this eventful fortnight: "The Evangelical Agencies of Methodism," "Methodism and the Young," "The Lord's Day and Temperance," "Possible Perils of Methodism," "Education," "The Use of the Press," "Home and Foreign Missions," and "Christian Unity."

The last-named subject received a striking practical illustration. Never before, perhaps, in history had members of the negro race been treated by so representative a gathering with such courtesy and deference. The Methodist Church, South, was certainly not behindhand in these marks of friendship. The senior superintendent of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was, on September seventeenth, placed in the chair of the Con-

REV. W. H. FITCHETT,
Of Melbourne, Australia, the celebrated author and editor.

ference, and no delegate found fault with the committee's choice. Other colored members read essays, or, by invitation, delivered addresses; and they took a free part in the discussions. Outside of the hall they were treated with marked consideration by the best and most exclusive Methodists of the metropolis.

The Conference did a great work in promoting future co-operation between Great Britain and America. The wasteful and needless competition which was



REV. F. R. SMITH,
Popularly known as *John Ackworth;* author of "Doxie Dent," and other stories.

often witnessed in the foreign mission field came in for criticism, and the committee appointed to report upon the matter made some excellent suggestions, recommending a fraternal spirit and mutual forbearance, and deprecating the desire for denominational aggrandizement. An address to Methodists over the world, prepared by Bishop Peck, was sanctioned and issued by the Conference, and has been widely read. After a fortnight's *sederunt*, it came to a close on September the twentieth.

The world-wide Salvation Arm sprang out of the loins of Methodisn Its founder and leader, William Bootl was a native of Nottingham. Aft studying theology with the Rev. Willia Cooke, D. D., he became a minister the Methodist New Connexion, and w appointed to hold special evangelist services. Eleven years later, when tl Conference desired him to settle in tl ordinary circuit work, he considered his duty to resign, and immediately b gan his labors as an unfettered evange ist. Coming to the east end of Londor he observed that the people there ha ceased altogether the habit of churcl going, and he started, in 1865, "Th Christian Mission." Thirteen year later, when it was reorganized upon mi itary lines, he gave it the name of "Th Salvation Army."

The Primitive Methodist ranks to-da as the largest of all the bodies that hav sprung from the parent stem. Beside its training college for ministers Manchester, it has colleges for youtl at York and Birmingham, and an o phanage at Abresford. It has estal lished missions in South, West and Cer tral Africa, with a training college fc native evangelists in the first of thes places. It is also represented in Sout Australia, Queensland, and New Zea land.

The trend of Methodism in Englan during the latter half of the nineteent century has been on the whole conserv ative. The people have clung closely t the class-meetings, with all the heav responsibilities the association demands and the result has been to chill off man of the less ardent adherents. The ad vance in numbers has not kept pace wit the general increase in population. Th Wesleyan Methodist Church, in th forty years from 1851 to 1900, increase in numbers from three hundred an

WILLIAM BOOTH,
General of the Salvation Army.

MRS. BOOTH,
Wife of the General.

two thousand to four hundred and eighty thousand; while the number of the ordained itinerants advanced in the same time from twelve hundred to two thousand one hundred and fifty. Gradually the Legal Hundred, while remaining nominally the fountain of power, has been supplanted by the Conference, which introduced lay representation in 1876. This popular change was followed in 1877 by the significant admission of reporters to its sessions. The Church has now four theological colleges, at Richmond, Handsworth, Didsbury, and Leeds; and if, at the beginning of the century, it could boast of a scholar like Adam Clarke, it has now many men of equal caliber. The name of Dr. W. H. Dallinger, that prince among biologists, is sufficient of itself to take away from the organization any stigma of unscholarliness. After twelve years' in the ministry, Doctor Dallinger served as governor of Wesley College, Sheffield, for fifteen years. Since then he has been devoting himself to original research.

Another intellectual and social leader in modern British Wesleyanism, is Dr. William Watkinson, the accomplished editor of the *London Quarterly Review*. Like so many notable Wesleyans, he hails from Yorkshire, having been born at Hull in the year 1838. His Fernley lecture, "On the Influence of Skepticism in Character," has passed through several editions. In the year 1894 he began the "Life Indeed" series.

A liberal reaction has set in during the past quarter of a century, its moving force being the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes. By birth a Welshman, he possesses the perfervid genius of the race. His father was a surgeon, active in local affairs, in Carmarthen. After receiving a private education, he attended University College, London, and the Richmond Theological College; and thereafter filled appointments as preacher in various localities. In the eighties began his association with mission work in London, which has received the name of the "Forward Movement." Believing firmly that the example of our Lord must be followed in business, pleasure and pol-

itics as well as in prayer-meetings and the sacraments, he has promoted active sociological enterprises. In 1889 appeared his "Social Christianity," which has passed through several editions; and, a year later, "The Philanthropy of God." In 1885 he became editor of *The Methodist Times*, of which he made a conspicuous success. He was president of the Conference in the year 1898. With him in this London Wesleyan Mission has been associated the Rev. Mark Guy Pearse, whose incomparable little book, "Daniel Quorm and His Religious Notions," published in 1874, at once won for him enduring celebrity. In the pulpit and on the platform he is also a power. One of the henchmen of Hughes and Pearse in their "Forward Movement" is Perry Bunting, grandson of the great church leader.

A fitting close to this chapter is found in a short account of the closing Conference of the nineteenth century. This took place at Burslem, in the county of Staffordshire, the center of the district known as "the Potteries," and associated with the production of the exquisite Wedgewood ware. The church leader chosen as president was Thomas Allen, a native of the district, who had served for years as pastor of the students' church at Handsworth.

Some important changes in the ecclesiastical methods were effected. It was decided to alter the order of the sessions; and to appoint a special minister for the Wesley Guild, which had grown very rapidly. Laymen were, for the first time, associated with ministers in the management of the Book-Room. The Foreign Missionary Board had to report unfavorable conditions in India, where famine was raging; in the West Indies, where there was much distress, and in Africa and China. The committee appointed to consider the question of reconstructing the Theological Institution, so that students might have opportunities for more advanced studies, asked for time for further deliberation.

The numerical returns showed a net increase in church members for the year of over five thousand; and the Epworth League, which had in the same time added over a hundred to the number of its guilds, also counted an addition to its membership of nearly five thousand.

With the new century there will begin a new method of electing the president. Hitherto the Conference has waited until it met before appointing its head; a system very unfavorable to the presentation on his part of a weighty address. At the Burslem Conference two presidents were elected, one to serve in the 1900 meeting, the other a year hence at Newcastle. The Rev. W T. Davidson, D. D., who was chosen for the 1901 Conference, and who will have the additional responsibility of taking a leading part in the Ecumenical Conference of that year, is not unknown in the United States, where he has served as a delegate. He is a man of high scholarship, and an unusually powerful and convincing preacher. The third Ecumenical Conference, which will meet in Wesley's Chapel, London, on the fourth day of September, has a significant year for its assembling. It will give the key-note to Methodism in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER XXX.

METHODISM AND THE HIGHER EDUCATION

THE Methodist college in the United States which claims to be the oldest of the kind in existence is Dickinson College, situated at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. It was founded in the year 1783, but during the first half century of its existence was not under distinctive Methodist influence. The name comes from the enlightened patriot John Dickinson, Governor of Pennsylvania, who subscribed liberally to its funds. Almost more its founder than he, was Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, who wisely directed its interests for a quarter of a century. By the first articles of charter, it was provided that one-third of the trustees should be clergymen, but not of any particular denomination. The control fell naturally into the hands of the Presbyterians, who took most immediate interest in its welfare; and the first president was a Presbyterian, Doctor Nesbit, a Scotch divine of marked ability. Able as were the trustees, and conspicuous for ability as were many of the instructors, the institution had neverthless to pass through many ups and downs. Among its graduates it numbered such men as Chief-Justice Taney, President Buchanan, and Judges Gibson and Grier.

Finally in 1833 the college was transferred to the Baltimore Conference, which took the Philadelphia Conference into partnership, and a new board of trustees was appointed, selected by these Conferences. Its first head was John Price Durbin, a Kentuckian, born in the closing year of the previous century, who was at the time editor of *The Christian Advocate*, of New York. The election was unanimously approved, and Durbin showed himself worthy of the honor. For the next eleven years, during which he visited Europe and the East, and published a volume of observations, he administered the duties of the college with much ability. A great and trusted church leader, Doctor Durbin was particularly successful as a college president. He was succeeded by Dr. Robert Emory, who had acted for him during his travels in the East, but whose health was precarious. At his early and lamented death in 1848, he was succeeded by Jesse Truesdell Peck, who, after a long scholastic career, became a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Doctor Peck served for only four years, and was succeeded by Doctor Collins, under whom, in 1855, the college reached its maximum attendance of two hundred and forty-five. During the war it suffered a great loss in numbers, inasmuch as it drew many patrons from Maryland, Virginia, and the South; but the presence of so large a number of its *alumni* in both armies led to its perfect immunity from the calamities and depredations of war. It has since resumed its old prosperity, and sent out prominent men into Church and State.

Allegheny College, in Pennsylvania, which has given one president to the United States, became in 1833 a Methodist institution. For the previous thirteen years it was in Presbyterian hands, having been founded in 1820 by a Harvard graduate, Dr. Timothy Alden. But adverse circumstances proved too strong even for his indomitable spirit, and in 1831 it was closed. Under the new *régime*, with Dr. Martin Ruter as president, it entered upon a career of prosperity. Ruter's "Church History" was for many years a standard work, found in the hands of nearly every Methodist preacher.

PROFESSOR G. W. CLARK,
Of Allegheny College.

From 1837 to 1839 Matthew Simpson was professor of natural science in the institution. A visible memorial of its first president, who died in 1838, remains in the building known as Ruter Hall, erected in 1855, and subscribed for by the citizens of Meadville.

In the year 1870 the college entered upon a new phase of its existence, by admitting young women as students, a step taken mainly through the influence of Dr. A. B. Hyde, now professor of Greek in the University of Denver, and well known as author of "The Story of Methodism." The subsequent career of the institution has been singularly prosperous. Among the notable *alumni* and former students are President McKinley, Senator W B. Allison, and Bishop Thoburn, of India.

The death of Dr. Stephen Olin in the summer of 1851 was a heavy blow to Christian education. Olin was both a philosopher and a preacher, but above all he was the born head of a university. "We do not hesitate to express our conviction," states the Rev. Dr. Wightman, "that, with the pre-eminent qualifications he possessed for influencing young men, for wielding aright the potential instrumentalities belonging to the professor's chair, aided by the power which gave his sermons a baptism of fire when occasionally he was able to preach, Doctor Olin did more for the Church than if he had ever worn a miter. We never knew a professor or president half so idolized by his students." Colossal in physical proportions, he towered equally above his fellows in intellectual and moral qualities.

The founder of De Pauw University was a philanthropic manufacturer, who had succeeded in creating at New Albany the largest establishment in America devoted to the making of plate glass. In his sixtieth year, finding himself a wealthy man, he resolved to devote his wealth to social and religious ends. Washington Charles De Pauw was the second son of General John De Pauw, an American of Huguenot descent. The family originally came, as the name signifies, from Pau, the capital of Navarre, but migrated to Holland during the religious

GRAVE OF REV. E. E. WILEY,
Of Emory and Henry College.

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onization of New Nether-
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ıtic, but he returned to Hol-
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ashington De Pauw came
ross with Lafayette to assist
e patriots of the Revolution.
Brought up amid Methodist
sociations in Indiana, he
d served for years as a trus-
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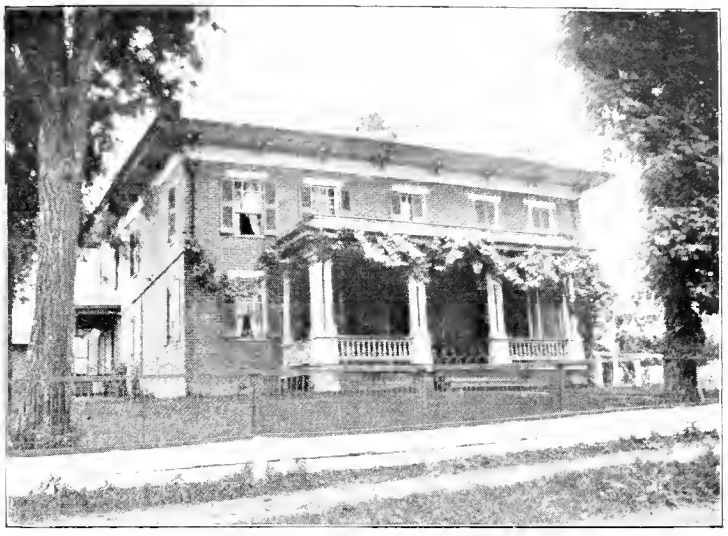
sponded to the stimulus of its rebirth.
ıe new schools of theology and of law



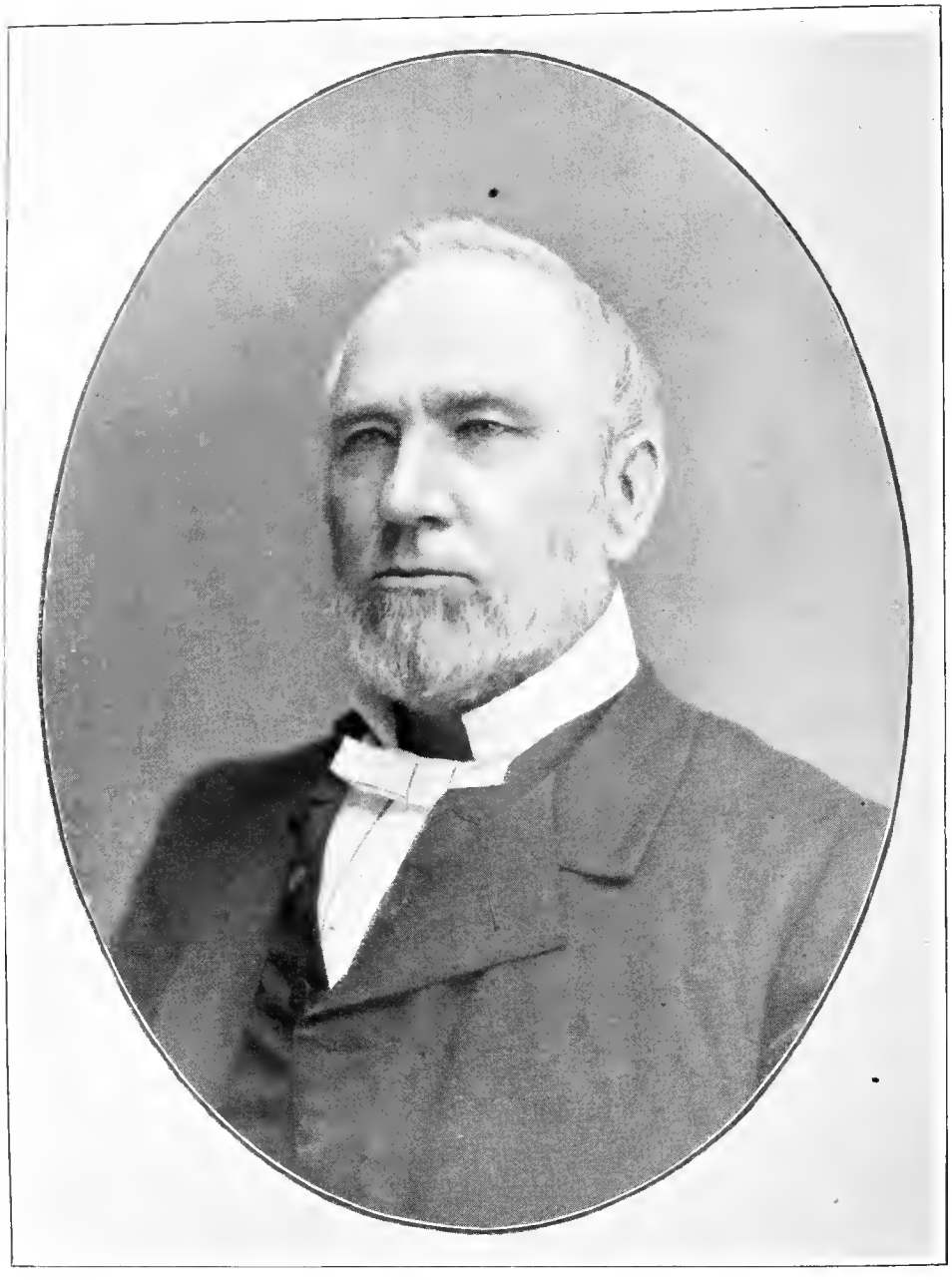
RESIDENCE OF DOCTOR E. E. WILEY,
Emory and Henry College.

at once began to attract students; and æstheticism saw itself well represented in schools of art and music.

Syracuse University, while legally dating only from the year 1870, can trace its origin considerably further back, and claims to be one of the earliest Methodist colleges in New York state. So early as 1849 there was founded at Lima, in that state, a college under the auspices of the Genesee Conference, and bearing its name. Genesee College was open to both sexes, a distinction in which it led the van among colleges. The locality of Lima proving too remote, the very central city of Syracuse was chosen, and the state convention of Methodists which had sanctioned this change resolved on the raising of three hundred thousand dollars to found a first-class university The veteran educator, Dr. Jesse Peck, who occupied the chair, put his name on the list of subscribers with a donation of twenty-five thousand dollars. Later, as president of the board of trustees, he did much to stimulate and organize the movement.

In the following year it opened its doors, and has since had a flourishing career. Dr. E. O. Haven came from the

PROFESSOR JONATHAN HAMNETT,
Of Allegheny College.



BISHOP H. N. McTYEIRE.

Northwestern University in 1874 to be its chancellor, and was succeeded by Dr. C. N. Sims. There are now colleges of liberal arts, medicine, and fine arts; and, in 1887, the library received from a generous lady donor, Mrs. Dr. J. M. Reid, the valuable library of the German historian, Leopold von Ranke. Another lady, Mrs. Harriet Leavenworth, also presented it with the celebrated Wolff collection of engravings, which contains specimens from the great masters of the art in all ages.

The Hamline University, of Minnesota, dates from the year 1854, when Bishop Hamline, in whose honor it was named, gave it a donation of twenty-five thousand dollars. Buildings were erected at Red Wing, and for three years preparatory work was carried on. In 1857, under the presidency of B. F. Crary, of Indiana, the college work was inaugu-

CHARLES F. DEEMS, D. D., LL.D.,
Pastor of the Church of the Strangers, New York.

rated. The financial crisis of 1857, however, which affected Troy and other universities so severely, did not leave Hamline untouched. The institution struggled on in the face of much difficuly until 1869, when it was finally closed.

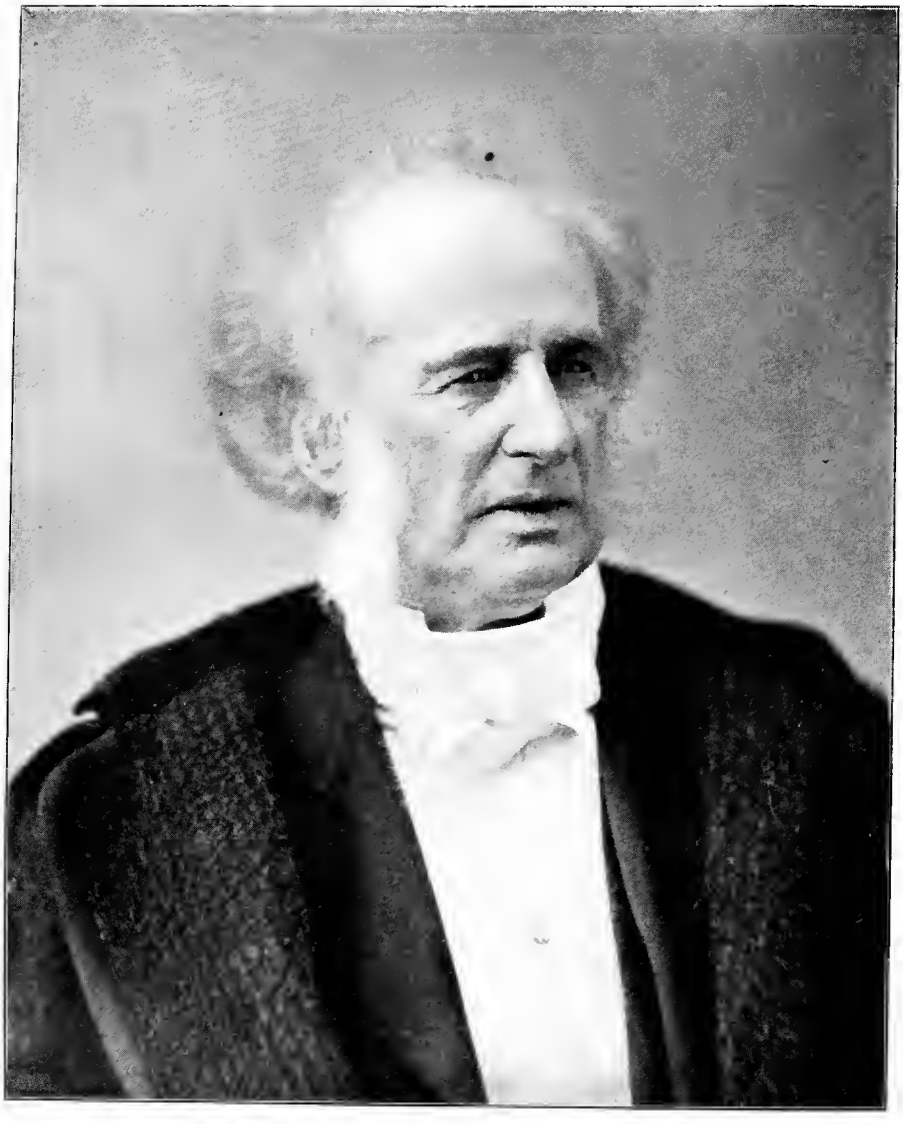
Two years later a movement sprang up to resuscitate the university in a new location. A commanding site midway between the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis was chosen, and a handsome building was erected. The severe financial crisis which soon afterward visited the state told heavily upon the institution; but it weathered the storm, and has now a productive income of a hundred and eighty-four thousand dollars.

REV. DR. H. N. McTYEIRE,
From a portrait taken about 1850.

MRS. H. N. McTYEIRE,
Formerly Miss Amelia Townsend, of Mobile, Alabama a cousin of Miss Frances Crawford, who became Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt.

The University of the Pacific dates from the same period. It received its charter as a university in 1855, absorbing the California Wesleyan College, started three years earlier. The buildings occupy a site east of San Francisco, called College Park, situated midway between Santa Clara and San José.

The University of Southern California, with its headquarters at the fair city of



COMMODORE CORNELIUS VANDERBILT.

Los Angeles, was not founded until a quarter of a century later. It possesses colleges of liberal arts, of theology, of art, of medicine, of music, and of dentistry, and in time, as the landed property which has been bestowed upon it grows in value, will develop into a powerful institution. Two pioneers in mission work in the Far East now hold important positions in its faculty: the Rev. George Cochran, D. D., its president, who for long was located in Japan; and the Rev. R. S. Maclay, dean *emeritus* of the Maclay College of Theology, who also passed a long and honorable career in China and in Japan.

The Iowa Wesleyan University dates from the same year as the University of the Pacific. It superseded, in 1854, the Mount Pleasant Collegiate Institute; and nineteen years later there was founded in connection with it a German college, through the generosity of John Wheeler. The present productive endowment is fifty-five thousand dollars.

The Methodists of the state of Wisconsin were incited to educational activity as early as 1846, by the offer of the Hon.

Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston, who promised ten thousand dollars toward the foundation of a collegiate school, if the people in Wisconsin would contribute an equal sum. The final result was the present Lawrence University, situated at Appleton, Wisconsin, and having a productive endowment of over two hundred thousand dollars. The library received ten thousand dollars from another generous Bostonian, the Hon. Samuel Appleton, and is an excellent working institute. Since 1852, when the first college class, numbering four men and three women, was graduated, the institution has been doing good work.

Baldwin University, which has its location at Berea, Ohio, dates from almost the same year as Lawrence. In the year 1846 the North Ohio Conference received from Mr. John Baldwin some valuable landed property with a building attached. From seminary work, attended by both sexes, it became in 1856 a university, with full chartered privileges; and seven years later its German department, which had been organized for the training of young German candidates for the ministry, began its independent existence as German Wallace University. An attempt made some years later to merge the university in the Ohio Wesleyan was unsuccessful. It continues in active and honorable existence to-day, with a faculty of sixteen, and a productive endowment of nearly ninety thousand dollars.

The great Ohio Wesleyan College, which has now a faculty of eighty-nine and a productive endowment of over six hundred thousand dollars, began its career in the very year of the great church division. Its first president was Dr. Edward Thomson, afterward elected bishop, who, during the long period of sixteen years, discharged his duties with singular success. His successor, Doctor Merrick, proved an able administrator, and to him is chiefly to be ascribed the present financial prosperity of the institution. The handsome Merrick Hall, erected in 1874, contains one of the largest and most complete museums in the West. It perpetuates the name of an educator who deserves to be remembered in the annals of the state and of the country.

Frederick Merrick was born of good Puritan stock at Wilbraham, Massachusetts. Though his family were Congregational, he joined the Methodist Church, and entered the Wesleyan

MRS. CORNELIUS VANDERBILT, *nee* CRAWFORD.

Academy near his home with a view to study for the ministry. He afterward crossed into Connecticut, to continue his studies in the Wesleyan University at Middletown, where he won the favorable attention of Dr. Wilbur Fisk. In his senior year he undertook, with Doctor Fisk's approval, the principalship of the Conference Seminary at Amenia. This

WILLIAM H. VANDERBILT.

was in the year 1836, when he was twenty-six years of age. His success at this post convinced him that teaching, rather than the pastorate, was his vocation. After serving two years at Amenia, he was elected, on the recommendation of Doctor Fisk, to the chair of natural science in the Ohio University, at Athens, where he remained four years. In 1843, after one year of pastoral wor began his long association, lasting ov half a century, with the Ohio Wesleya University, then in its infancy. H served for two years as its agent, for fi teen years as professor, for thirteen yea as president, and, finally, for twenty-o years as professor *emeritus* and lectur on natural and revealed religion. H gave freely of his money as we as of his time and energy; an was singularly successful in ol taining gifts for the institutio The Thomson Chapel and th library are conspicuous instanc of his value as a man of affair Above and beyond this, h Christian character was of s high and noble a type as it stinctively to win respect. Whe he died, in 1894, he left behin him a venerated name.

Albion College, the represen ative institution of Methodis in Michigan, traces its origin t the period when the Ohio Con ference embraced a large part c that state. The corner-stone c an institution known as the Wes leyan Seminary was, after year of delay, laid at Albion in July 1842. In the year 1850 the sem inary received a charter as a col legiate institute for women; an eleven years later assumed it present name of Albion College Its productive endowment nov numbers over two hundred thou sand dollars. During the presidency o Dr. L. R. Fiske, which lasted for twenty years, the college enjoyed singular pros perity.

The remarkable providence which se lected Nashville as the educational hom of Southern Methodism has been relatec elsewhere. The completion of the proc ess followed over a quarter of a century

later, when Vanderbilt University was organized. Its founder, Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, relying in great measure on the judgment of his two friends, Bishop McTyeire and Doctor Deems, chose the Southern Methodists as his beneficiaries, and Nashville as the location for the university which was to bear his name. In 1875 it began its career, with the four departments of theology, liberal arts, law, and medicine; and four years later the department of pharmacy was added. Shortly afterward, Wesley Hall, Science Hall, and the gymnasium rose up on the campus; and, in 1886, an additional donation of thirty thousand dollars provided for the erection of Engineering Hall. The latest addition has been Kissam Hall, the gift of William H. Vanderbilt, which offers a spacious dormitory for the accommodation of academic students. The dedication of this building took place, with great *eclat*, in October, 1900, when the completion of the first quarter of a century of the university's history was celebrated. Representatives from all the leading universities took part in the celebration. Under its two chancellors, Doctors Garland and Kirkland, it has become a center of light.

CORNELIUS VANDERBILT.

WILLIAM K. VANDERBILT.

"The institution," says Doctor Drake, in *The American Illustrated Methodist Magazine* for April, 1900, "has fulfilled the three capital pledges made in the beginning: to give the widest opportunities for study, to enforce the most rigorous thoroughness of method, and to foster the highest type of Christian character. And the results of its work are not confined to its own halls. At the end of the first quarter of a century of its existence it can point to a large number of training schools doing thorough secondary work, which its policy has brought into existence; to an increased thoroughness in the work of southern colleges, to which it has contributed not a little; to its graduates already rising to influence and extended usefulness in various professions; to four hundred graduates of the biblical department, who are active ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at home and in the foreign mis-

sion work; to its teachers, who are carrying everywhere its high standard of scholarship and its enthusiasm for better educational methods."

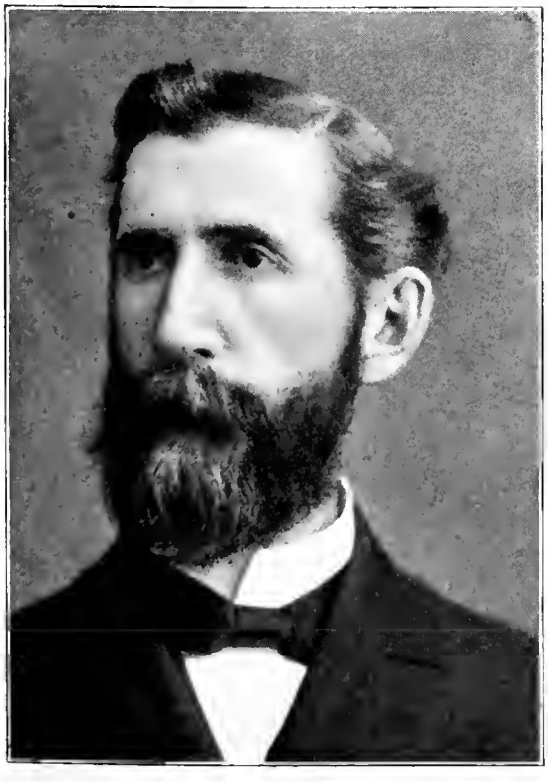
In the year 1880 the University of Denver was founded, the institution growing out of the Colorado Seminary, which was incorporated sixteen years before. Originally located in the heart of the city of Denver, the college moved out in 1892 to an attractive site in the suburbs, where a University Hall had been built. The other departments have remained in the city, with the exception of the Iliff School of Theology, which is housed in the same campus, in a hall that is a gem of architecture. Bishop Moore was for several years president of the institution; and Doctor Buchtel has now taken his place.

JAMES H. KIRKLAND, PH. D.,
Chancellor of Vanderbilt University.

Other colleges claim attention. Cornell College, Iowa, named in honor of one of its chief benefactors, William W. Cornell, of New York city, was founded in the sixties, and has ever since been under the presidency of William F. King. The Central Tennessee College, of which Doctor Braden is president, is located at Nashville; and the U. S. Grant University, in the same state, dating from the year 1865, has its theological school, and its medical, pharmaceutical, and business colleges at Chattanooga, while the undergraduate, normal, and musical courses are conducted at Athens. The name of Bishop Joyce is associated with it as president. The state of Illinois possesses two Wesleyan institutions of the higher grade—the Illinois Wesleyan University, which is under the presidency of W H. Wilder, and Hedding College, of which J. G. Evans is president. The admirably complete Women's College of Baltimore was opened in September, 1888. The first building and its site, costing $165,000, were the gift of John F. Goucher. Other handsome buildings have followed—Bennett Hall and its annex, the Catharine Belle Hooper Hall, and a well-equipped gymnasium. It takes a unique place among institutions of the kind. Central College at Fayette, Missouri; Wofford College at Spartanburg, South Carolina; Millsaps College

at Jackson, Mississippi; Emory and Henry College at Emory, Virginia; the Southern University at Greensboro, Alabama; the Southwestern University at Georgetown Texas; and Trinity College at Durham, North Carolina, are, in addition to those already referred to in this History, the leading Methodist colleges in the South. Mr. Washington Duke and his family have given to Trinity College, North Carolina, during the past decade the munificent sum of six hundred thousand dollars. This is more money than has been given by any native southerner to any Methodist institution of learning in the history of the Church. Mr. George I. Seney, of New York, gave to the Wesleyan Female College at Macon, Georgia, and to Emory College at Oxford, Georgia, more than a quarter of a million of dollars during his lifetime. The oldest Female College in the world is the Wesleyan at Macon, Georgia. A charter was granted for this institution by the Georgia legislature in 1836. Among the distinguished ministers who have served as presidents of the college are: Doctors George F. Pierce, afterward elected bishop, J M. Bormell, and E. H. Myers. The Southwestern University at Georgetown, located in the state of Texas, with the five strong Conferences in the state to support it, is destined to a career of great influence and usefulness.

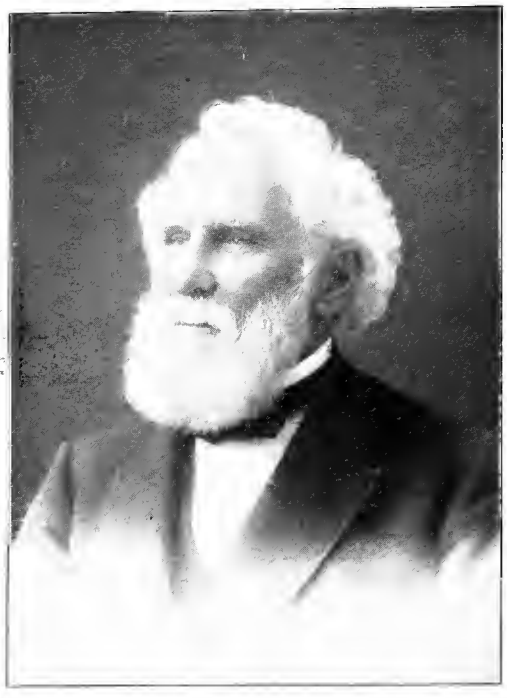
PROFESSOR BASKERVILLE,
Of Vanderbilt University.



REV. W. F. TILLETT, D. D.,
Dean of Biblical Department, Vanderbilt University.

In the year 1900 the two Methodist Episcopal Churches could report fifty-three colleges and universities, with buildings valued at ten million dollars; and sixty-nine institutions devoted exclusively to women.

One of the pleasant homes of intellectual Methodism in the West is to be found on the western shore of broad Lake Michigan. The visitor arriving at Chicago from the east or south, if he continue his way from the center of that great city along the lake shore, will shortly arrive at the attractive suburb of

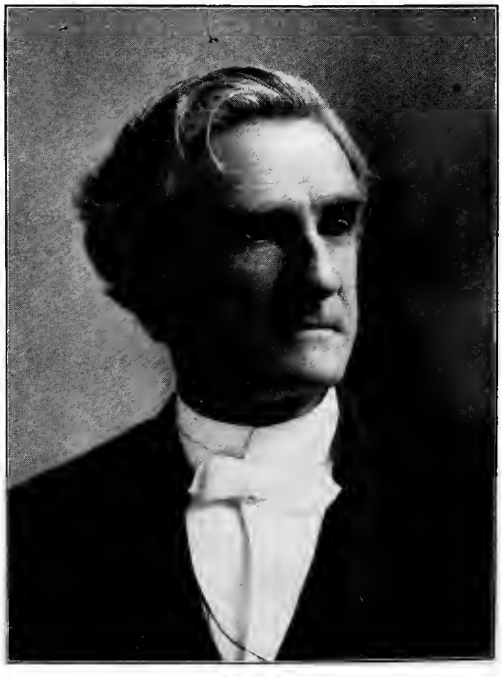


ORRINGTON LUNT,
Benefactor of Northwestern University.

Evanston. The name has a pleasant flavor through its association with the saintly Frances Willard, who for so long made it her home. But another elect Methodist woman precedes her in these associations; and her service to the cause is commemorated in the Garrett Theological Institution.

It was in the year 1834 that two stricken parents arrived from the South in the then primitive community of Chicago. Augustus Garrett, during his seven years of married life, had suffered many ills. Though an energetic and capable man, he seemed to have little success in his business undertakings. Moving westward from New York state he started a venture in Cincinnati and failed; thence he went to the Gulf and tried his best at New Orleans. While sailing down the Mississippi the parents lost their first-born child, who died suddenly of cholera, and after Mr. Garrett left New Orleans to engage in business at Natchitoches, their second and only son was laid in the grave.

When Eliza Garrett arrived in Chicago with her husband she was still under thirty years of age. Born in the year 1805, near Newburgh, New York, Eliza Clark grew to womanhood under the best auspices. Her parents were excellent people, who brought her up in the fear of the Lord; and she remained true to her upbringing. In the fifth year of their Chicago residence, the Garretts associated themselves with the Methodist Church in Clark street, of which the pastor was the Rev. P. R. Borein. It was no formal association, especially on the part of Mrs. Garrett. Until her death, seventeen years later, she was an active and faithful member of the congregation, present at class and at prayer-meetings, and active in every good work. "Many of her associates," remarks her biographer, "were vain and worldly. Her influence even upon such inspired in them the highest respect for her Christian principles, and impressed them with the reality and true dignity of the Christian life. She was always benevolent in proportion to her available



BISHOP W. W. DUNCAN.

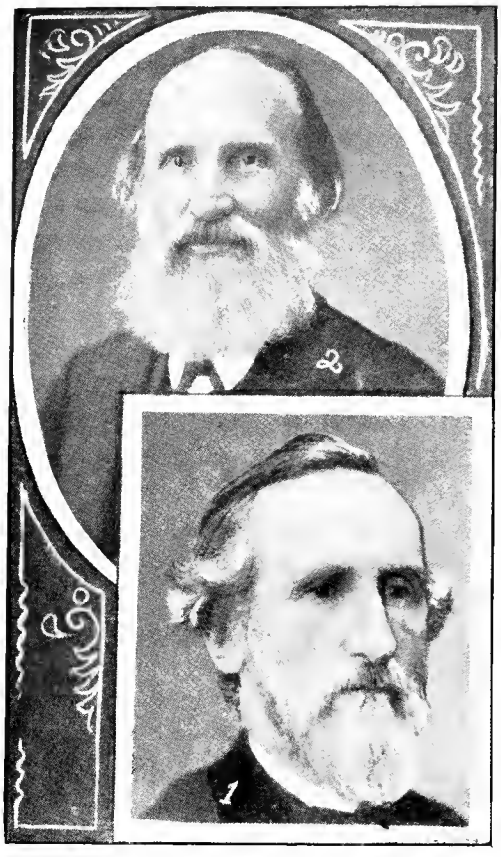
DOCTOR W. F. KING,
Of Cornell College, Iowa.

means, but her charities were unostentatious. With her own hands she labored for the poor, and her feet often bore her to their habitations on errands of mercy. Yet she did not seek to be solitary in these acts of mercy, but cooperated freely with other ladies of her church and city in associations for benevolent purposes."

Years of honest and well-directed labor at length placed Mr. Garrett in the forefront of the public men of the city, and he was elected its mayor. His wealth consisted largely in real estate, having a great though uncertain future; and he frequently expressed a desire to devote a substantial portion of it to the founding of church institutions. His death at the close of the year 1848 left this object as a legacy for his wife. She finally determined that it should take an educational form, with a distinctly religious end. A theological school or "Biblical Institute" suggested itself as the most suitable. As yet such institutes had found little favor from the Church as a whole; but when her proposition came before the General Conference, that body accepted and approved it. Her will, deeding nearly two-thirds of her whole estate to the object, was dated December, 1853. The proceeds were to go to the erection, furnishing, and endowment of a "Theological Institution for the Methodist Episcopal Church, to be called the Garrett Biblical Institute." By the month of January, 1855, a temporary organization was prepared, and the Rev. Doctor Dempster placed in charge. Plans were made for a spacious temporary building, but Mrs. Garrett never saw even its formal inception. Before the laying of the foundation stone she had gone to her rest She died on the twenty-second of November, 1855, and in the fall of 1856 the work was permanently organized in a spacious building.

The Garrett Biblical Institute, which also bears the name of Heck Hall—after the devoted woman whose grave is on the St. Lawrence—was the nucleus of the

REV. FRANCIS ASBURY MOOD, D. D.,
Born in Charleston, South Carolina, 1830; elected Regent of Southwestern University, Georgetown, Texas, 1855.



TWO SOUTHERN EDUCATORS.

1. REV. O. L. SMITH, D.D.; for many years President of Emory College, Oxford, Georgia. 2. PROF. GEORGE W. STONE; for long Professor of Mathematics in Emory College.

great seat of learning known as Northwestern University. At the head of the institute have been such men as Bishops Matthew Simpson and William X. Ninde. The university buildings, which are scattered over thirty acres of an oak grove, on the picturesque borders of the lake, are many of them noble and attractive stone edifices. Dr. Erastus Otis Haven and Bishop Charles Henry Fowler were in turn elected to the presidency, and helped to bring it to its present state of efficiency.

Doctor Dempster, who remained for seven years in charge, had been connected with the first institute of the kind, which was opened at Concord, New Hampshire, in the year 1847. He was a man of singular force of character, the son of a Scotchman sent out as a missionary to the West Indies by John Wesley. The plan of founding such a seminary was regarded with considerable disfavor, and he spent seven years of uphill work in collecting funds and filling the chair of instructor. Before his death in 1863, at the age of seventy-one, he was planning to found another such institution in California. Time has justified his views, and the Church has taken under its immediate wing the work for which he struggled.

His first organization has grown to fine proportions. The institute was removed in 1867 from Concord, and located in Boston, where its name was changed to Boston Theological Seminary. Four years later it was made the theological department of Boston University, and

TWO COLLEGE PROFESSORS.

1. COLLINS DENNY, Vanderbilt University
2. WILLIAM NORTH RICE, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

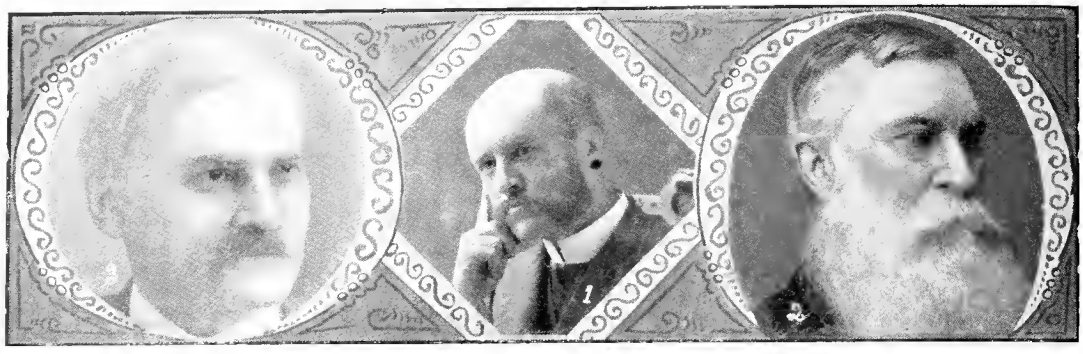
BISHOP JOHN F. HURST.

Osmon C. Baker, elected a bishop in the General Conference of 1852, became one of its first professors. The name of Borden P Bowne has been inseparably associated with it since 1876. A graduate of the University of New York, he completed his philosophical studies in the early seventies at Halle and Göttingen. His works are standard productions: "Studies in Theism," "Principles of Ethics," "Metaphysics," and others.

Boston University received its charter in 1869, its founders being Isaac Rich, Lee Claflin, and Jacob Sleeper. The first of these left to the institution at his death the large bequest of a million and a half dollars. The earliest department of the university in operation was the theological school, which had been originally the Biblical Institute of Concord, New Hampshire. In the three following years, 1872, 1873, and 1874, colleges of music, law, liberal arts, medicine and science were added. The Rev. William F. Warren, LL.D., brother of Bishop Henry Warren, has been president since its foundation. The students in attendance in the year 1900 numbered nearly fifteen hundred.

Drew Seminary may be regarded as forming with Boston University and the Garrett Institute at Evanston a trio of northern theological learning. By the year 1866 it became evident to progressive men in the Methodist Episcopal Church that the two institutes we have just discussed were inadequate to the needs of the denomination. At first Troy University was thought of as the natural foster-mother of a new enterprise, but Mr. Drew, who finally contributed the endowment, opposed the idea. This gentleman had bought a large estate in New Jersey, about twenty-six miles from New York city, and he signified his willingness to contribute no less than ninety-six acres for a college site. Besides the site, he also presented to the institution the buildings already erected. The old mansion, to which the name of Mead Hall was given, after his wife s

BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT.



THREE NOTED EDITORS.

1. REV. J. M. BUCKLEY, D. D., Editor of *The Christian Advocate*, New York. 2. REV. YOUNG J. ALLEN, D. D., of Shanghai. 3. J. J. LAFFERTY, Editor of the *Richmond Christian Advocate*.

maiden name, had originally cost three hundred and fifty thousand dollars before everything, including furniture, was completed. In addition, Mr. Drew paid for the erection of four houses for professors, and gave ten thousand dollars to purchase the library, now housed in a handsome stone edifice. He intended to do still more with his great wealth in the way of adequate endowment, but by a sudden stroke of fortune he found himself a poor man. Bishop Hurst, who was then president, stepped into the breach, and instituted a vigorous campaign fund, which resulted in a magnificent endowment of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The Cornell library building was erected in 1888, and a new dormitory, the gift of William Hoyt and S. W Bowne, followed in 1900.

The first president was the celebrated Doctor McClintock, who, as editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, as professor at Dickinson University, and as president of Troy University, had gained a high reputation as a scholar. He lived only four years after his appointment. Those acquainted with Bishop Simpson's life will remember that Doctor McClintock and he were sent as joint delegates in 1866 to the Wesleyan Methodist Conferences of England and Ireland. His great work, written in conjunction with Dr. James Strong, professor of Hebrew at Drew, was the "Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature." At the time of his lamentable death in 1870 but three of the volumes had appeared. Doctor Strong, who carried the work to completion, has also written a "Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels," a "Harmony of the Gospels" in Greek, and brief manuals of Greek and Hebrew grammar.

The first professor of systematic theology was Dr. R. S. Foster, who in 1872 was elected bishop. His brother-in-law, Dr. John Miley, was elected to fill up the gap, and served till his death in 1895. His great work, "The Atonement in Christ," was published in 1879; and in the two years ending in 1894 he gave to the world his two volumes of "Systematic Theology."

The library, so fittingly housed in the Cornell building, has now a large and choice collection. Before its removal from the Mead Hall it contained the libraries of Doctors McClintock, Carleton, and John D. Blain, the hymnological collection of David Creamer, and the valuable collection of *Methodistica* owned by Dr. George Osborn, thrice president of the British Conference, purchased through Rev. William Arthur, and in 1877 presented by Mr. Anderson Fowler.

Soon after it entered the new building

the late Mr. William White, then secretary of the board of trustees, began to form a collection of Greek New Testament manuscripts, which is now the largest collection of this kind in America. The collection of *Methodistica* numbers over eight thousand titles; and many of the other items of the collection are not to be found elsewhere in the country.

Two of the most distinguished in the early faculty of Drew University had already served on the faculty of Troy University. This ill-starred institution was projected in the quadrennium following the Indianapolis General Conference of 1856. Its lines were laid on the broadest plan; for it was to be a university in the completest sense of the term. The collegiate edifice, which was built on a prominent site, was incomparably superior to any other belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church. With John McClintock as president and James Strong as acting president, the university began its career most auspiciously in

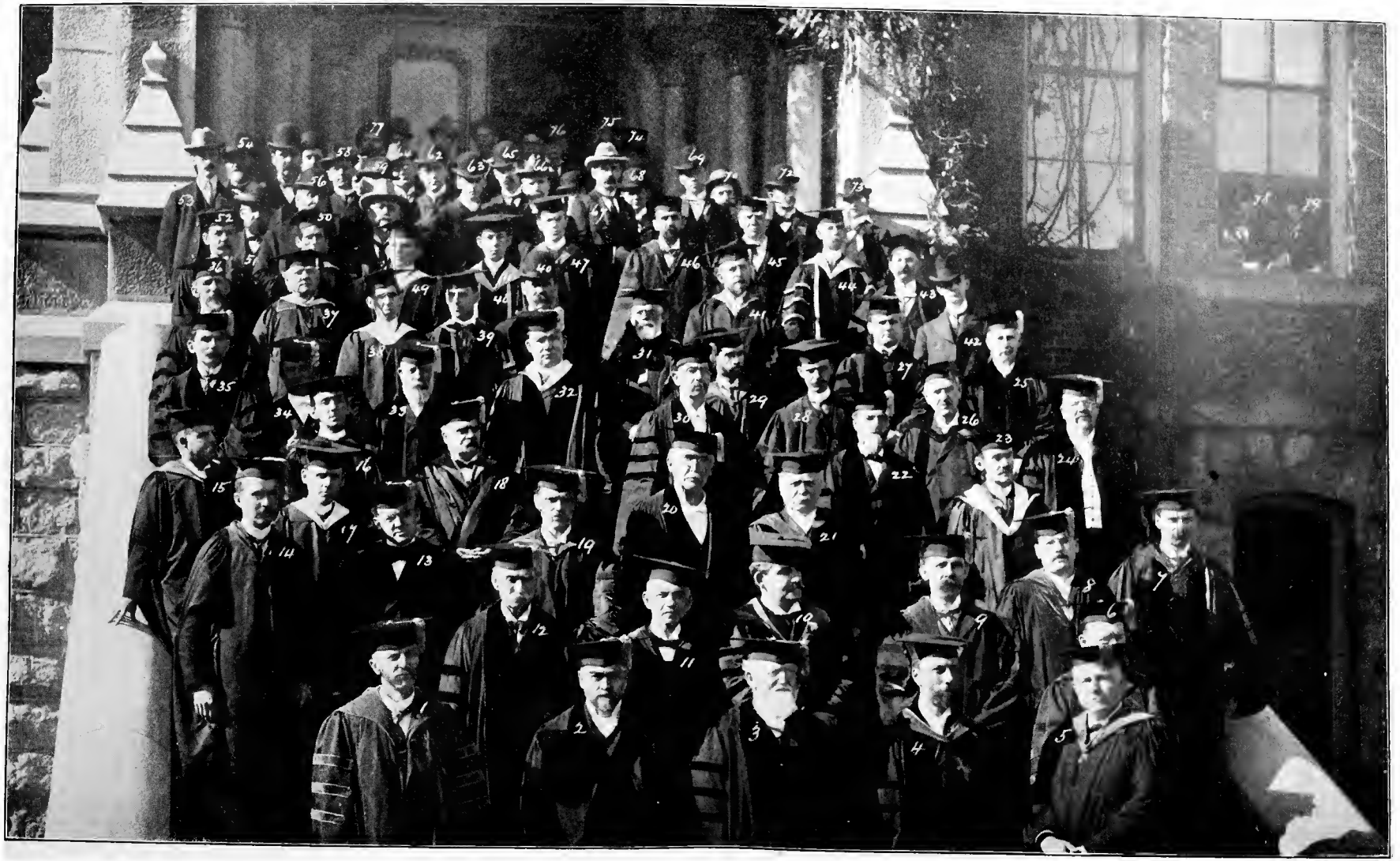
HON CLEM. STUDEBAKER,
President of Chautauqua Board.

HON. LEWIS MILLER,
First President of Chautauqua.

September, 1858. Financial losses, however, and the very severe crisis of the Civil War proved disastrous to its prospects, and finally, in 1863, it was sold to private persons and afterward became the property of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Chautauqua movement has, during the past quarter of a century, been assuming wider and greater proportions. The name is to be traced to a little lake situated in the hills high above Lake Erie. The derivation of the word is interesting. Chautauqua signifies "a bag tied in the middle;" and the lake, twenty-two miles in length, being shaped somewhat like an old-fashioned pair of saddle-bags, suggested the word to the native Indians.

The first assembly was held in 1874, with the Hon. Lewis Miller, of Ohio, as president, and John H. Vincent, of New York, now bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as its superintendent of instruction. The plans for carrying it on, which originated jointly with these



THE CELEBRATION IN OCTOBER [illegible] OF THE TWENTY FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF [illegible]

EDUCATORS AND OTHERS PRESENT AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY.

1. Chancellor J. H. Kirklaud, Vanderbilt University.
2. Bishop E. R. Hendrix, Member Board of Trust, Vanderbilt University.
3. Bishop R. K. Hargrove, President Board of Trust, Vanderbilt University.
4. President Arthur T. Hadley, Yale University.
5. Prof. E. E. Barnard, Yerkes Observatory, Chicago University.
6. Prof. Frederick W. Moore, Vanderbilt University
7. Dr. J. N. Anderson, Instructor, Vanderbilt University.
8. Prof. Richard Jones, Vanderbilt University.
9. President F. P. Venable, University of North Carolina.
10. President Charles W. Dabney, University of Tennessee.
11. Chancellor Robert B. Fulton, University of Mississippi.
12. Hon. G. W. Martin, Member Board of Trust, Vanderbilt University.
13. Prof. H. C. Tolman, Vanderbilt University.
14. Vice Chancellor B. L. Wiggins, University of the South.
15. Prof. C. S. Brown, Vanderbilt University.
16. Rev. P. A Rodriguez, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.
17. Prof. L. R. Hamberlin, Vanderbilt University
18. Judge H. H. Lurtou, Vanderbilt University.
19. Prof J. H. Stevenson, Vanderbilt University.
20. Rev. R. A. Young, Member Board of Trust, Vanderbilt University.
21. President William C. Roberts, Centre College, Kentucky.
22. Rev. S. H. Babcock, Member Board of Trust, Vanderbilt University.
23. Prof. Charles W. Turner, University of Tennessee.
24. Mr. J. R. Pepper, Member Board of Trust, Vanderbilt University.
25. Prof. George W. Price, Vanderbilt University.
26. Prof. Eri B. Hulbert, Dean Divinity School, Chicago University.
27. Prof. Richard A. Barr, Vanderbilt University.
28. Prof. W P. Few, Trinity College, North Carolina.
29. Mr. S. P. Joues, Fellow, Vanderbilt University.
30. Rev. R. M. Standefer, Member Board of Trust, Vanderbilt University.
31. Prof. W. P. Du Bose, Dean Theological Department, University of the South.
32. Mr. W. R Cole, Member Board of Trust, Vanderbilt University.
33. Hon W. C. Ratcliffe, Member Board of Trust, Vanderbilt University.
34. Judge Newman Casey, Member Board of Trust, Vanderbilt University.
35. Prof. Edwin Mims, Trinity College, North Carolina
36. Prof. G. C. Savage, Vanderbilt University.
37. Judge Thomas H. Malone, Dean Law Department, Vanderbilt University.
38. Mr. Edwin Wiley, Instructor, Vanderbilt University.
39. Prof. G. W Martin, Vanderbilt University.
40. Silas McBee, Editor *Churchman*, New York.
41. Hon. E. T. Sanford, Delegate, Harvard, University.
42. Prof. Owen H. Wilson, Vanderbilt University.
43. Rev. R. W. Browder, Member Board of Trust, Vanderbilt University.
44. Prof. D. R. Stubblefield, Dean Department of Dentistry, Vanderbilt University.
45. Rev. Andrew Hunter, Member Board of Trust, Vanderbilt University.
46. Prof. J. T. McGill, Dean Department of Pharmacy, Vanderbilt University.
47. Mr. E. B. Williamson, Fellow, Vanderbilt University.
48. Dr. B. F. Thielen, Instructor, Vanderbilt University.
49. Mr. Thomas A. Street, Instructor, Vanderbilt University.
50. Mr. Thomas H. Malone, Jr., Instructor, Vanderbilt University.
51. Prof. W. A. Smith, Principal Columbia Athenæum.
52. Prof. Percy D. Madden, Vanderbilt University.
53. Prof. L. C. Glenn, Vanderbilt University.
54. Prof. William R. Webb, Principal Webb School.
55. Prof. S. P. Brooks, Baylor University.
56. Prof. Marshall S. Snow, Dean of the College, Washington University.
57. Prof. O. E. Brown, Vanderbilt University.
58. Rev. Josephus Stephan, St. Louis, Missouri.
59. Prof. J. A. Kern, Vanderbilt University.
60. Col. W. A. Henderson, Member Board of Trustees, University of Tennessee.
61. Prof. C. E. Little, University of Nashville.
62. Dr. M. M. Cullom, Nashville, Tennessee.
63. Prof. Timothy Cloran, Vanderbilt University.
64. Prof. William C. Branham, Principal Branham & Hughes School.
65. Prof. C. B. Wallace, Delegate, Randolph-Macou College.
66. Dr. R. B. Lees, Nashville, Tennessee.
67. Prof. A. R. Hohlfeld, Dean Academic Department, Vanderbilt University.
68. Prof. J. A. Robins, Principal McTyeire Institute.
69. Prof. W. H. Schuerman, Deau Engineering Department, Vanderbilt University.
70. Prof. E. A. Ruddiman, Vanderbilt University.
71. Rev. H. M. Du Bose, Secretary Epworth League.
72. Prof. Collins Denny, Vanderbilt University.
73. Prof. R. H. Peoples, Principal Peoples & Morgan's School.
74. Rev. John J. Tigert, Book Editor and Editor of the *Methodist Review*.
75. Rev. George W. Beale, Tennessee Conference.
76. Samuel J. Keith, Member Board of Trust, Vanderbilt University.
77. Prof. Gross Alexander, Vanderbilt University.
78. Mr. W H. Hollinshead, Instructor, Vanderbilt University.
79. Mr. Wils Williams, Secretary of Faculty, Vanderbilt University.

two men, provided for a triple development of the human frame, in body, mind, and spirit. The Sabbath was to be absolutely a day of rest; there were to be ample provisions for spiritual uplifting; and physical and intellectual needs were to be fully met. By inclosing the summer city, and admitting only at the gate, it was possible to levy a certain tariff, which paid for the cost of management. As much as forty thousand dollars in a season has been expended on the plat-

REV. JESSE L. HURLBUT, D. D.,
General Superintendent of C. L. S. C

form lectures and regular courses of instruction.

In the year 1878 Bishop Vincent set on foot the "Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle," known familiarly as the C. L. S. C. This is a course of reading and study intended to impart to the many the college opportunities hitherto enjoyed by the few. The Circle gives in compact form a four years' course of reading which embraces the principal subjects of a college course. The subject of mathematics is, however, omitted, and the classics and foreign works are treated, not in the original, but through translations. The sciences are also taught in a popular, rather than in a rigidly technical manner.

The C. L. S. C. has no intention of superseding college drill and technical discipline by its more popular methods. Those who do most for its growth and expansion, are aware that it will never take the place of college life; but believe it may be a priceless boon to such as are denied the higher privilege. The courses are so arranged that every one of the four winters is devoted to a certain subject; and it matters not when a student takes up his course. At the end of four years the whole will have been completed. A correspondence-college has been organized for the benefit of those who desire to study particular subjects, including mathematics and languages, at their homes.

There is no doubt that the original Chautauqua and its successors, now found all over the United States and in Canada, have sent thousands of students to college. "If this Circle," said its founder, Bishop Vincent, at a public dinner at Boston, "does not increase the number of college students in our land by one-third, I shall feel that it has failed to do a large part of the work."

A grand American University standing for Methodism, Protestantism and Americanism has been projected, to be located at the national capital. It has already received land to the value of $1,200,000, and has built a College of History valued at one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars; while funds aggregating three-quarters of a million are either in hands or are pledged. The chancellor is Bishop Hurst, and the vice-chancellor Bishop McCabe. All the different states of the Union have

been invited to contribute. Probably the Ohio Hall of Government, for which $85,000 has been subscribed, will be the next building erected. The Pennsylvania building is to be called the Hall of Administration, and has already received donations exceeding one hundred thousand dollars. Other states, notably Illinois, Indiana, New York and Maryland, have promised their contributions. The institution is meant to serve as the crown of Methodist educational institutions. By making possible in an American city the pursuit of post-graduate work and original investigation, it will do away with the necessity of seeking in foreign lands opportunities for the highest educational training.

CHAPTER XXXI.

FROM THE WAR UNTIL THE CLOSE OF THE CENTURY.

WHEN the General Conference of 1860 met on the first of May in the city of Buffalo, slavery was still a burning question, and its discussion consumed much of its time. No material change, however, occurred in the attitude of the Church in regard to the matter. Former deliverances on the subject were strenuously reaffirmed. This gave serious dissatisfaction in certain influential quarters, notably in New York and in Baltimore. In the latter city a convention of laymen assembled in the following December, and, after vigorously assailing the constitutionality of the action of the General Conference on the subject, took steps toward thoroughly organizing the conservative element in the Church. The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency, the breaking out of the Civil War in the spring of 1861, and the emancipation proclamation, which followed later, finally carried the whole question outside of the domain of ecclesiastical legislation.

The cause of lay representation received substantial recognition at this General Conference. "We are of the opinion," declared the bishops in their address, "that lay delegation might be introduced in one form into the General Conference with safety, and perhaps advantage; that form being a separate house." The Conference also expressed itself in terms of approval. Steps were taken to ascertain the sentiment of the Church in the matter. Ministers and male members of the Church over twenty-one years of age were asked to express, by a formal ballot, their wishes for or against lay delegation. It was arranged that the vote should be taken in the interval between the Annual Conference of 1861 and 1862. Owing to the distractions of the Civil War the vote, which proved adverse, was small. In the meantime *The Methodist*, an unofficial weekly paper, had been established in New York city. It was entirely independent, was supported by prominent laymen, and was ably edited by Dr George R. Crooks; and it became a stanch advocate of lay delegation. Moreover, Bishop Simpson, whose high character, great eloquence, and far-seeing statesmanship made him easily the most influential man in the denomination openly espoused the cause of reform. Laymen in various parts of the country, especially in cities, began to organize in the interests of the cause; and thus, in spite of strong opposition, the movement steadily grew, and enlisted the serious attention of church members.

At the General Conference of 1864, which met in the city of Philadelphia, the episcopate was strengthened by the election of three new bishops—David Wasgatt Clark, Edward Thomson, and Calvin Kingsley. Bishop Clark was born in 1812, on the island of Mount Desert, lying off the coast of Maine. He united with the Church in 1828, and graduated twelve years later from Wesleyan University, at Middletown, Connecticut. For several years he was connected with the New York Conference Seminary at Amenia, New York, as professor and principal. For nine years he served as a pastor. In 1852 he was elected editor of *The Ladies' Repository* at Cincinnati. While Doctor Clark was an admirable teacher and an effective preacher, he also excelled as an editor. Under his editorship *The Repository* at-

ained its highest prosperity. After he ecame bishop he gave his attention argely to the organization of the Church n the South. The university at Atlanta s named in his honor. He died at Cinnati after seven years of office.

Edward Thomson, in the order of elecion the twentieth bishop of the Methdist Episcopal Church, was born in 810, at Portsea, England. When the oy was eight years of age his family migrated to America, and settled at Wooster, Ohio. At nineteen years of ge he graduated in medicine from the Jniversity of Pennsylvania, and for sevral years practised as a physician. During these years he was inclined to gnosticism, and was somewhat prejuliced against Methodists. In 1831 he vas converted under the preaching of Russel Bigelow, and next year entered he Ohio Conference as a traveling preacher. He was soon called to educaional work, and served for six years as principal of Norwalk Seminary. For

BISHOP DAVIS WASGATT CLARK.

BISHOP WILLIAM L. HARRIS.

two years he was editor of *The Ladies' Repository*, and for sixteen years he filled the presidency of the Ohio Wesleyan University. In 1860 he was elected editor of the *Christian Advocate*, a post which he held until his election as bishop.

Bishop Thomson was a man of singular sweetness of disposition, clearness of intellect, and purity of motive. He belonged to the type of Fénélon, Francis de Sales, and Fletcher of Madeley. He was a preacher of rare eloquence, a wise administrator, and a charming writer. His published volumes, "Moral and Religious Essays," "Evidences of Christianity," and "Our Oriental Missions," have enjoyed a wide circulation. He died March 22, 1870, at Wheeling, West Virginia.

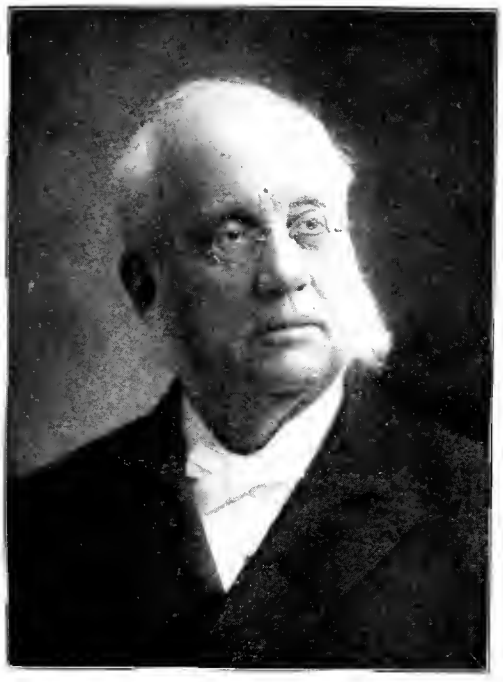
Calvin Kingsley was essentially a self-made man. Born in 1812, at Annsville, New York, he was occupied with the strenuous labors of a hardy pioneer until his twenty-fourth year. At that age he entered Allegheny College. Four years later he graduated with honor, having

BISHOP RANDOLPH S. FOSTER.

paid all of his expenses by his own work as janitor, and later as tutor. He was immediately elected a professor in his *alma mater*, and served in that capacity, with the slight exception of a brief term in the pastorate, until 1856, when he was elected editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*, a position which he held until elected to the episcopacy. Five years later, Kingsley started on the first missionary tour round the world undertaken by a Methodist bishop. He visited China, where he ordained the first native Methodist deacons and elders, met the Missionary Conference in India, and was on his way to visit the missions in Europe. Turning aside to visit Palestine, he died suddenly in April, 1870, at Beirut, on the coast of Syria. His tomb at the foot of the Lebanon mountains forms a bond between the churches in America and Asia.

At this General Conference the term of ministerial service was extended from two to three years, and the bishops were empowered to appoint ministers to chaplaincies, professorships, and other special posts for a longer period than three years. A board of trustees was also authorized—subsequently chartered by the legislature of Ohio—to hold in trust for the Methodist Episcopal Church all donations made to the Church without special designation. The committee entrusted with the duty of providing for the observance of the centenary of American Methodism recommended that the celebration should commence on the first Tuesday in October, 1866, and continue throughout the month at such times and places as best suited the convenience of the churches. They also declared the primary object of the celebration to be the spiritual improvement of the Church by a review of the great things God had done for the Church during the past century. They then recommended that the offerings of the Church should be solicited on behalf of those institutions and agencies to which it has been most indebted for its efficiency. Two departments of Christian enterprise were to be specially placed before the people: the one connectional, central, and monu-

BISHOP S. M. MERRILL.



BISHOP E. G. ANDREWS.

mental, and the other local and distributive. The committee asked for not less than $2,000,000 as an expression of gratitude on the part of the Church, and requested the bishops to appoint a general committee, consisting of twelve ministers and twelve laymen, to arrange for the centennial celebration, and to receive and distribute all connectional funds raised for that purpose. All branches of Methodism were invited to unite in the centennial observance. The Annual Conferences arranged for the delivery of memorial sermons on the first Sunday in January, 1866. The thank-offerings the people made during this year amounted to nearly nine million dollars. Drew Theological Seminary, bearing the name of a generous benefactor, is one of the notable memorials of the centennial year.

The General Conference of 1856, by a constitutional provision, duly approved by the vote of the Annual Conferences, had authorized the Liberia Conference to select a suitable man as missionary. Bishop Francis Burns was commended by the Conference and was ordained missionary bishop for Africa at the session of the Genesee Conference of that year. When Burns died, in 1863, he was succeeded in office by John Wright Roberts, who was ordained three years after his death. Roberts vigorously carried forward the work wisely begun by his predecessor, and at his death, in 1875, the Methodist Episcopal Church in Africa numbered more than two hundred thousand members.

The fifteenth delegated General Conference met in the city of Chicago on May 1, 1868. Fifty-five Annual Conferences were represented by two hundred and thirty-one delegates. Later, provisional delegates from mission Conferences took their seats, making the number of Conferences represented sixty-six, with two hundred and forty-three delegates. The subject of lay delegation was prominent in the deliberations of the Conference. A committee of laymen appeared before the body, and asked that steps be taken toward the admission of the laity to the future councils of the Church. This

BISHOP H. W. WARREN.

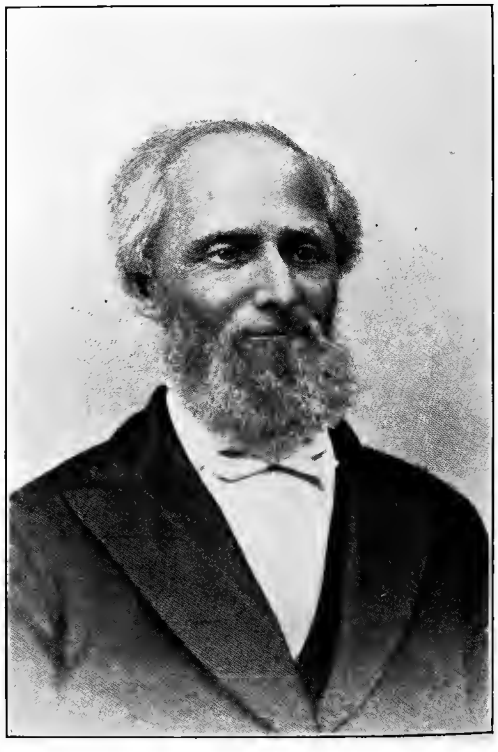
BISHOP CYRUS D. FOSS.

committee consisted of some of the most eminent laymen of the Church. Among them were Isaac Rich; Governor William Claflin, of Massachusetts; F. H. Root, of Buffalo; A. V Stout, of New York; Oliver Hoyt, of Connecticut; John Evans, of Colorado; and General Clinton B. Fisk, of St. Louis. The General Conference approved of lay representation and submitted a contingent plan for the admission of laymen.

Between the years 1868 and 1872, the Church suffered several heavy bereavements. Charles Elliott, one of the most influential men in early Methodism, a prominent member of nine consecutive General Conferences, the editor of three of the *Advocates*, and distinguished in various fields of service, as teacher, author, missionary, and editor, passed away on January 6, 1869. John McClintock, one of the most eloquent, scholarly and accomplished men Methodism has produced, died in March, 1870. Bishops Thomson and Kingsley died in 1870, and Bishops Clark and Baker in the following year.

The General Conference which met Brooklyn in 1872 will stand out as o of the most memorable of the centur At that time lay delegation became accomplished fact. The vote in the A nual Conferences on the proposed chan of the Restrictive Rule stood nearly fi thousand in its favor, and only sixte hundred against, showing the necessa three-fourths vote in favor of the mea ure. The General Conference approvi the action by an almost unanimous vot the Restrictive Rule was changed, and o hundred and twenty-nine lay delegate who had been provisionally elected, we admitted to membership in the Conf ence.

An important change was made in t various benevolent societies of t Church, so that none of them should simply voluntary associations, but should be under the management boards elected by the General Conf ence. The Missionary Society was ganized in New York city in 1819, und



BISHOP E. O. HAVEN.

BISHOP W. X. NINDE.

the leadership of Nathan Bangs. Its receipts for the first year amounted to a little over eight hundred dollars. Its receipts for the year 1899 reached a grand total of one million three hundred thousand dollars. It sustains missions and schools in Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, Japan, Mexico, the West Indies, the Philippines, and other islands, in addition to the generous and increasing support it gives to domestic missions. The baptisms in foreign fields for the year 1898 were more than twenty thousand. The Sunday-school Union, dating from 1827, is the second benevolent society organized by the Church. In 1786 Bishop Asbury organized the first Sunday-school in America, in the house of Thomas Crenshaw, of Hanover county, Virginia. In 1790, the first recognition of Sunday-schools by an American church was made by the vote of the Methodist Conferenee, ordering their formation throughout the Church, and also the compilation of a book for them. At present there are more than thirty-one thousand schools under the care of the society. It owes not a little to the labors and stimulus of Bishop John H. Vincent. The Tract Society was the third in order of organization, and dates from 1852. It distributes religious literature at home and abroad, and in almost all languages. During 1898 grants were made to China, India, Malaysia, Japan, Korea, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Bulgaria, Mexico, Chili, and the Argentine Republic. Its receipts for the year amounted to over twenty-five thousand dollars.

The Board of Church Extension is the fourth benevolent organization of the Church. It was authorized by the General Conference of 1864, and was reorganized in its present form by that of 1872. During the thirty-six years of its existence the society has aided by donations and loans more than eleven thousand churches, and has collected into the general fund more than four million two hundred thousand dollars, and for the loan fund nearly two and a half million dollars. The annual receipts are

BISHOP J. M. WALDEN.

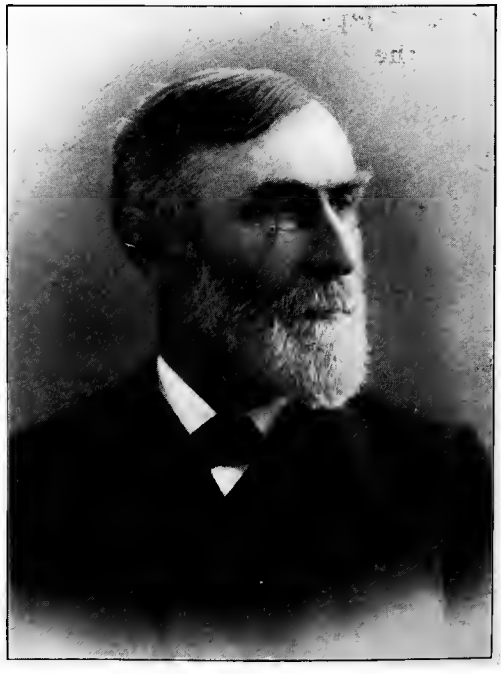
BISHOP WILLARD F. MALLALIEU.

over two hundred thousand dollars.

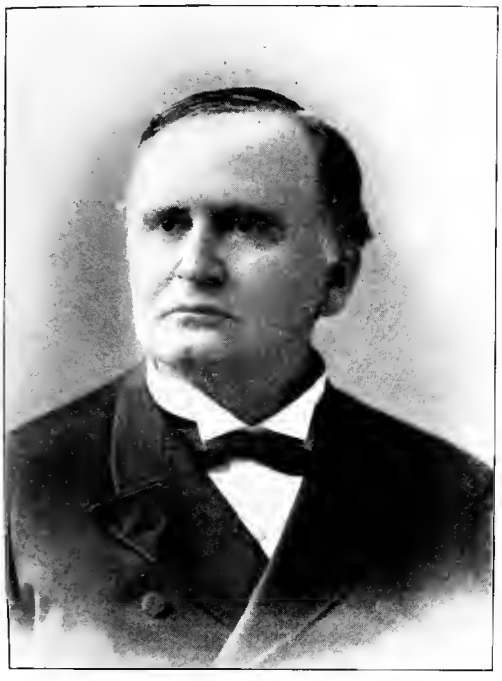
The Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society was organized in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1866. It was adopted officially by the General Conference of 1872, and given its present name in 1888. It has established forty-six schools, about equally divided among the colored people and the whites. Four hundred and seventy-seven teachers are employed, and ever eight thousand students are enrolled. More than four million dollars have been expended by the society since its organization. Its annual receipts are three hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars.

The Board of Education was one of the beneficent results of the movement made on behalf of education during the centennial year. In the year 1868, when the board was formally organized, the educational fund amounted to eighty-four thousand dollars. The object of the board is to "diffuse more generally the blessings of education and Christianity throughout the United States and elsewhere under the direction of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church," and to aid meritorious students to obtain a more advanced education. It has aided more than eight thousand students, and annually helps eighteen hundred students by means of loans. Its annual receipts are over one hundred thousand dollars.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society was reorganized by the General Conference of 1872. It was founded in 1869, in Boston, Massachusetts, by Mrs. E. W Parker, Mrs. William Butler, Mrs. T. A. Rich, Mrs. Lewis Flanders, Mrs. H. J. Stoddard, Mrs. Thomas Kingsbury, Mrs. W B. Merrill, and Mrs. O. T. Taylor. Soon after its organization the society appointed Miss Isabella Thoburn, sister of Dr. J. M. Thoburn, to be its first missionary, and sent her to India; and a little later Miss Clara Swain was sent out to India as a medical missionary. Miss Swain was the first female medical missionary to be sent out by any church. The society now supports nearly two hundred missionaries, twenty-four of whom are medical. The annual receipts



BISHOP J. N. FITZGERALD.



BISHOP D. A. GOODSELL.

of the society for 1899 were three hundred and sixty thousand dollars.

At this Conference eight bishops were elected, the largest number elected at one time in the history of the Church. At the time of his election to the episcopacy, Thomas Bowman was president of the Indiana Asbury University, since known as De Pauw University. He was born at Berwick, Pennsylvania, in 1817, was educated at Dickinson College, and entered the Baltimore Conference in his twenty-second year. For ten years he was principal of Dickinson Seminary, at Williamsport, Pennsylvania, and for fourteen years he was president of Asbury University He acted as chaplain of the United States Senate during the sessions of 1864 and 1865, and in 1864 was a fraternal delegate to the British Wesleyan Conferences. For twenty-four years he has been active in the duties of the episcopal office, visiting during that time the missions of the Church in all parts of the world. He was present at the Chicago General Conference of 1900, and opened its deliberations. His apostolic appearance, the lofty purity of his life, and his grace of manner recalled the traditions of St. John the beloved.

William L. Harris entered upon episcopal duties from the secretaryship of the Missionary Society, and brought to the office rare administrative ability. A native of Ohio, he taught for several years at Baldwin University, and at the Ohio Wesleyan University. He served as a bishop for fifteen years, until his death.

Randolph S. Foster, the next in order of election, was, at the time of his election, president of Drew Theological Seminary. Born in Ohio in 1820, he was educated at Augusta College, Kentucky, and began preaching when he was seventeen years of age. His extraordinary abilities soon attracted wide attention, and he rapidly passed from one important position to another, serving in each with distinction, until he became, after Bishop Simpson, the strongest personality in American Methodism. He has

EDWARD HOWELL MYERS,
Of the South Georgia Conference; born in Orange county New York, in 1818; Cape May Commissioner.

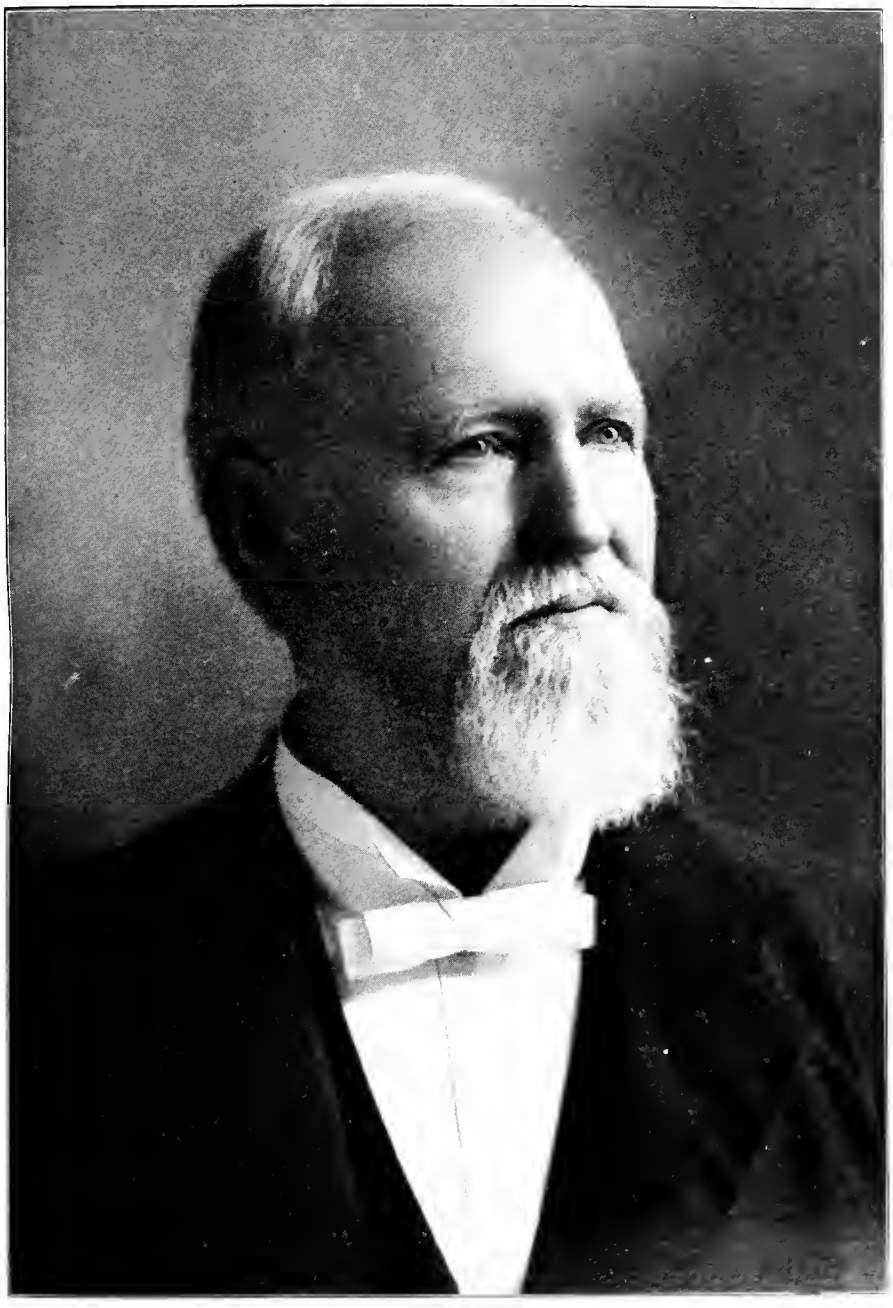
LEADING METHODISTS IN THE SIXTIES.

1. MRS. PHŒBE PALMER; born, 1807; died, 1874. 2. HON. JAMES HARLAN, LL. D., United States Senator from Iowa; born in Illinois, 1820; was graduated at Indiana Asbury University. 3. B. F. TEFFT; born in Floyd, New York, 1813; became Editor of *The Ladies' Repository* in 1846. 4. REV. GORDON BATTELLE, D. D.; born in Newport Ohio, 1814; joined Pittsburgh Conference, 1842; died in Washington City, 1864. 5. HERMAN M. JOHNSON, D. D. born in New York state, 1815; joined the North Ohio Conference, 1845; President of Dickinson College. 6. REV JOSEPH HOLDICH, D. D.; born in England, 1804; joined the Pennsylvania Conference, 1822; Secretary of The American Bible Society, 1869. 7. REV. THOMAS CARLTON, D. D.; born in Londonderry, New Hampshire, 1808; chose Book Agent in 1852. 8. ELISHA HARRIS, formerly Governor of Rhode Island; a life-long Methodist. 9. HON JOHN MCLEAN, LL. D., one of the Judges of the United States Supreme Court. 10. REV. A. C. GEORGE, D. D. Promoter of Ecumenical Conference.

published several noteworthy volumes.

Isaac W. Wiley, the twenty-fifth bishop in order, was born at Lewiston, Pennsylvania, in 1825. For several years he served as a medical missionary in China. He was for a time principal of Pennington Seminary, in New Jersey, and for eight years edited *The Ladies' Repository*. He died in 1884, while at Foochow, the Chinese emporium, where thirty-three years before he had begun his work as a missionary.

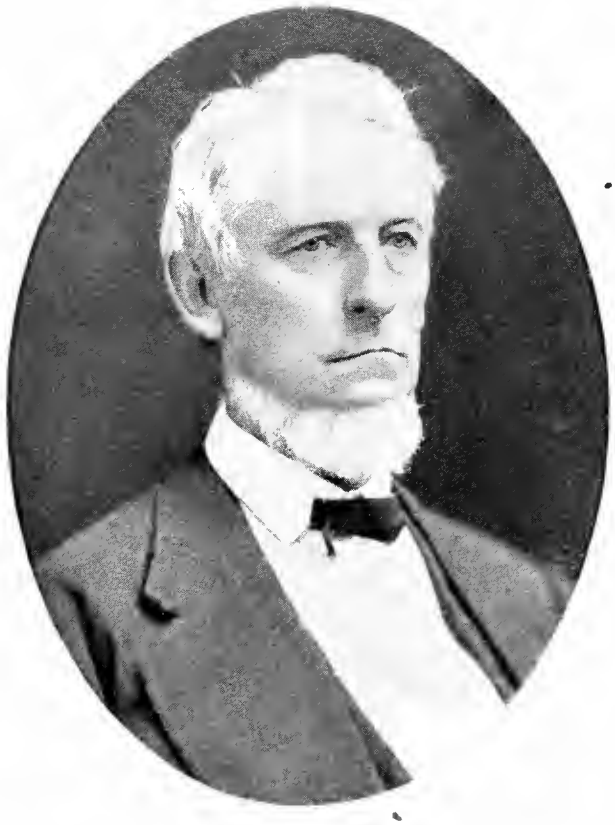
Stephen M. Merrill was acting as editor of the *Western Christian Advocate* when elected a bishop. Born in Ohio in 1825, he served with distinction as pastor and presiding elder in the Ohio Conference. Bishop Merrill may be termed pre-eminently the jurist of the episcopal college. Edward G. Andrews, the twenty-seventh bishop, was born in New York in 1825. At the time of his election he was a pastor in Brooklyn, New York, and was the first pastor chosen into the episcopacy during a period of over thirty years. Gilbert Haven, the next in order of election was born in Massachusetts in the year



ROBERT KENNON HARGROVE, D. D.
Cape May Commissioner.

21. After graduating at the Wesleyan niversity, he served as teacher, pastor, id chaplain in the army until 1866, hen he was elected editor of *Zion's erald*, in Boston, a position which he as holding when elected a bishop. He as an able, brilliant, and versatile man, id an aggressive leader, who, during e eight years of his episcopacy, made a marked impression on the Church. His deathbed was a triumphant one.

Jesse T Peck, the twenty-ninth bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was a native of New York, and was sixty-one years old when elected to the office. He was distinguished as a pastor in his native state and in California, and ranked high as an educator, author, and editor.



TRUSTEN POLK,

Born in Delaware, 1811; Governor of Missouri, 1851; United States Senator, 1857-62; appointed Cape May Commissioner, 1875; died, April, 1876. Hon. Robert B. Vance was appointed in his place.

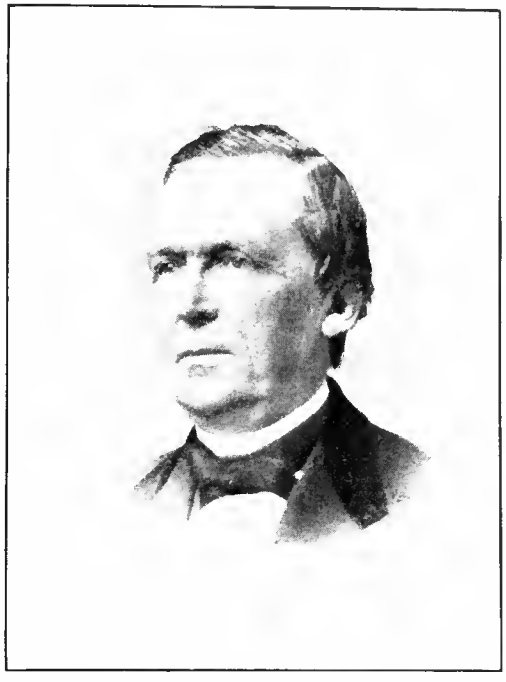
He was the main factor in organizing the university at Syracuse, New York, the city where, in 1883, he died.

Another important act taken by the General Conference of 1872 was a movement toward closer fraternal relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It will be remembered that Dr. Lovick Pierce appeared at the General Conference of 1848, held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and proposed fraternal relations between the two branches of Episcopal Methodism. This Conference, while declaring itself ready to grant him any personal courtesies, declined to enter into the proposed fraternal relations. Doctor Pierce declined to be received individually, and declared that "the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, can never renew the offer of fraternal relations, but that the proposition could be renewed at any time by the Methodist Episcopal Church." For twenty years no formal communication passed be- the two Churches. In 1869 the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church opened correspondence with the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, looking toward the establishment of fraternal relations. When this correspondence was laid before the General Conference of 1872, it took the following action: "To place ourselves in the truly fraternal relations toward our southern brethren, which the sentiment of our people demands, and to prepare the way for the opening of formal fraternity with them; it is hereby

"*Resolved*, That this General Conference will appoint a delegation consisting of two ministers and one layman, to convey our fraternal greetings to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at its next ensuing session."

Accordingly a fraternal delegation, consisting of Rev. A. S. Hunt, D. D., the Rev. C. H. Fowler, D. D., and General Clinton B. Fisk, appeared before the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at Louisville, Kentucky, in May, 1874, and were most cordially received. In its turn that General Conference authorized a delegation consisting of two ministers and one layman to bear their Christian salutations to the ensuing General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and in order to remove all obstacles to formal fraternity, the bishops were authorized to appoint a commission of three ministers and two laymen to meet a similar commission appointed by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. Lovick Pierce, Dr. James

Duncan, and Chancellor Garland
:e appointed fraternal delegates; and
E. H. Myers, Dr. R. K. Hargrove,
Thomas M. Finney, with the Hon.
vid Clopton and the Hon. R. B.
ıce, were appointed commissioners.
Altogether the most notable event of
General Conference of the Methodist
iscopal Church of 1876, which met in
city of Baltimore, was the reception
en to the fraternal delegates from the
ıth. Dr. Lovick Pierce, who had
en sick on his way, could not be
sent, but a letter from him was read
which he protested against the current
rase "two Methodisms." "There is,"
declared, "but one Episcopal Meth-
ısm, and you and we make it up."
ıe eloquent address delivered by Doc-
Duncan made a profound impression.
The General Conference appointed as
oard of commissioners to meet a sim-
board from the Methodist Episcopal
urch, South, Moris D'C. Crawford,
Q. Fuller, John P. Newman, minis-
ı, and Enoch L. Fancher and Clinton
Fisk, laymen. This joint commis-
ı convened at Cape May, in New



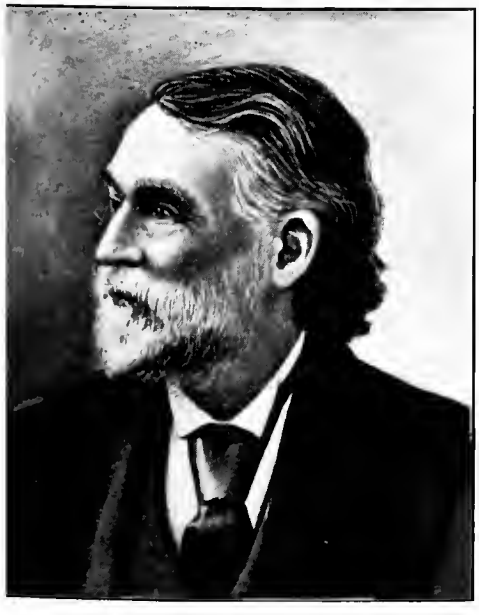
JUDGE ENOCH FANCHER,
Of New York; Cape May Commissioner.

York state, on August 16, 1876, and continued in session for seven days.

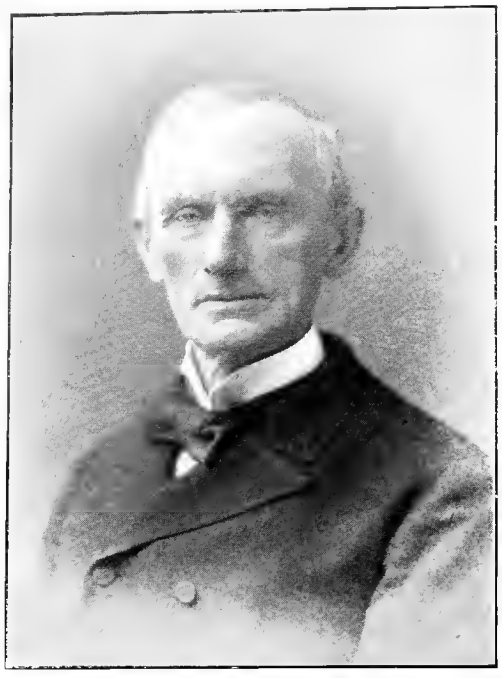
The commission formulated the following basis of fraternity:

"As to the status of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and their co-ordinate relation as legitimate branches of Episcopal Methodism, each of said Churches is a legitimate branch of Episcopal Methodism in the United States, having a common origin in the Methodist Episcopal Church, organized in 1784; and since the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was consummated in 1845 by the voluntary exercise of the right of the southern Annual Conferences, ministers and members to adhere to that communion, it has been an evangelical church reared on scriptural foundations, and her ministers and members, with those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, have constituted one Methodist family, though in distinct ecclesiastical connections."

Rules were framed for the settlement



DAVID CLOPTON, LL. D.,
Of Alabama; Cape May Commissioner.

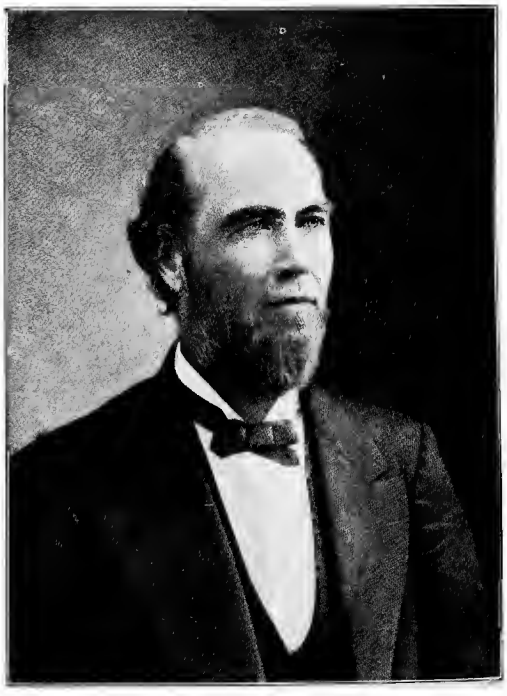


REV. M. D'C. CRAWFORD,
Of the New York Conference; Cape May Commissioner.

of the ownership of all church property and of the transfers of titles. The final vote on all such matters was put on record as unanimous, and the era of fraternity was happily inaugurated.

At this Conference the first official step was taken in the direction of an Ecumenical Conference of Methodism. A resolution introduced by Dr. A. C. George, calling for such a council, met the hearty approval of the Conference. Representative committees, having authority to arrange for the Conference, met in Cincinnati in 1880, during the session of the General Conference, and issued a call for an Ecumenical Conference of Methodism, to meet at City-road Chapel, London, in September, 1881. The plan and scope of the Conference was determined upon; and the basis of representation was fixed. In the quadrennium ending in 1880, Bishops Janes, Ames and Gilbert Haven died. Edmund Storer Janes was elected a bishop in 1844. He was the last bishop to receive the vote of the undivided Methodist Episcopal Church. He w a man of devout spirit, was of a geni rather than austere temperament, a eloquent preacher, and a wise counselc For more than thirty years he efficient filled the duties of his office. Edwa Raymond Ames was elected to the epi copal office in 1852, after serving f several years as a pioneer preacher. H was pre-eminently a statesman, and h personality was strong and dominan Gilbert Haven fell a victim to Africa fever, contracted while on an episcop visit to that country.

The General Conference of 1880 deeme it necessary to strengthen the episcop force, and Henry W Warren, Cyri D. Foss, John F. Hurst, and Erasti O. Haven were elected bishops. Bishc Warren was born in Massachusetts, ar educated at Wesleyan University. F sixteen years he served prominer churches in eastern cities, and was the time of his election to the episcopac pastor of the Spring Garden Church Philadelphia. Bishop Foss is a nativ



THOMAS MONROE FINNEY, D. D.,
Cape May Commissioner.

JOHN PHILIP NEWMAN, D. D., LL. D.,
Cape May Commissioner.

New York, and was for some years a ling pastor in that state. In 1875 he made president of his *alma mater*, sleyan University, and from that po- on was elected in 1880 to the office of iop. John Fletcher Hurst is a native Maryland, was educated at Dick- on College, and served several years he pastorate. For five years he was rofessor in the Mission Institute at men and Frankfort. In 1871 he came to Drew Theological Seminary as professor, was made president of the institution in 1873, and occupied that position until his election to the episcopacy. Bishop Hurst is one of the most scholarly men of the Church, and his numerous works, mostly historical, are well known not only in Methodist circles, but among the religious public generally. Erastus O. Haven was born in Boston, in 1820, and was thus fourteen years older than

CLINTON B. FISK,
Brevet Major-General, United States Army; Cape May Commissioner.

Bishop Hurst. He was educated at Wesleyan University. He was for a short time a pastor in New York city, became editor of *Zion's Herald*, president of Michigan University, and later president of the Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois. In 1872 he was appointed secretary of the Board of Education, two years later became chancellor of Syracuse University, and occupied this post for six years. He died in the first year of episcopal service, at Salem, Oregon.

The General Conference of 1884 assembled in the city of Philadelphia. Ninety-nine Annual Conferences were represented by two hundred and sixty-one ministerial and one hundred and fifty-six lay delegates. William X. Ninde, John M. Walden, Willard F. Mallalieu, and Charles H. Fowler were elected bishops, and William Taylor was elected missionary bishop for Africa. Ninde was born in New York in 1832. He is an *alumnus* of Wesleyan University, and was for many years a successful pastor in various Conferences. At the time of his election to the episcopacy he was president of Garrett Biblical Institute. Walden was born in Ohio in 1831, and is an *alumnus* of Belmont College. After filling various positions in the Church, he became book agent at Cincinnati in 1868, and was in that position when he was elected a bishop. Mallalieu was born in Massachusetts in 1828, and is of Huguenot ancestry. He was educated at Wesleyan University; entered the New England Conference in 1858, and was presiding elder of the Boston district when made a bishop. Fowler was born in Canada in 1837. He received his education at Genesee College and Garrett Biblical Institute, and served for several years as pastor in Chicago; in 1872 he became president of the Northwestern University; in 1876 he was elected editor of the *Christian Advocate*, and in 1880 he became secretary of the Missionary Society, a position in which he was serving when elected a bishop.

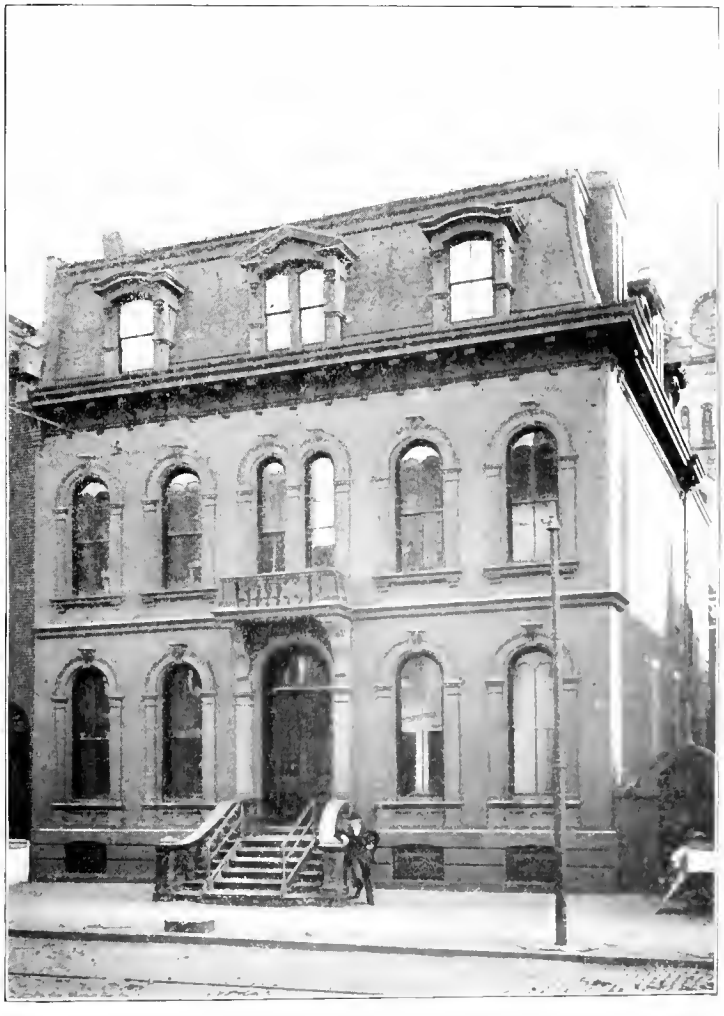
The bishops brought to the attention of the 1884 Conference the Woman's Home Missionary Society, an organization formed in 1880 at Cincinnati, Ohio. The society was established with the object of enlisting and organizing the efforts of Christian women on behalf of the needy and destitute women and children of the country, without distinction of race, and of co-operating with other societies in educational and missionary work. The Conference approved of the society, and adopted a constitution for its government and operation. At present there are twenty-six hundred auxiliary societies in seventy-nine Annual Conferences, having a membership of seventy-five thousand. The society has under its care one hundred mission stations and nearly three hundred missionaries, and

expends in its work annually more than two hundred thousand dollars. Appropriations are made for the support of work among foreign populations in our own land and for the support of the work in Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and wherever the national flag may be unfurled.

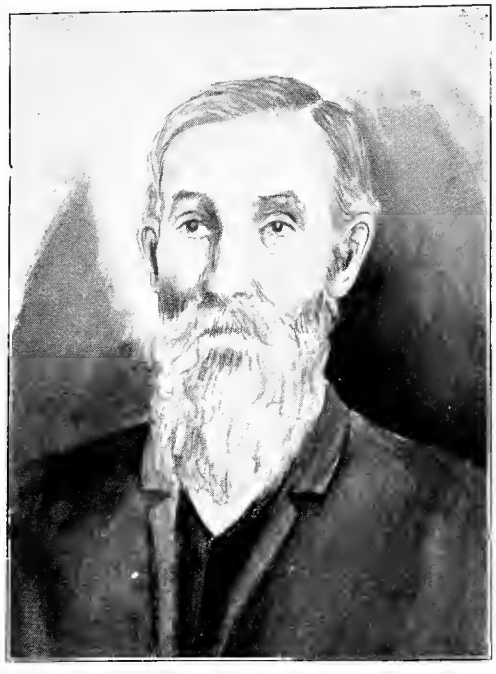
A Centennial Conference was held in the city of Baltimore in December, 1884, to celebrate the completion of the first hundred years of American Methodism. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, took the initial steps, and opened up correspondence on the matter with other branches of Methodism. The proposition having been favorably received, a joint committee completed arrangements for the gathering. The Conference continued in session several days, discussing various questions of religious, educational, social, and denominational interest.

The General Conference of 1888 was held in the city of New York. Very early in the session the question of the eligibility of women as delegates to the General Conference came up for discussion. Five women had been elected lay delegates to the General Conference. After an able and lengthy discussion, the question of their admission was referred to a committee, which reported adversely. The report was adopted by a vote of 237 to 198. The Conference, however, ordered the question to be submitted to the lay members of the Church for the expression of an opinion by vote. At this Conference the ministerial term was extended from three to five years for pastors, and from four to six years for presiding elders. Six bishops were elected, five of whom were general superintendents, and one the missionary bishop of India and Malaysia. It was ordered that it should require a majority of two-thirds of all the votes cast to constitute an election to the episcopacy. John H. Vincent, James N. Fitzgerald, Isaac W Joyce, John P Newman, and Daniel A. Goodsell were elected bishops; and James M. Thoburn a missionary bishop for India and Malaysia.

John H. Vincent was born in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in 1832, and entered the New Jersey Conference at the age of twenty-one, serving as a pastor in that



BISHOP SIMPSON'S HOME IN PHILADELPHIA.



REV. S. R. BEGGS,
The first regular Methodist Pastor in Chicago.

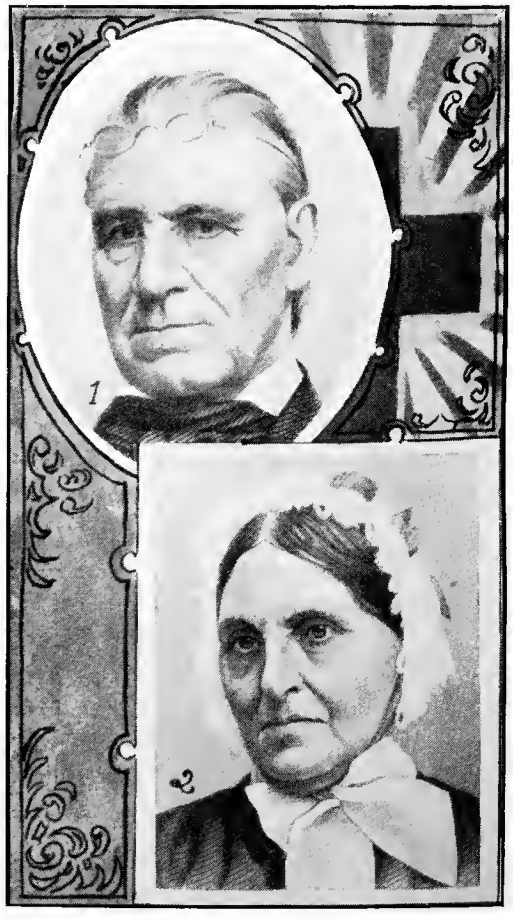
and in the Rock River Conference until 1865, when he was made agent of the Sunday-school Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He became widely known as a leader in Sunday-school work, and as the organizer of the Chautauqua movement for popular education.

James N. Fitzgerald was born in Newark, New Jersey, in 1837 He was educated for the legal profession, and at the age of twenty was admitted to the bar. After a few years of practice, feeling convinced that his mission was to preach the gospel, he joined the Newark Conference, and for seventeen years served with conspicuous success as a pastor in that Conference. In 1880 he was made recording secretary of the Missionary Society. Bishop Fitzgerald is a strong preacher, an ideal presiding officer, and the jurist of the board of bishops.

Isaac W Joyce was born in Ohio in 1836, was educated at Indiana Asbury University, and was for thirty years a successful pastor in Indiana and Ohio. At the time of his election he was serving as pastor of St. Paul's Church, Cincinnati.

John P. Newman was born in New York in 1826, was educated at Cazenovia Seminary, and entered the Troy Conference. He became a pastor in New York city in 1858, and was sent five years later to New Orleans. In 1869 he was elected chaplain of the United States Senate, and became pastor of the Metropolitan Church in Washington, D. C. He was repeatedly pastor of this church, serving it for the third time when elected a bishop. Bishop Newman was an extensive traveler, an author of some note, and an orator of great power. He died at Saratoga Springs, New York, July 5, 1899.

Daniel A. Goodsell was born in 1840



THE SAILOR PREACHER AND HIS WIFE.
1. Edward T. Taylor. 2. Mrs. E. T. Taylor.

at Newbury, New York, was educated at the New York University, and entered the New York East Conference. After successful pastorates in many leading churches, he was elected secretary of the Educational Society, as successor to Dr. D. P Kidder, and served in this capacity until his election as bishop.

The career of Bishop Thoburn is bound up with the history and development of missions in the Orient, and will be discussed under that heading.

The second Ecumenical Conference of Methodism was held in Washington, D. C., in October, 1891. Twenty-nine Methodist branches were represented by

REV. B. ST. JAMES FRY, D. D., Editor of the *Central Christian Advocate;* died, February, 1892.

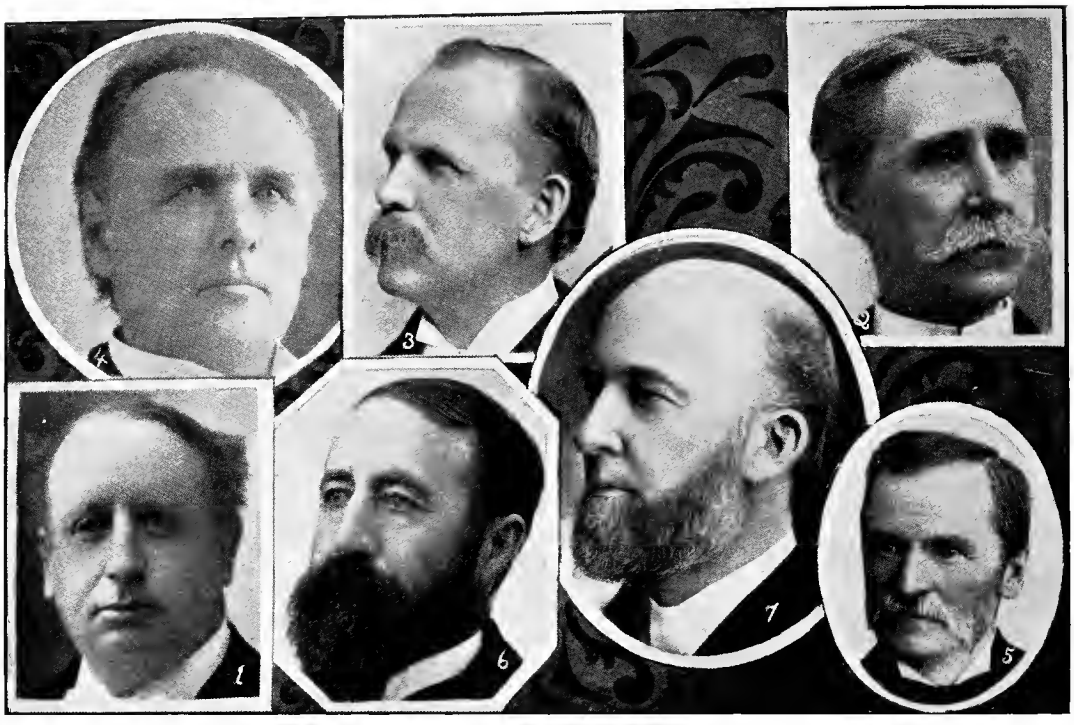
MISS FRANCES E WILLARD, President of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; died, 1898.

REV C. E. FELTON, D. D., A noted pastor in the Methodist Church.

five hundred delegates. Dr. William Arthur had been selected to deliver the opening sermon, but, feeling unequal to the task, he allowed the discourse to be read by Doctor Stevenson, President of the Wesleyan Conference. Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, visited the Conference and delivered before it a notable address, entitled "International Arbitration."

During the ensuing quadrennium the proposition to change the constitution so as to make women eligible to seats in the General Conference was thoroughly discussed. A vote on the subject was taken, as previously provided for, and resulted in a favorable majority in the Annual Conferences and elsewhere, but not sufficient to give the three-fourths in its favor required by the constitution.

The General Conference of 1892 was held in Omaha, Nebraska. The Epworth League, which had been organized in Cleveland in 1889 by representatives of the various young people's societies of the Church, was duly recognized, and adopted as one of the departments of the work of the Church. This Conference was remarkable, not so much for any direct legislation initiated, as for the important propositions which it submitted to the vote of the ministry and laity. It provided for the submission to the Annual Conferences held during 1895 and 1896 of a proposition to change the Second Restrictive Rule so as to declare that lay delegates to the General Conference "must be male members." It was contended by those favoring the submission of the proposition that, if the amendment did not receive the votes of three-fourths of the ministers present and voting, and two-thirds of a subsequent General Conference, the rule should be so construed that the words "lay delegate" might include both men and women. This proposition was not favorably received by the ministers, and the



A GROUP OF EDITORS.

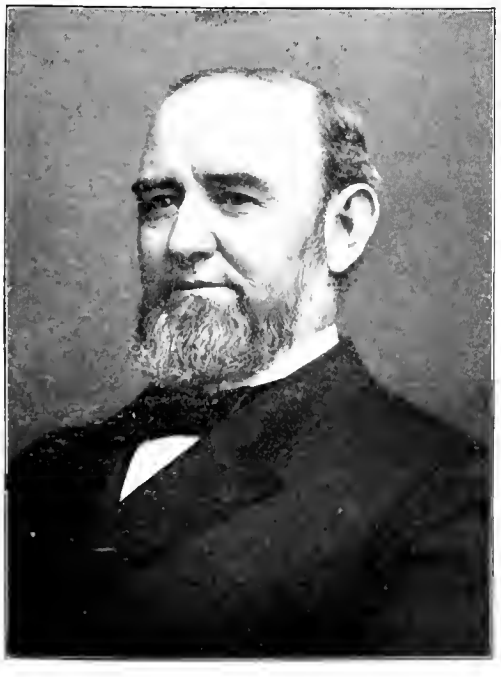
1. REV. LEVI GILBERT, D. D., *Western Christian Advocate*, Cincinnati. 2. REV. EUGENE R. SMITH, D. D. *The Gospel in All Lands*, New York City. 3. J. E. E. SAWYER, formerly *Northern Christian Advocate*, Syracuse, New York. 4. REV. CHARLES W. SMITH, LL. D., *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate*. 5. A. N. FISHER, *Pacific Christian Advocate*, Portland, Oregon. 6. REV. W. S. MATTHEWS, D. D., *California Christian Advocate*, San Francisco. 7. JOSEPH F. BERRY, *The Epworth Herald*, Chicago.

majority of them declined to vote upon it. It was hastily passed amid some confusion. Another proposition submitted, that the time for the meeting of the General Conference should be changed from the first day of May to the first Wednesday of May, was carried almost unanimously, and was duly ratified by the ensuing General Conference. A proposition to change the ratio of representation in the General Conference was lost.

The Epworth League, adopted by the Conference, was not so much a new organization as an evolution of the movement on the part of the young people of the Church toward association in Christian work and co-operation. Prior to 1889 five general societies for spiritual culture and religious work were in existence among the young people of the Church. Each society had its own constitution, organization, and special features, and each aimed to become the approved society for the entire Church. These societies were the Young People's Methodist Alliance, the Oxford League, the Young People's Christian League, the Methodist Young People's Union, and the Young People's Methodist Episcopal Alliance of the North Ohio Conference. It was recognized that a union of these separate societies was imperative for the highest efficiency of Christian work by and on behalf of young people. Accordingly, the Young People's Methodist Alliance, being the oldest and one of the largest of these societies, issued a call for a meeting of delegates from all young people's societies at Cleveland, Ohio, in May, 1889. After much discussion and a great deal of earnest prayer, it was finally decided to unite the various societies under the name

of the "Epworth League." The name and the enthusiastic determination to surrender all existing organizations and unite in a new one came in a moment of inspiration as the convention was in prayer in the Central Methodist Episcopal Church in Cleveland; and the Epworth League, at its very inception, bore the seal of divine Providence.

The General Conference of 1896 met in Cleveland, Ohio. By the action of the General Conference of 1892, the secretary was directed to put upon the General Conference roll for 1896 those presenting certificates of election. Four women—Jane Field Bashford, of Ohio; Lois S. Parker and Ada C. Butcher, of North India, and Lydia A. Trimble, of Foochow—had been duly elected, and three of the number were present with their credentials. They were seated, but their right to seats was promptly challenged. The question of their eligibility was referred to a special committee, which agreed upon a compromise report. The adoption of this report by the constitutional two-thirds majority



BISHOP EARL CRANSTON.

BISHOP C. C. McCABE.

settled the question in favor of the eligibility of women, so far as the General Conference was concerned. When, however, the question was afterward submitted to the Annual Conferences, it failed to receive the requisite three-fourths majority, and was lost.

At this Conference Charles C. McCabe and Earl Cranston were elected bishops, and Joseph C. Hartzell was elected missionary bishop of Africa. Bishop McCabe was born in Athens, Ohio, in 1836, was educated at the Ohio Wesleyan University, and entered the Ohio Annual Conference. He served for a time as chaplain in the United States army, where his personality became widely known, and he was afterward one of the agents of the Church Extension Society Later he became a missionary secretary, an office from which he was elected to the episcopacy.

Earl Cranston is a native of the same city in Ohio, having been born there four years later than his colleague. After serving important pastoral charges in Ohio, Illinois, and in Colorado, he

WILLIAM B. BRICKELL,
An eminent Methodist of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

became, in 1884, one of the agents of the Western Book Concern, and was serving in this capacity when made a bishop.

Joseph Hartzell was born at Moline, Illinois, in 1842. He was educated at the Illinois Wesleyan University, and at the Garrett Biblical Institute. Entering the Central Illinois Conference, he was transferred later to the Louisiana Conference, became editor of the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, and was secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society when made a bishop.

The powers of a missionary bishop and the word "co-ordinate," used in relation to missionary bishops and general superintendents, were defined. "A missionary bishop," it was declared, "is not subordinate to the general superintendents, but is co-ordinate with them in authority in the field to which he is appointed." In the practical application of this co-ordinate authority, it was provided that "when the general superintendents are making their assignments to the Conference, any missionary bishop who may be in the United States shall sit with them when his field is under consideration; and arrangements shall be made so that once in every quadrennium, and not oftener, unless a serious emergency arise, every mission over which a missionary bishop has jurisdiction shall be administered conjointly by the general superintendent and the missionary bishop."

When the General Conference of 1900 assembled in Chicago, one of its first acts was, by a unanimous vote, to approve of the measure for equal representation, and to order the seating of the provisional delegates. Upon the completion of the roll it was found that more than seven hundred delegates were entitled to seats in the Conference. In 1868 the General Conference had but two hundred and thirty-one delegates, and that of 1872 had but two hundred and ninety-two, even after the admission of the lay representatives. An attempt was made during the session of the Conference, but without success, to reduce the size of succeeding General Conferences, by changing the ratio of representation. The next General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the first of the twentieth century, will in all probability be participated in by more than eight hundred delegates, making it one of the largest deliberative bodies of which we have any record.

Early in the session Mrs. McMahan, a provisional delegate elected by the Illinois Lay Conference, and the only woman chosen to a seat in the General Conference, presented a letter of withdrawal in which she declared that, "waiving none of the principles involved in the eligibility of women, yet, for the sake of removing every possible hindrance to the

immediate seating of these provisional delegates, so far as that hindrance may be occasioned by the question of my admission, I shall not present my credentials for admission to this Conference." This letter, and the spirit which prompted it, made a very favorable impression upon the Conference.

The committee appointed at Cleveland in 1896 to submit a constitution for the consideration of the General Conference of 1900, made its report, which, after considerable discussion and some modifications, was adopted. It was ordered by the General Conference that this constitution be submitted to the Annual Conferences in 1900 and 1901 for their action thereon. The bishops were also authorized, if the Annual Conferences should concur in these recommendations by a vote of three-fourths of all members present and voting, to declare the constitution to be duly adopted and in force as the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The time limit was renewed so far as it related to pastors, and the bishops were directed to appoint the preachers to the pastoral charges annually. The term of office of presiding elders was left unchanged, being six consecutive years, and not more than six years in any consecutive twelve, except in mission Conferences, where it may be or more than six years.

The Twentieth Century Thank-Offering movement was heartily approved by the Conference, and provision was made to carry forward, and in an effective manner, the canvass already begun.

The Conference elected Edwin W Parker and Frank W Warne missionary bishops for Southern Asia, and David H. Moore and John W Hamilton, bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. David H. Moore was born in Athens, Ohio, in 1837, and was the third of her citizens to become a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop McCabe and Bishop Cranston, who immediately preceded him in the order of election, having also been born in that city. Bishop Moore was educated at the Ohio University, and entered the Ohio Conference in 1860. He enlisted in the Union army where he rose to the position of lieutenant-colonel. After the Civil War he re-entered the ministry in the Ohio Conference, and was afterward transferred to the Cincinnati Conference. For a time he was president of the Wesleyan Female College at Cincinnati; later he became chancellor of the University of Denver, and in 1889, on the death of Doctor Bayliss, he was elected editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*, a position from which he was chosen a bishop.

John W Hamilton was born in West Virginia in 1844, and was educated at Mt. Union College. In 1866 he entered the Pittsburgh Annual Conference. In 1868 he was transferred to the New England Conference, and was for several years pastor of the People's Church of Boston. In 1892 he was made secretary

IRA D SANKEY.

of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, and was serving in that capacity when elected to the episcopacy.

The committee on episcopacy made the following report upon the matter of assigning the bishops to their residences: "The power to determine where the general superintendents shall reside inheres in the General Conference. In the exercise of that power it has from time to time prescribed the method in which the location of the bishops respectively should be designated."

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.

A LITTLE more than sixteen years after the division of the Methodist piscopal Church, the southern states ceded from the Federal Union. That cession and the war were direct results the separation of the Churches North d South into distinct ecclesiastical dies, no one would, perhaps, be ready claim. But that the division had ich to do with the withdrawal of the uthern states from the Union, there nnot be the slightest doubt. The ethodist Episcopal Church was nearer e hearts and lives of the American ople than any other Christian organi- tion. The Methodist Church, accord- g to President Lincoln's own state- ent, sent more soldiers to the field, ore nurses to the hospitals, and more ayers to heaven than any other. This is as true of the South as it was of the orth. Referring to the Church in nerica, the writer of the article in the Encyclopedia Britannica" on Meth- ism declares that it is more properly tional in its character, as an American urch, than any other church in the tes. Had the representatives of the o bodies found it possible in 1844 and bsequently to live harmoniously in the ne ecclesiastical union, the war would, least, have been delayed, and per- ps indefinitely postponed. This, how- er, is in the domain of conjecture. It ay have been that the Union had first receive the baptism of blood that came th the Civil War, to purify and fit her the mission to which Providence had lled her. Several crucial matters had en clamoring for settlement since the option of the constitution of the gov- ment in 1787 The constitution of e United States sanctioned no remedies to which a state might have recourse in case its rights or its supposed rights were invaded. That states should have had grievances from time to time is not surprising. And, considering the emphasis some were inclined to place on state sovereignty, it is not surprising that a state or groups of states should have proposed remedies of their own for the adjustment of their differences. The delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, who met in secret session at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1814, were accused—whether truthfully or falsely, it is needless to say here—of plotting to overthrow the Union. The people of South Carolina proposed the remedy of nullification in 1832. So it is not wonderful that the southern states in 1860 tried the fearful experiment of secession. The war between the states was the most terrible in the history of mankind. But it did put to the test the value of local remedies for the settlement of differences between states and the Federal Union. The people of this whole country have been taught by the war to try no more local remedies, but to leave the adjustment of their troubles in the future to the supreme court of the United States, and to the verdict of the whole people expressed through constitutional forms. Our countrymen will never be called to battle with each other again. As often as they take up arms in the future it will be against a common foe. In no part of this country is there to be found more love for the Union than in the states which attempted to leave it in 1860.

In the year 1860 the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had on its membership roll 537,136 white members,

BISHOP WILLIAM CAPERS.

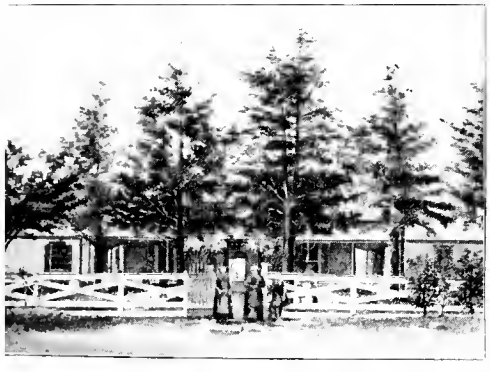
W. G. E. CUNNYNGHAM.

207,776 colored members, and 4,160 Indian members, a total of over three-quarters of a million. In 1866 the membership of the Church had fallen to 511,161, a loss of a quarter of a million as the result of the war. What the section of the country occupied by the Southern Church suffered between the years 1860 and 1866 is a record that can never be written. Henry W Grady, the brilliant southern editor and orator, in a speech delivered before the New England Society at its annual banquet in New York city in 1886, spoke of the return of the southern soldier to his ruined home after the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox. "Will you bear with me," said he, "while I tell you of another army (contrasting the southern with the northern) that sought its home at the close of the late war? An army that marched home in defeat and not victory, in pathos and not splendor, but in glory that equaled yours, and to hearts as loving as ever welcomed heroes home. Let me picture to you the footsore Confederate soldier, as, buttoning up in his faded gray jacket the parole which was to bear testimony to his children of his fidelity and faith, he turned his face southward from Appomattox in April, 1865. Think of him as ragged, half-starved, horny-handed, enfeebled by want and wounds; having fought to exhaustion, he surrenders his gun, wrings the hands of his comrades in silence, and lifting his tear-stained and pallid face for the last time to the groves that dot the old Virginia hills, pulls his gray cap over his brow and be-

BISHOP GEORGE F. PIERCE,

At forty-three (1), at sixty (2), and at seventy (3) years of age.

ıs the slow and painful journey. hat does he find?—let me ask you who nt to your homes eager to find, in the lcome you had justly earned, full pay- ːnt for four years of sacrifice—what es he find when, having followed the ttle-stained cross against overwhelm- ɡ odds, dreading death not half so ıch as surrender, he reaches the home left so prosperous and beautiful? He ds his house in ruins, his farm de- stated, his slaves free, his stock killed, ; barn empty, his trade destroyed, his ɔney worthless; his social system, ıdal in its magnificence, swept away; s people without law or legal status; s comrades slain, and the burdens of



"SUNSHINE."
Home of Bishop Pierce.

ıers heavy on his shoulders. Crushed defeat, his very traditions gone; with- t money, credit, employment, mate- l training; and, besides all this, con- ɔnted with the gravest problem that er met human intelligence—the estab- hing of a status for the vast body of ; liberated slaves.

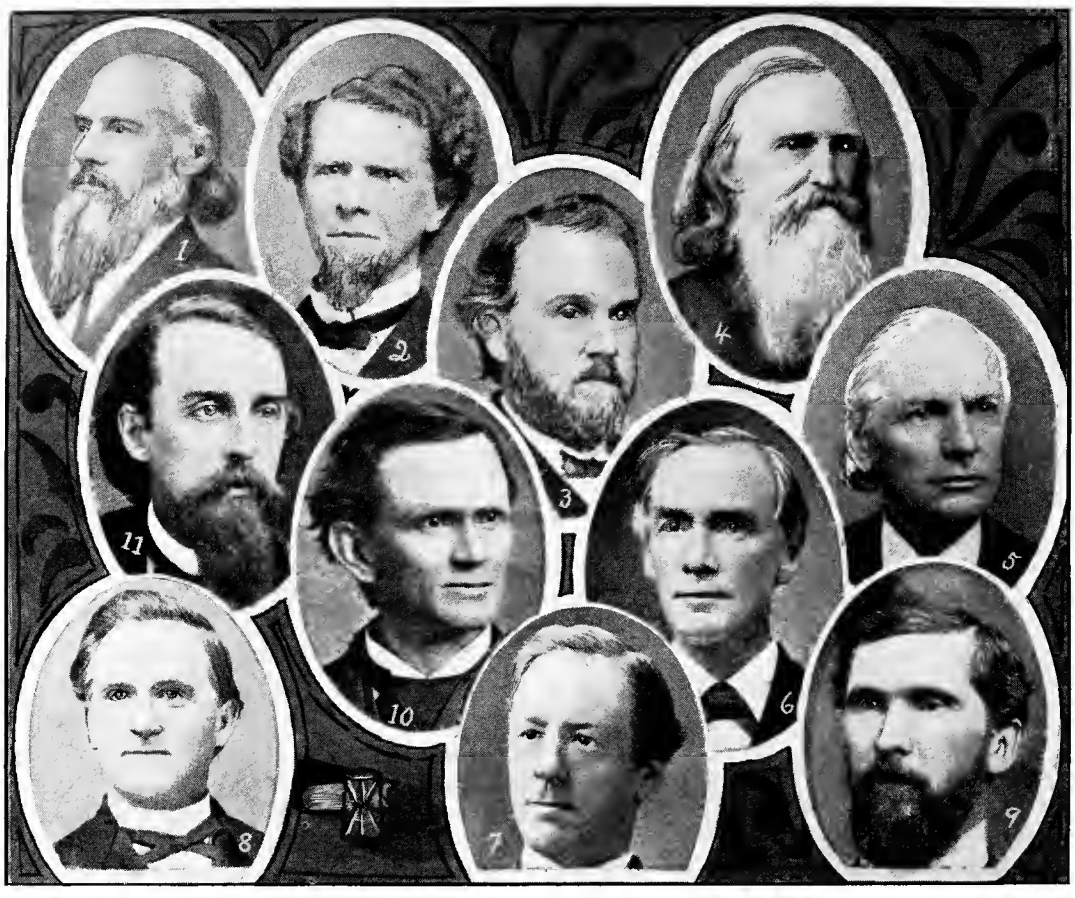
"What does he do—this hero in gray th a heart of gold? Does he sit down sullenness and despair? Not for a y. Surely God, who had stripped m of his prosperity, inspired him in ; adversity. As ruin was never before overwhelming, never was restoration ifter. The soldier stepped from the nches into the furrow; horses that had

BISHOP JOHN EARLY.

charged Federal guns marched before the plow, and fields that ran red with human blood in April were green with the harvest in June; women reared in luxury cut up their dresses and made breeches for their husbands, and, with a patience and heroism that fit woman always as a garment, gave their hands to work. There was little bitterness in all this. Cheerfulness and frankness prevailed."

No General Conference was held during the war. The next to be summoned after the one held in Nashville in 1858, met in New Orleans in April, 1866. The place chosen was Carondelet Street Church. Five of the six bishops—An-

BISHOP ROBERT PAINE.



L. M. LEE AND OTHER NOTED METHODISTS OF VIRGINIA.

1. L. M. Lee.
2. J. E. Edwards.
3. W. W. Bennett.
4. Leo Rosser.
5. William McGee.
6. J. D. Southall.
7. A. G. Brown.
8. P. A. Peterson.
9. J. H. Amiss.
10. R. N. Sledd.
11. J. P. Garland.

drew, Paine, Pierce, Early, and Kavanaugh—were present; Bishop Soule was too old and infirm to be present. During the session the New York East Conference sent a telegraphic dispatch which was received with much pleasure. It read as follows:

"WHEREAS, The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is now in session in the city of New Orleans; therefore

"*Resolved*, That we, the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, hereby present to that venerable representative body our Christian salutations, and cordially invite them, together with us, to make next Sabbath, April 8, 1866, a day of special prayer, both in private and the public congregations, for the peace and unity of our common country, and for the full restoration of Christian sympathy and love between the churches, especially between the different branches of Methodism in the nation.

"That the secretary be instructed to transmit by telegraph a copy of this resolution to the secretary of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at New Orleans."

The General Conference, by a standing vote, responded to these Christian salutations and united by cordial agreement with the New York East Conference in setting apart Sunday, April eighth, as a day for "special and solemn prayer, in

private and in the public congregations, for the peace and unity of our common country." The General Conference of 1866 met amid the distraction and demoralization caused by the war and its outcome. It could hardly be expected that legislation in the Church would move along the orderly ways to be expected in a settled social state. But it is remarkable that while much of the legislation adopted by this Conference was, at the time, thought to be more or less radical, it should be found, after the

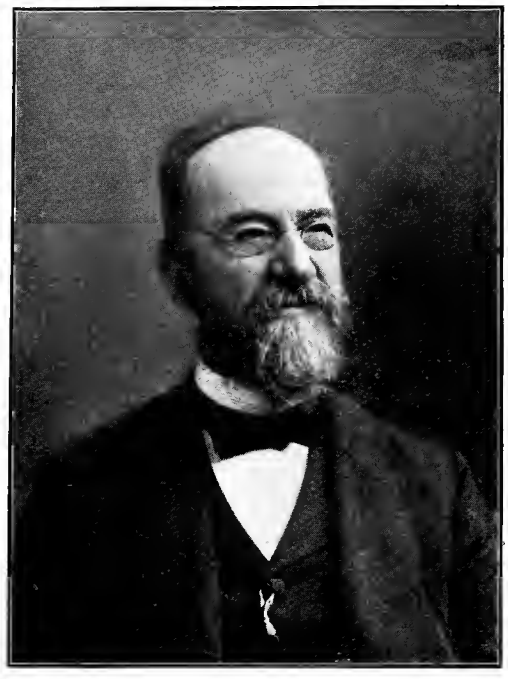
BISHOP W. M. WIGHTMAN.

lapse of a third of a century, to be in line with the wisest opinion of the Church. For instance, the General Conference of 1866 introduced equal lay representation. After thirty-three years of consideration and discussion, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted the same measure. The General Conference of 1866 extended the time limit from two to four years. Afterward the Methodist Episcopal Church extended the time limit from three to five years, and it now, in 1900,

BISHOP H. H. KAVANAUGH.

has taken it away altogether. The General Conference of 1866 authorized the use of Wesley's Prayer-Book in the Sunday service. An edition of the same was ordered for the use of the churches, and was brought out in 1867 by the Publishing House in Nashville. That part of the Prayer-Book provided for the Sunday service, however, did not come into general use, as no congregation was required to adopt it, unless by choice. The parts of the Prayer-Book which provided for the sacraments of baptism, and the Lord's Supper, for the marriage ceremony, and the burial service, for the dedication of churches, for the reception of members into the Church, and for the

BISHOP L. PARKER.



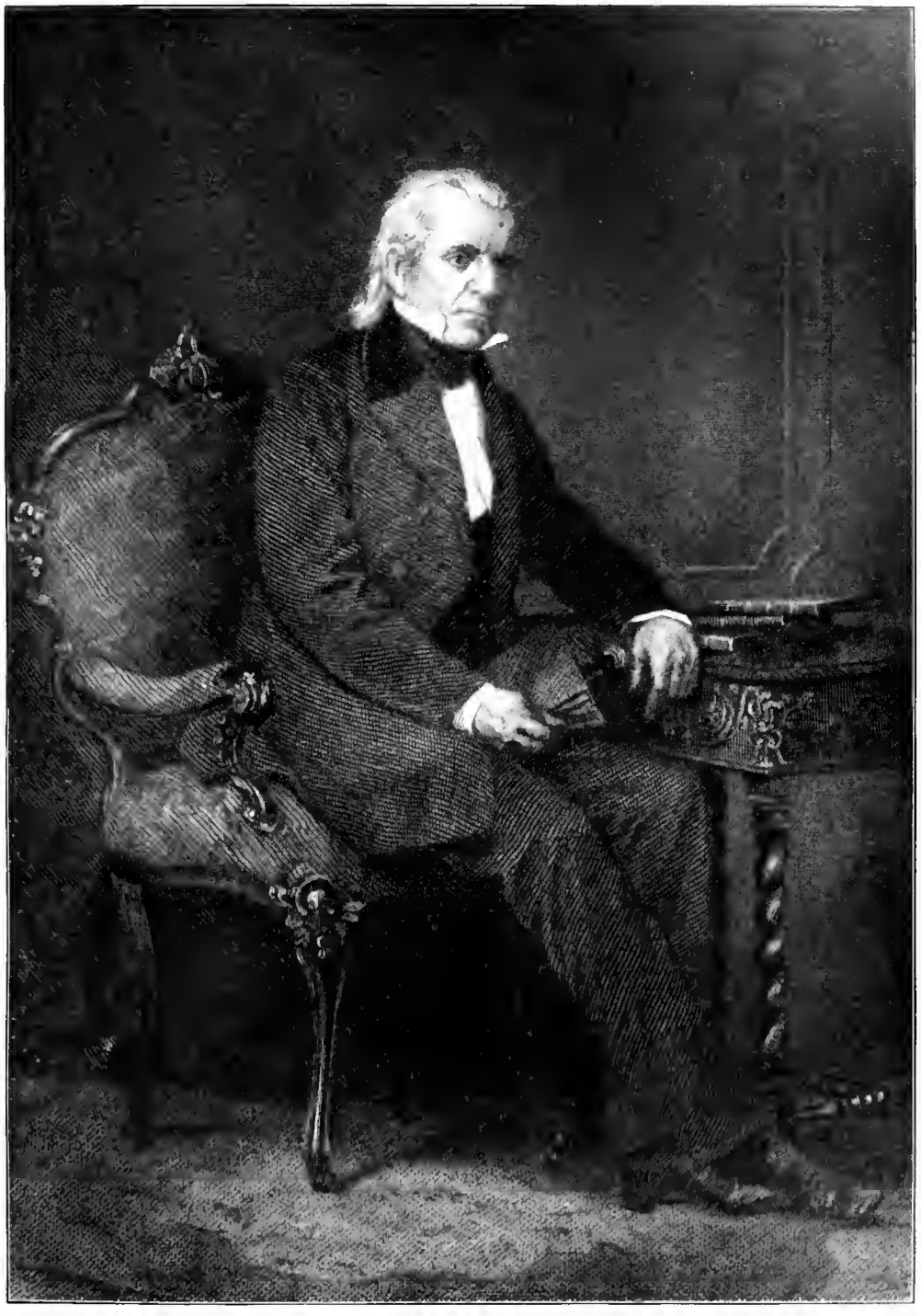
BISHOP JOHN C. GRANBERRY.

ordination of deacons, elders, and bishops, were incorporated into the Book of Discipline, and were required. It was strange that, while the Prayer-Book was used in nearly all the public services of the Church, the part which provided for the Sunday worship should have been ignored. But we find after a generation that the churches in both sections are disposed to use more of the Prayer-Book in the Sunday worship. The Methodist Episcopal Church being the first Protestant episcopal church organized in America after the Revolution, and having the first Protestant episcopal bishop ordained on American soil, and receiving straight from Mr. Wesley the Anglican Articles of Religion and the Anglican Liturgy, one is at a loss to understand why there should have been opposition to the use of the Prayer-Book in the Sunday service, and none whatever to the use of it in the other services of the Church.

The General Conference set aside the rule making attendance upon the class-meeting a test of membership, and also the rule imposing a probation of six months on candidates for membership. District Conferences were recommended, and at the ensuing General Conference in 1870 were formally adopted. Bishops Soule and Andrew were, at their own request, retired from active service, and four new bishops—W M. Wightman, Enoch M. Marvin, David S. Doggett, and Holland N. McTyeire—were elected. Doctor Wightman was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on January 29, 1808. His father was a native of that city; his mother, an Englishwoman, belonged to Plymouth, in Devonshire. When a child she had known John Wesley, and before leaving her native land had been conducted by Dr. Adam Clarke to class-meeting. Wightman graduated from the college at Charleston in 1827, and during his senior year was licensed to preach. He had been converted two years before at a camp-meeting near

MRS. ANNE ELIZA BYRD.

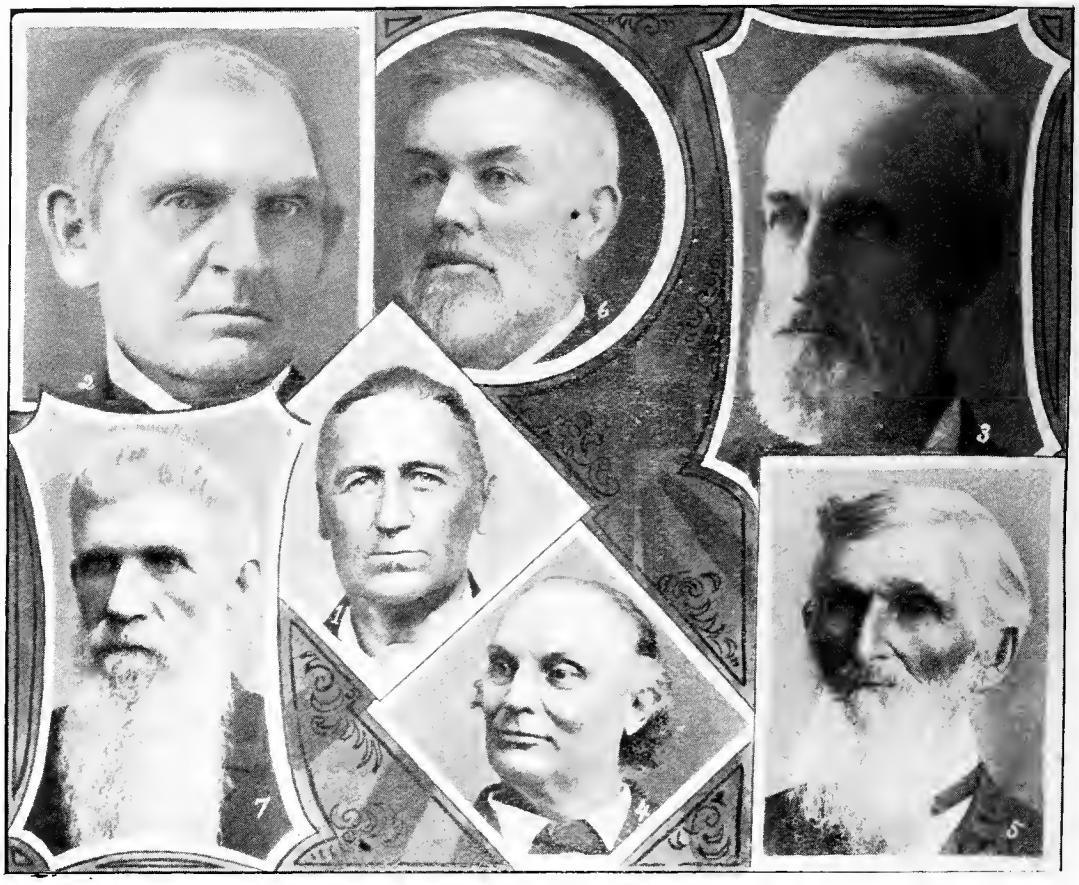
Granddaughter of General Howe of the Revolution, and an influential and saintly member of the Methodist Church in Cedartown, Georgia.



PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK.

He was baptized and received into the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1849, by the Rev. J. B. McFerrin, D. D.

Charleston, and soon became convinced that he was called to the ministry. Dr. William Capers, afterward bishop, was his pastor at the time, and James O. Andrew, afterward bishop, was his presiding elder. During his senior year he was licensed to preach. He joined the Conference at Camden, South Carolina, when he was just twenty years old. At the suggestion of Doctor Olin, he was



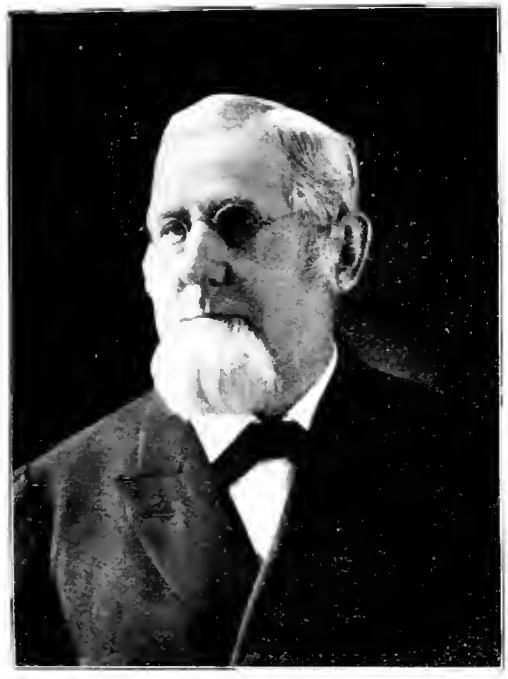
DOCTOR McFERRIN AND OTHER NOTED SOUTHERN METHODISTS.

1. REV. PETER DOUB, D. D.; born in North Carolina in 1796; joined the Virginia Conference in 1818; Professor of Biblical Literature in Trinity College, North Carolina. 2. REV. JOHN B. MCFERRIN, D. D., of the Tennessee Conference. 3. REV. JOSEPH B. WEST, D. D., of the Tennessee Conference. 4. REV. E. W. SPEER, D. D., of the North Georgia Conference. 5. REV. L. RUSH, of the North Georgia Conference. 6 REV. R. W. BIGHAM, of the North Georgia Conference. 7. REV. HARWELL PARKS, of the North Georgia Conference.

appointed, in 1834, president of Randolph-Macon College. For fourteen years he acted as editor of the *Southern Christian Advocate*. He was president of Wofford College for five years, and after 1859 was chancellor of the Southern University, at Greensboro, Alabama, until his election. He wrote the "Life of Bishop William Capers."

The Rev. Enoch M. Marvin, D. D., was born in Warren county, Missouri, on June 12, 1823, his parents having removed thither from Massachusetts. He joined the Church in 1839, at a camp-ground in St. Charles county. In 1841 he entered the Missouri Conference. He was pastor at Centenary and First churches in St. Louis during the Civil War. He served as chaplain in the Confederate army, and was for a time at Marshall Station, Texas. He visited the China missions in 1876, and on his return, by way of England, he attended the British Wesleyan Conference as fraternal delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He was the author of several books, the most popular of which was his "To the East by Way of the West." He died on November 26, 1877

Dr. David S. Doggett was born in Virginia, and was fifty-six years old at the time of his election. He studied at the University of Virginia, and was admitted on trial in the Virginia Conference in 1829. He was profes-

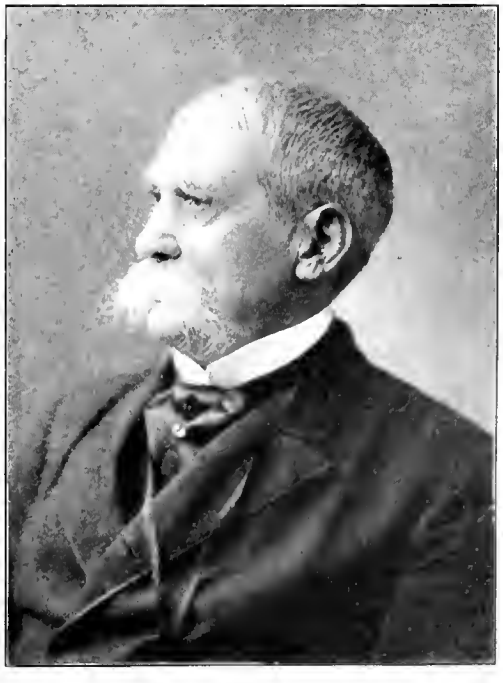


REV. JOHN W. CUNNINGHAM.
The oldest member living of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; born in Kentucky in 1824; entered the Kentucky Conference in 1844; his name succeeds that of Bishop Andrew on the list of ministers who subscribed their names on June 1, 1845.

sor in Randolph-Macon College from 1842 to 1845, and from 1850 to 1858 was editor of the *Quarterly Review*. When elected bishop he was serving as pastor of Centenary Church, Richmond, Virginia.

The Rev. Holland N. McTyeire, D. D., was a native of Barnwell, South Carolina. He graduated from Randolph-Macon College, and in 1845 joined the Virginia Conference. He served churches in Mobile, Demopolis, Columbus, and New Orleans. In 1846 the General Conference which met in Petersburg, Virginia, elected Dr. Thomas O. Summers, then pastor of St. Francis Street Church, Mobile, associate editor of the *Southern Christian Advocate*, published in Charleston, South Carolina, and the Rev. Holland N. McTyeire, stationed at Williamsburg, Virginia, was appointed to the St. Francis Street Church to take the place of Doctor Summers. Here he met Miss Amelia Townsend, who afterward became his wife. Miss Amelia's mother was a leading member of the St. Francis Street Church, and a half-sister of Mrs. Martha Crawford, the mother of Miss Frances Crawford. Miss Crawford afterward became Mrs. Commodore Vanderbilt. Through this relation to the Vanderbilt family, Bishop McTyeire secured the money for the establishment of Vanderbilt University.

The General Conference of 1870 met in Memphis, with one hundred and six lay and one hundred and twenty-six clerical delegates. Bishop Paine, while addressing the Conference on the last day of the session, made some significant remarks. "The inauguration of the system of lay delegation," he stated, "has worked admirably, confirming our conviction that the laity can aid greatly in managing the great interests of the Church; and I hope that our lay brethren will return home with the



HENRY W. HILLIARD.
Of Georgia; formerly member of Congress from Alabama; minister to Belgium and Brazil; a local Methodist preacher.

A. G. HAYGOOD AND OTHER NOTED PREACHERS.

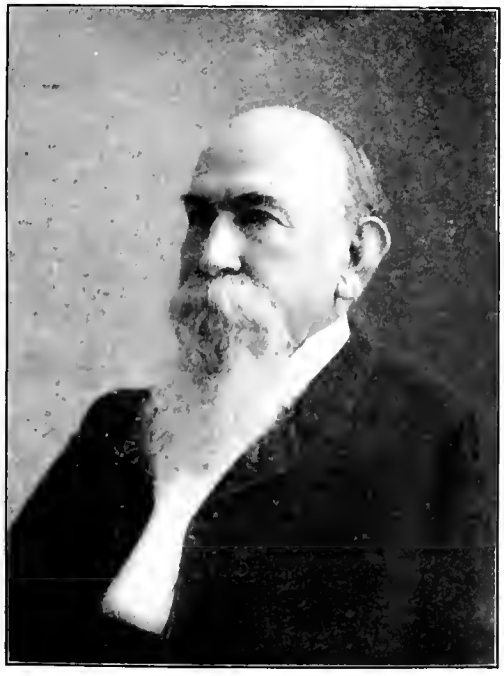
1. ATTICUS GREENE HAYGOOD. 2. J. G. PEARCE, North Georgia Conference. 3. W. P. HARRISON, South Georgia Conference. 4. H. H. PARKS, North Georgia Conference. 5. W. M. CRUMLEY, North Georgia Conference. 6. H. J. ADAMS, North Georgia Conference. 7. WEYMAN H. POTTER, North Georgia Conference. 8. W. J. SCOTT, North Georgia Conference. 9. W. E. DAILEY, of Texas. 10. JOHN WESLEY DE VILBISS, late of Texas. 11. BENJAMIN ARBOGAST, of Virginia.

impression that they are not only welcome, but that they are felt to be an important element in our deliberations."

Between the years 1866 and 1870 the bishops formed several Annual Conferences composed of colored ministers. The preachers of these colored Conferences requested the General Conference of 1870 to appoint a commission of five to consider, in connection with delegates of their own, the propriety of organizing the colored members into a distinct ecclesiastical body. The General Conference of 1866 had directed the bishops to organize the colored members into an independent body, if the time should come "when, in their godly judgment, it would be better for them." So in December of the year 1870 a conventional General Conference, composed of representatives of eight Annual Conferences of colored preachers, was held in Jackson, Tennessee. Bishops Paine and McTyeire presided, and the colored Conferences were organized into a separate ecclesiastical body. Two colored ministers were ordained bishops—the Rev. W H. Miles and the Rev. R. H. Vanderhorst. The name chosen for the Church was "The Colored Methodist

Episcopal Church." All property held by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the use of their colored members, was turned over to the new Church. The value of this property was estimated at between a million and a million and a half of dollars. Two schools were established by the Southern Church for the education of teachers and preachers of the colored Church. One, known as Paine Institute, named in honor of Moses U. Paine, who gave to the endowment twenty-five thousand dollars, is located at Augusta, Georgia. The other, known by the name of the Normal and Theological Institute of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, is located at Jackson, Tennessee. An assessment is every year placed upon each of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the support of these schools.

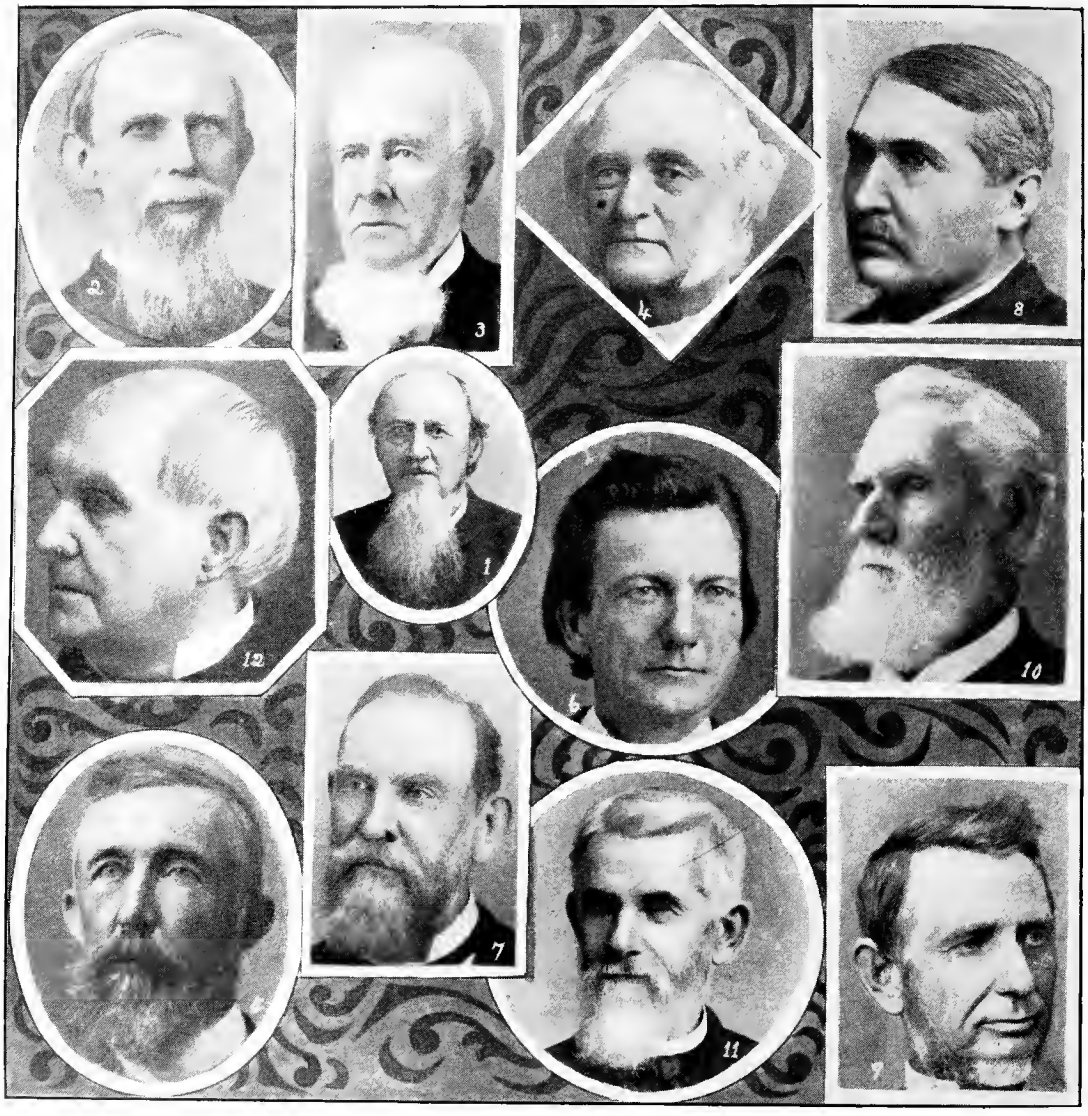
The General Conference of 1870 consolidated the foreign and domestic mission boards and elected the Rev. Dr. John B. McFerrin missionary secretary. The Rev. John C. Keener, D. D., was elected bishop.



BISHOP JOSEPH S. KEY.

P. P. NEELY, D. D.,
Of the Alabama Conference.

John Christian Keener was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 7, 1819. When nine years of age he entered Wilbraham Academy, and was for three years under the care of Dr. Wilbur Fisk. When the Wesleyan University was established at Middletown, Connecticut, he removed with Doctor Fisk, who was its first president, and became a member of the first regular class formed in the Wesleyan University, graduating in 1835. Three years later he was converted when in Baltimore. He was licensed to preach in Alabama in 1841, and preached in that state for seven years. He then removed to New Orleans, where he served as pastor and presiding elder for fourteen years. During the war he was superintendent of chaplains in the Confederate army. He was presiding elder and editor of the *New Orleans Christian Advocate* from 1865 to 1870, and in 1873 founded the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Mexico. He is the author of "The Post Oak Circuit," and "Studies of Bible Truths."



LEADING SOUTHERN METHODISTS IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE CENTURY.

1. REV. A. M. CHREITZBERG, Historian of South Carolina Methodism. 2. REV. W. F. COOK, of the North Georgia Conference; often delegate to the General Conference. 3. REV. F. W. SPEER, of the Kentucky Conference. 4. REV. HIRAM MOORE, of Kentucky. 5. REV. G. G. SMITH, of the North Georgia Conference; Historian of Georgia Methodism. 6. REV. C. A. EVANS, General in the Confederate Army, and since the Civil War pastor of the leading churches in the North Georgia Conference. 7. REV. C. A. FULWOOD, of the Florida Conference; often delegate to the General Conference. 8. REV. R. A. YOUNG, of the Tennessee Conference; formerly Missionary Secretary. 9. REV. J. W. HINTON, of the South Georgia Conference; more than thirty years presiding elder and many times Chairman of the Delegation to the General Conference. 10. REV. WILLIAM NEVIL BONNER, of Texas. 11. REV. WILLIAM H. MOOD, of South Carolina. 12. REV. JOHN MATTHEWS, of the Tennessee Conference; for more than fifty years a pastor of leading Southern Methodist churches.

The General Conference of 1874 was held at Louisville, Kentucky. At this session of the Conference fraternal delegates came from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and were formally received. The delegation consisted of the Rev. Dr. Albert S. Hunt, the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Fowler, and Gen. Clinton B. Fisk. A plan was proposed and adopted for paying the debt of over a third of a million dollars standing against the Publishing House. Bonds equal to the amount of debt were to be issued and placed among the members of the Church. Doctor McFerrin was elected book agent, as it was thought he could place the bonds.

He was seventy-one years old at the time, but, like the hero that he was, he accepted the position, found subscribers for the bonds, and succeeded in lifting the debt from the Publishing House.

In 1878 the General Conference met in Atlanta, Georgia. The Rev. Dr. A. W Wilson was elected missionary secretary, and the Rev. Dr. O. P Fitzgerald was elected editor of the *Nashville Christian Advocate.* In 1875 the Rev. A. M. Wynn, while pastor of the Wesley Church in Savannah, conceived the idea of building the Wesley Monumental Church. He conferred with the Rev. J. O. A. Clark, D. D., his presiding elder, and found him ready to give to the scheme his unqualified endorsement. The Quarterly Conferences of Trinity Church and Wesley Church gave their hearty approval. It was decided to make the enterprise a connectional and ecumenical one, and to invite Methodists in all parts of the world to take part in it. It was thought that it would prove a

PAUL WHITEHEAD, D. D.

pledge of fraternal union between the various branches of the great Methodist family, and bring them into closer fellowship. Dr. J. O. A. Clark was invited by Bishop George F. Pierce and the Quarterly Conferences of the two leading Methodist churches of Savannah to enter upon the task of uniting in the enterprise

REV. CHARLES B. PARSONS.

the Methodisms of the world. For two years his efforts were tentative, only a part of Doctor Clark's time being devoted to it. At the General Conference of 1878 the proposition to build a Wesley Monumental Church received the unanimous approval of that body, and Doctor Clark was appointed to visit the various Methodisms of the world, and solicit the cooperation of them all. It was singularly appropriate to build in Savannah a monument to John Wesley. And no monument could be so appropriate to Wesley as a church. He was, before all things else, a preacher of the gospel. And surely no other place on earth was so appropriate for that monument as Savannah. It was in Savannah that John Wesley originated the class-meeting and the Sunday-school. It was in Savannah that he was led to apprehend the doctrine of Christian perfection. In Savannah John Wesley gathered the children together in Sunday-school fifty years before Robert Raikes conceived the idea in England.

The General Conference of 1878 incor-

WHITEFOORD SMITH, D. D.

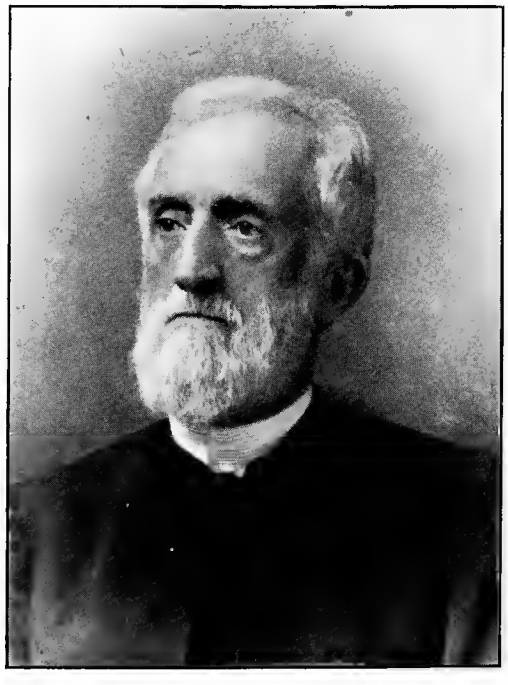
porated the different women's missionary societies, which had been forming in various localities into one, under the name of "The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South." A constitution having been provided for the new organization, Mrs. Juliana Hayes, of Baltimore, was appointed its president, and Mrs. D. H. McGavock, of Nashville, Tennessee, corresponding secretary. The first meeting of the general executive board of the society was held in Louisville, Kentucky, in May, 1879. Miss Lochie Rankin was the first missionary of the society. She was sent to China, to take charge of a school in Shanghai. In 1879 Miss Dora Rankin, the sister of Miss Lochie, was sent to China, and the two were put in charge of a school at Nantziang. The organ of the society is the *Woman's Missionary Advocate*, published at Nashville, Tennessee, with Mrs. F. A. Butler as editor.

The General Conference of 1882 met in Nashville, Tennessee. At this session the Board of Church Extension was created, and Dr. David Morton was elected secretary. Five bishops were elected—A. W Wilson, Linus Parker, A. G. Haygood, John C. Granberry, and Robert K. Hargrove. To the regret of his brethren, Doctor Haygood did not see his way clear to accept the office, and on the day following his election addressed a letter to that effect to the General Conference. It read as follows:

"*My dear and honored Brethren:*—I am deeply moved by your action of yesterday in electing me a bishop in our beloved Church. Though I might well fear the responsibility of the office, I do not shrink from its labors. Yet, with a clear conviction and a deep sense of my duty to God and my fellow-men, I respectfully and humbly decline to accept the position to which you have called me. I cannot, with a good conscience, lay down the work which I have now in hand. With perfect respect and abiding love, I am, truly your brother,

"ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD."

Dr. Alpheus W Wilson was born in Baltimore on February 5, 1834. He was educated at schools in Maryland and at



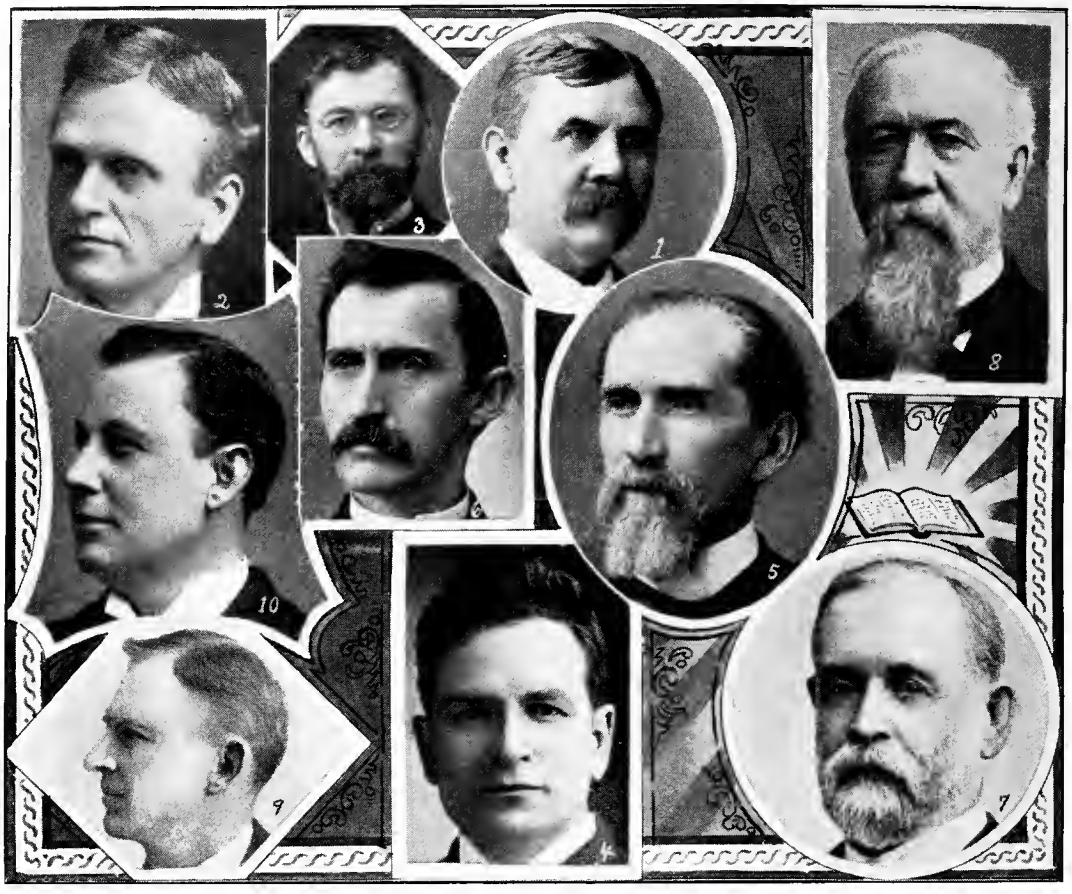
BISHOP O. P. FITZGERALD.

DR. DAVID MORTON AND OTHER LEADING METHODISTS OF THE SOUTH.

1. T. B. YARBROUGH, a distinguished member of the Methodist Church in Texas; died in 1897. 2. REV. W. D. KIRKLAND, D. D., late Sunday-school Secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 3. REV. MORGAN CALLAWAY, D. D., late Vice-President and Professor in Emory College, Oxford, Georgia. 4. REV. J. W PINER; born in 1820; entered the itineracy in 1852; present at the organization of North Texas Conference in 1867; died in 1881. 5. REV. E. M. PENDLETON, of Georgia. 6. ALFRED H. COLQUITT, Governor of Georgia and United States Senator from that state; member of the Board of Stewards of First Methodist Church, Atlanta. 7. ROBERT BATTEY, M. D., a leading Methodist of Rome, Georgia; one of the most distinguished physicians and surgeons of the age; he originated the celebrated "Battey Operation." 8. HENRY W. GRADY; the brilliant editor and orator; member of the Board of Stewards of First Methodist Church, Atlanta, Georgia. 9. REV. DAVID MORTON, D. D.; first Secretary of Board of Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Columbian College, Washington, D. C. He first joined the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but later united with the southern branch when the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was organized. He was elected secretary of the Missionary Board in 1878. Three years later he was a delegate to the first Ecumenical Methodist Conference, which met in London. He has made more episcopal tours round the world than any other of the southern bishops. He had the supervision of the missions in the East in 1886, 1888, 1890, 1898, and in 1900 he held the Conferences in Japan and China.

Rev. Dr. Linus Parker was born in 1829, in Oneida county, New York. He went to New Orleans at the age of sixteen, was converted two years later, and in 1849 entered the traveling connection in the Louisiana Conference. He was pastor and presiding elder until 1870, when he was elected as editor of the *New Orleans Christian Advocate.* He filled the episcopal office only three years.



A GROUP OF METHODIST EDITORS.

1. W. B. PALMORE, *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, St. Louis, Missouri. 2. T. N. IVEY, *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, North Carolina. 3. ALBERT J. NAST, *Der Christliche Apologete*, Cincinnati, Ohio. 4. R. J. COOK, *Advocate Journal*, Chattanooga Tennessee. 5. W. F. GLENN, *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*, Atlanta, Georgia. 6. JAMES ATKINS, Sunday-school Periodicals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Nashville, Tennessee. 7. ARTHUR EDWARDS, *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Chicago, Illinois. 8. J. E. GODBEY, *Arkansas Methodist*, Little Rock, Arkansas. 9. S. A. STEEL, formerly, *Epworth Era*, Nashville, Tennessee. 10. JOHN J. TIGERT, *Methodist Review*, Nashville, Tennessee.

The Rev. R. K. Hargove, D. D., was born, September 17, 1829, in Pickens county, Alabama. He graduated from the University of Alabama in his twenty-third year. From 1853 to 1857 he held the chair of mathematics in his *alma mater*. He represented the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the Cape May Commission and in the committee on federation in 1898. He has been secretary of the college of bishops since 1884. He is at present chairman of the committee on applications for the foreign mission field, and for translation of theology for the same. Since 1889 he has been president of the board of trustees of Vanderbilt University, and since 1894 president of the board of management of the Epworth League.

The Rev. John C. Granberry, D. D., was born, December, 1829, in Norfolk, Virginia. He graduated from Randolph-Macon College in his nineteenth year, and entered the traveling connection in the Virginia Conference shortly afterward. During four years he was chaplain of the Confederate army. From 1875 to 1882 he was professor of moral philosophy and practical theology in Vanderbilt University.

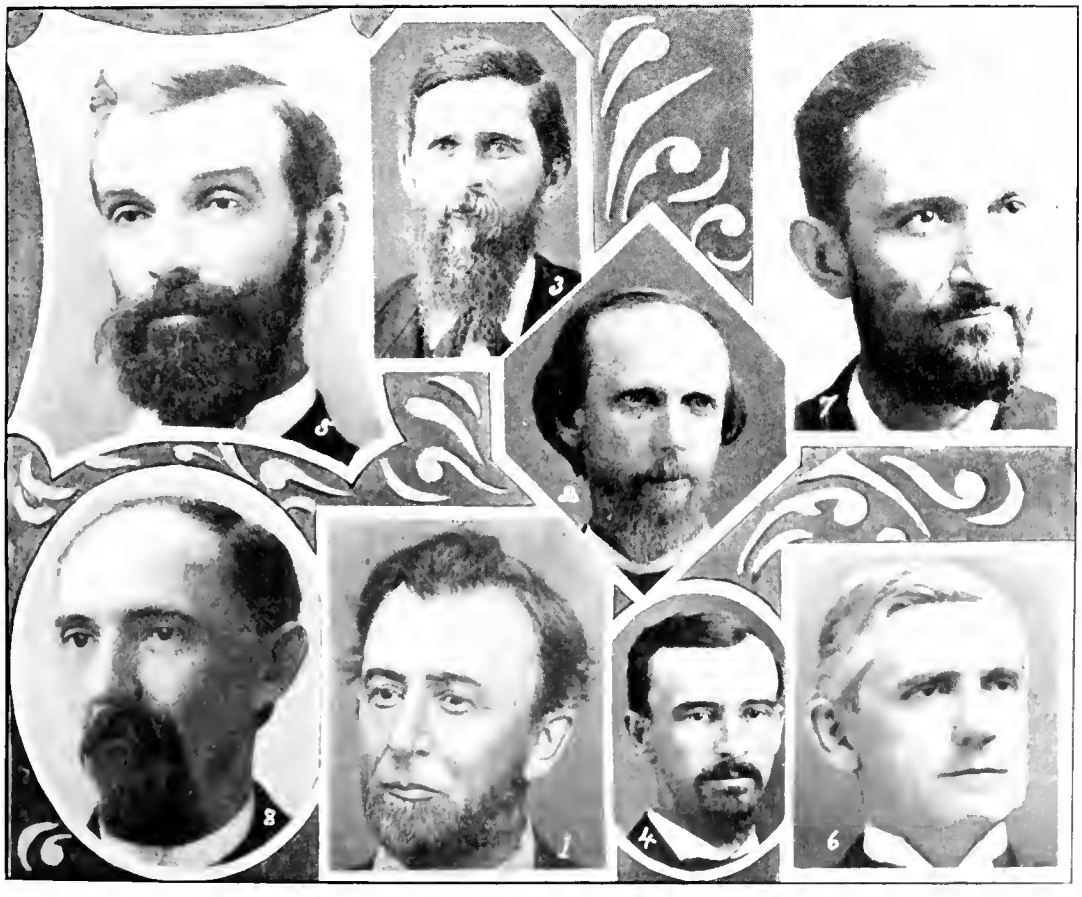
The centenary celebration of the organization of American Methodism was

observed in the city of Baltimore in December, 1884; and the Southern Methodist Church made a special thanksgiving offering of $1,382,771. Two bishops died during the year—H. H. Kavanaugh, of Kentucky, and George F. Pierce, of Georgia.

The General Conference of 1886 met in Richmond, Virginia. Four bishops were elected and ordained—W W Duncan, Charles B. Galloway, E. R. Hendrix, and J. S. Key.

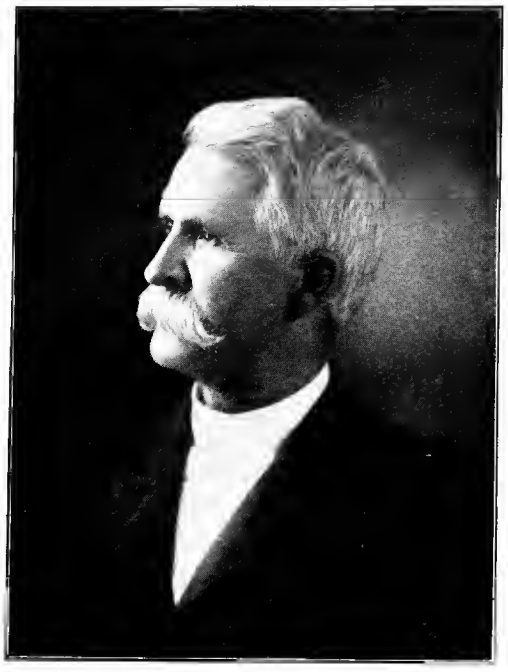
The Rev. William W Duncan, D. D., was born, December 20, 1839, at Boydton, Virginia. After studying at Randolph-Macon College, Virginia, he took his degree from Wofford College, Spartanburg, South Carolina, in 1858. Next year he joined the Virginia Conference, and was pastor in that Conference until 1875, except during the Civil War, when he was chaplain in the Confederate army. For nine years he was professor of intellectual and moral philosophy in Wofford College. He was one of the delegates to the first Ecumenical Conference, held in London.

The Rev. Charles B. Galloway, D. D., was born, September 1, 1849, at Kosciusko, Mississippi. He graduated from the University of Mississippi in 1868, and joined the Mississippi Conference immediately thereafter. He had yellow fever in Vicksburg in 1878, when he was reported dead, and his obituary written. For four years previous to his election he



COKE SMITH AND OTHER NOTED SOUTHERN METHODIST PASTORS.

1. T. F. PIERCE, North Georgia Conference. 2. W. FRANK COOK, North Georgia Conference. 3. G. W. YARBROUGH, North Georgia Conference. 4. W. H. LA PRADE, Louisiana Conference. 5. A. COKE SMITH, Virginia Conference. 6. JOHN D. HAMMOND, North Georgia Conference. 7. J. C. MORRIS, Memphis Conference. 8. W. C. LOVETT, South Georgia Conference.



BISHOP H. C. MORRISON.

was editor of the *New Orleans Christian Advocate*. In 1886 he was fraternal messenger to the General Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada, and in 1892 he represented his Church at the Wesleyan Conference, in England. He was a member of the Ecumenical Methodist Conference held at Washington, D. C., in 1891. He is president of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and one of the trustees of the John F. Slater fund. He is the author of several works: "The Life of Bishop Linus Parker," "Methodism a Child of Providence," "A Circuit of the Globe," "Modern Missions: Their Evidential Value," and "The American Commonwealth."

The Rev. Eugene R. Hendrix was born, May 17, 1847, at Fayette, Missouri. Having studied in Central College, Missouri, he graduated, in 1867, from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, and from Union Theological Seminary two years later. At the time of his election to the bishopric he was president of Central College, Missouri.

The Rev. J. S. Key, D. D., was born on July 18, 1829, in La Grange, Georgia. In 1848 he graduated from Emory College, Oxford, Georgia, and joined the Georgia Conference soon afterward. He was pastor up to his election to the office of bishop.

The General Conference of 1886 accepted the constitution prepared by Miss Lucinda B. Helm for a woman's department of the Church Extension Board; but ten years later this department was made independent, under the name of the Woman's Board of Home Missions. In May, 1887, Dr. J. B. McFerrin died, and in 1889 Bishop McTyeire was called to his eternal reward.

The General Conference of 1890 was held in Centenary Church, St. Louis. At this Conference the Epworth League was adopted. The Rev. A. G. Haygood, D. D., and the Rev. O. P Fitzgerald, D. D., were elected bishops.

Atticus Greene Haygood, who was born, November 19, 1839, in Watkins-

H. M. DU BOSE,
Secretary of the Epworth League, Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

ville, Georgia, was the eldest of six children who had for their parents the godly people, Greene B. and Martha Askew Haygood. He was converted in early childhood. He was graduated from Emory College in 1859; he joined the Georgia Conference in the following year, and served on circuits, stations and districts for twelve years. He was secretary of his Annual Conference for several years; leading delegate to the General Conference for several successive sessions; fraternal delegate in 1880 to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Sunday-school secretary and assistant missionary secretary from 1870 to 1876; and was president of Emory College from 1876 to 1884, serving as editor of the *Wesleyan Christian Advocate* during most of the time. He was manager of the Slater and the Peabody funds from 1882 to 1890. Death closed his labors in 1896.

Oscar Penn Fitzgerald was born, August 24, 1829, in North Carolina. Having received his education at the common schools in his native state, he worked in a printing office in Virginia, beginning his ministry in Georgia in 1853. He went to California two years later, where he became editor of the *Pacific Methodist* and *Christian Spectator*. He was superintendent of public instruction for California from 1867 to 1871, and *ex-officio* editor of the *California School Journal*. In 1878 he was elected editor of the *Nashville Christian Advocate*, a position which he held until his election to the episcopate. He is the author of "California Sketches," "Christian Growth," "Glimpses of Truth," "Life of McFerrin," "Life of Dr. Thos. O. Summers," "A Life Study," "Centenary Cameos," "Bible Nights," "Eminent Methodists," "The Whetstone," "The Epworth Book," "The Menagerie," and "Life of Judge Longstreet."

The General Conference of 1894 was held in Memphis, Tennessee. At this Conference the Epworth League Board was created, and the Rev. Dr. S. A. Steel was elected secretary. At this time the duty of licensing proper persons to preach was transferred from the Quarterly Conference to the District Conference. The Memphis General Conference created the General Board of Education, and elected W W Smith secretary of education.

The General Conference of 1898 was held in Baltimore. The Rev Warren A. Candler, D. D., and the Rev. H. C. Morrison, D. D., were elected bishops. Warren Aiken Candler was the fifth native Georgian to be thus honored. He was born on August 23, 1857, in Carroll county, Georgia. At the age of eighteen he graduated with first honors from Emory College. He was licensed to preach immediately afterward, and entered the North Georgia Conference. After serving for twenty-two years in the pastorate, and for two years as editor of the *Christian Advocate* at Nashville, he was elected president of Emory College, a position which he held until his election to the episcopate. Under his wise and efficient management the endowment of Emory College was more than doubled, and the influence of the institution upon the life and thought of the state greatly increased.

Henry Clay Morrison was born, May 30, 1842, in Montgomery county, Tennessee. He entered the ministry in 1865, and served for twenty-one years in the Louisville Conference. For four years he was pastor of the First Church, Atlanta. He was elected missionary secretary in 1890, and was re-elected four years later. During his last term as missionary secretary he raised one hundred and forty thousand dollars and paid off the debt on the Board of Missions.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FROM THE GANGES TO THE RIVER PLATE.

ALTHOUGH the historic districts watered by the great river Ganges gave birth to Gautama, the "Buddha" whose spiritual influence has spread all over the continent of Asia, yet his cult to-day is to be found, not in his native country, but in regions lying to the east and south. Those anxious to study Buddhism in its purity will do well to visit the island of Ceylon, which has been a British possession since the beginning of the nineteenth century. To Methodists it possesses another attraction. Ceylon, the "pearl of the Eastern Seas," is the original home of Methodist endeavor in the Orient. The story has already been told in these pages how Dr. Thomas Coke, hearing that there were half a million nominal Christians in this lovely island, sailed thither on a mission of evangelization, and died in the Indian ocean as the ship was midway between Africa and Asia. At the time of Coke's death Ceylon had not yet come finally under British rule; but by the year 1815 the change took place. To this day the crenelated gables of many of the buildings at Point de Galle and Colombo remind the traveler of the streets of Amsterdam or the Hague.

The change of masters which took place at this period was not overfavorable to the morals of the people. When the Portuguese landed in 1505, they introduced Christianity, with the result that the inhabitants of entire towns submitted to the rite of baptism. In the seventeenth century the Dutch, in their turn, converted the people from Popery to Presbyterianism. The island was divided into school districts under the superintendence of catechists. Attendance at church was made compulsory. With the overthrow of Dutch rule after 1795, Christianity disappeared and the native religions began to flourish, their temples increasing threefold. Ceylon has always been a home of Buddhism, a faith that has flourished in this island, in Siam and the Far Orient, while feeble in its native territory of India. A great work lay before Protestantism, and Methodists stepped into the breach.

The missionary impulse, happily, did not come to an end with the death of Coke. Several months before his departure a strong society had been formed at Leeds, where a remarkable sermon was preached in its favor by James Buckley; and other organizations were soon afterward started in Yorkshire, Cornwall, and at Newcastle, a movement already referred to in chapter xxix. The result of the new enthusiasm was a decision on the part of the 1815 Conference to send six missionaries to Ceylon and the East. Those who had accompanied Coke on his voyage were now at work on the island. An English nobleman, Lord Molesworth, commandant of the garrison at Point de Galle, proved a sincere friend. It was, indeed, by the influence of two of the Methodist preachers that he became a devoted Christian. A mysterious providence cut him off shortly afterward, ending a life that gave much promise. While returning home on a government transport he was shipwrecked; and he and his wife were drowned in each other's arms, thus realizing the experience he had often expressed:

> Happy, if with my latest breath
> I may but gasp His name;
> Preach Him to all, and cry in death,
> "Behold, behold the Lamb!"

FOUNDERS OF THE WOMAN'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Mrs. Thomas Rich. Mrs. E. W. Parker. Mrs. Thomas Kingsbury. Mrs. William Butler. Mrs. William Merrill. Mrs. Lewis Flanders.

One of the six missionaries, William Harvard, has left us a story of this early enterprise in his "Narrative of the Mission to Ceylon and India."

Besides the establishing of mission stations at the seaports of Colombo and Point de Galle, these missionaries began work at Matura, in the south, and Jaffna and Batticaloa in the north. To meet the wants of the southern people a printing-press was set up at Colombo, and a Singhalese grammar and dictionary were prepared. Six or seven important stations were also planted throughout this portion of the island; and native missionaries were carefully trained to work among the Tamil people in and around Jaffna in the north. Educationally and otherwise the work was zealously pushed forward.

Before long work was begun in the great city of Madras, the pioneer being James Lynch; and the city has ever since remained a center of missionary activity. It spread to Trichinopoly, Seringapatam, and Mysore, names famous in history; and an important station, having its headquarters at Bangalore, set itself to plant chapels and schools in the surrounding territory, and to furnish it with Christian works and pamphlets from its printing-press. The work of Elijah Hoole and of his colleagues, Mr. and Mrs. Mowat, is intimately associated with this work in southern India. The language there is largely the same Tamil spoken in northern Ceylon; and a corrupt Portuguese dating from the sixteenth century was also at that time in general use. The last journey of the

REV. WILLIAM BUTLER, D. D.
First Methodist missionary to India and Mexico.

sainted Bishop Heber came to an abrupt end, it may be remembered, at Trichinopoly. He met Mr. Hoole during this journey, and spoke in high terms of what he had seen of the work in Ceylon.

A missionary who arrived in Ceylon in 1826 was destined to obtain high rank as an Oriental scholar. This was Robert Spence Hardy, a Lancashire man, who accompanied Mr. and Mrs. B. Clough on their second visit. They were two of the original band who had sailed with Doctor Coke thirteen years before. Hardy's works on Buddhism and Eastern Monachism, and his contributions to learned publications, secured for him honorary membership in the Royal Society of London. He lived long enough to write the Jubilee Memorial of the Ceylon Mission.

The Rev. James Lynch, one of the two missionaries whose words exercised so powerful and lasting an effect on Lord Molesworth's mind, was destined to form a link between the early work started by Coke and the later work of American Methodism. Returning to the home land after thirty years in the Indian field, spent in Ceylon and around Madras, he was appointed to the Comber circuit in county Down, Ireland. In his old age he needed an associate, and found a congenial young man in William Butler, who was destined to be the pioneer Methodist missionary to the Orient from the United States. William Butler received a theological education at Didsbury College, and, after a few years' service in his native land, crossed in 1852 to America, where he joined the New England Conference.

The Church's resolve to enter upon the Indian field dates from the appointment in 1850 of Doctor Durbin to the duties of missionary secretary. In 1852 a fund amounting to seven thousand five hundred dollars was set apart for commencing a mission in Hindustan, and four years later active measures were set on foot. The committee believed that it had found a suitable man in Butler, then pastor of Lynn, Massachusetts. In appearance, education, and familiarity with the inhabitants of the East, both white and native, he seemed well fitted to discharge his duties with acceptance.

It was early in April, 1856, that he sailed for his far-off destination, by way of Liverpool. By this time travel had abandoned the slow passage round the Cape, and now followed the Mediterranean route, with a short land journey in Egypt. By the close of September he could report himself as in Calcutta, and some weeks later he was up the Ganges, at the sacred city of Benares. The particular territory he saw fit to choose for operations was the northwest of India, a populous region, containing at the time only twenty-nine out of the three hundred and thirteen Protestant mission stations in the empire. It included the provinces of Rohilcund and Oudh, stretching from

the snow-line of the Himalayas to the Ganges, and in extent was equal in size to the kingdom of England. But there was an astonishing density of population, amounting in Oudh and Rohilcund to over three hundred and sixty persons to the square mile. There were two large cities: Lucknow, with three hundred thousand inhabitants, and Bareilly, with one hundred thousand. The name of the former place is indelibly associated with the bloodiest incidents of the great Indian mutiny.

When Butler arrived on the scene, the East India Company, familiarly known as "John Company," was still the governing body. While it had not originally shown itself overfavorable to Christian missions, yet it gradually became more friendly; and it numbered among its officials a noble band of consistent Christian men. It was to one of these, stationed at Azimghur, Mr. Tucker, who was destined to fall an early victim to the rebels, that Butler went for consultation after visiting Benares. The result of his consultations and observations was a recommendation which he forwarded to the home board, that eight men should be sent to Lucknow, four to Bareilly and Moradabad, respectively, three to Fyzabad, and two to Shahjehanpore, Budaon, and Pilibheet, respectively; making a grand total of twenty-five. So large a numerical force had never yet been sent as a vanguard; but the field was a mighty one. At this time Butler received from the American Presbyterian Church at Allahabad a welcome gift in the person of a native interpreter and helper. Trained by them from his youth, when he was left as an orphan, Joel T Janvier proved himself a worthy auxiliary, and is to be remembered as the first native preacher of the Methodist Church in India.

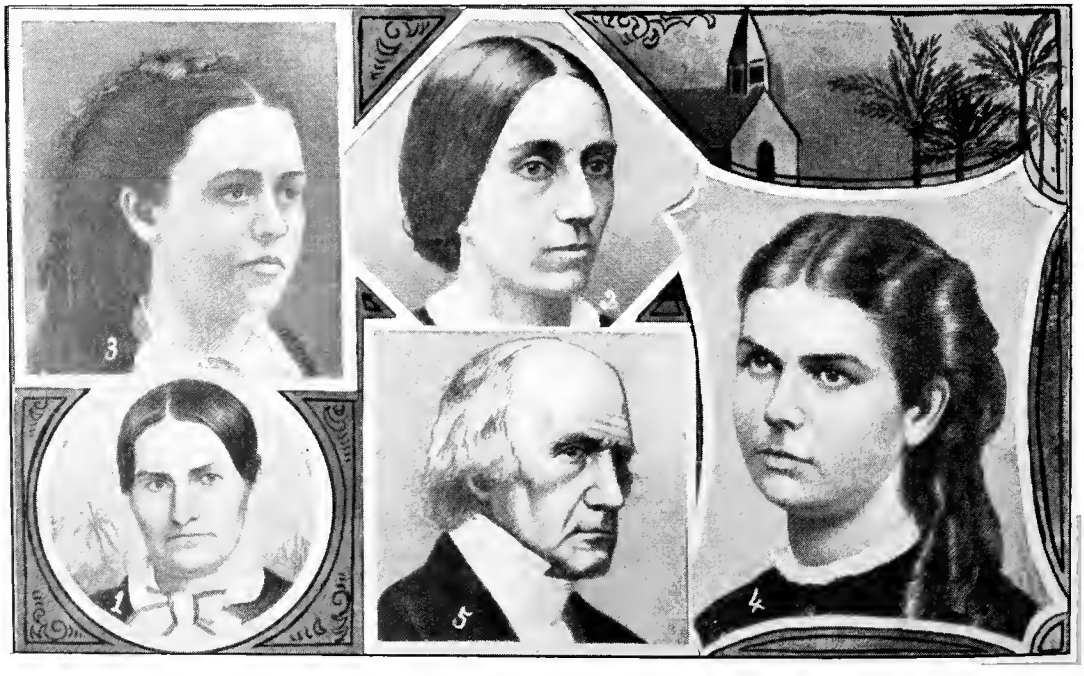
The spring of 1857 witnessed that dreadful uprising which nearly lost India to the British government. The district in which the Butlers lived was exposed to its full fury, and many of their friends, in addition to the worthy Tucker, were brutally massacred. Butler has left us a dramatic story of their flight to the Himalayas and their hairbreadth escapes from a multiplicity of dangers. The Allahabad mission was wrecked; the missionaries at Futtyghur were murdered, and the houses of the native Christians were burned or destroyed.

At the very time these momentous events were happening, two missionaries from the Postdam district in the Black River Conference, the Rev. J. L. Humphrey and the Rev. R. Pierce, were on the eve of leaving for India. On the last day of May, 1857, they bade farewell in Boston to a large circle of sympathizing friends, and next day they sailed, with their families, for Calcutta by way of the Cape. When they arrived in the Ganges the mutiny had not yet been suppressed, and from September until February they were compelled to remain at the capital. When they at length passed

MISS PHOEBE ROWE,
Native missionary in India.

into the interior, under the guidance of Joel Janvier, they did not rest at Bareilly, where the headquarters of the mission had been destroyed, but pushed on to Naini Tal, in the foot-hills of the Himalayas. Here, amid romantic surroundings and in a salubrious air, they built a mission-house and chapel, the corner-stone of which was laid by Sir Henry Ramsay, Commissioner of Kumaon and Gurwhal, a devoted friend to their work.

The province of Oudh, when Butler first stepped within its boundaries, was one of the most miserably governed provinces on the face of the earth. The Nabob was a worthless man, leading a life of dissipation, and surrounded by a horde of incapable and unscrupulous subordinates. The country was infested by swashbucklers and rowdies; property was insecure; and public improvements were shamefully neglected. Just before the outbreak of the mutiny the worthless Nabob had been deposed, and the government placed directly in the hands of responsible officials. After the mutiny the reign of John Company ceased, and the administration passed to the British crown. Twenty years later, on the first of January, 1877, the Queen of England assumed the title of Empress of India. The missionary enterprise of the Methodist Church was thus associated from the beginning with the new government, and helped along by the improved condition of affairs. That great statesman, Sir Henry Lawrence, declared when dying: "Let a Christian mission be established in Lucknow;" and it was given to Butler and Pierce to carry out his instructions. They were helped by the commissioner-in-charge, Mr. Montgomery, and were soon in possession of premises that were thoroughly repaired and fitted up at the expense of the government. The Asfee Kotee buildings, as they were called, came into their possession without any cost; and competent officials reckoned



A MISSIONARY GROUP.

1. MRS. ANN WILKINS; for twenty years a missionary in Africa; died in 1857. 2. MRS. MARIE ANTOINETTE BAUME; seven years a missionary in India. 3. MRS. LILLIE HAYES WAUGH; late missionary to India. 4. MRS. ADA KINSMAN WANLESS; missionary to Bulgaria. 5. MIRON WINSLOW, D. D., LL. D.; born in Vermont in 1789; early missionary to Ceylon.

ROBERT SPENCE HARDY,
Of Ceylon.

JAMES W. WAUGH, D. D.,
One of the first missionaries to India.

ELIJAH HOOLE,
Of India.

their value at twenty thousand dollars. Mr. Pierce, with Joel Janvier and a Mussulman convert, Azim Ali, commenced preaching services and educational work in the autumn of 1858.

Next year six of the two dozen missionaries sent for, five of them being married men, arrived at Calcutta, and proceeded to Lucknow, where was held the first general gathering of the society. Before its close one of their number, Mr. J. R. Downey, succumbed to illness, and was carried to his grave. His widow remained on the field, to take charge of the orphanage. She became the wife of Mr. Thoburn; but died in the year 1862. Another boys' orphanage, afterward located at Shahjehanpore, grew out of the troubles of the mutiny. One of the boys, left on top of an elephant while his father was engaged in battle, was the nucleus of the institution. Handed over to Doctor Butler by a dear friend of the mission, Major Gowan, whose name he adopted, James Gowan grew up to be a credit to his benefactors, and to serve as a member of the North India Conference. By the close of the year 1860 the mission was taking charge of thirty-nine orphan boys. The same year saw the founding, at Bareilly, of a printing-press, which later became the Book Concern, and was removed to Lucknow. A famine which followed, the result of a drought, led to the adoption of many poor orphan girls, and the development of the girls' orphanage at Lucknow.

Converts were obtained both from Hinduism and Mohammedanism. Among the former was Chimmar Lal, a studious youth, who entered the theological school at Bareilly, and became an ardent and successful evangelist among his own people. One of the ablest Mohammedan recruits was Mahbub Khan, who, at the time of his conversion, was teaching in a government vernacular school. A perusal of the New Testament, which he obtained from a colleague to help him to dispel a "fit of blues," led to a profound conviction of the truth of Christianity. This was borne in upon him as he read the account of our Savior's sufferings contained in the twenty-seventh chapter of Matthew's gospel. Happily, his wife proved like-minded with her husband, and they and their children were baptized. In the year 1878 he stood at the head of the native ministry in the Budaon district.

The work in India is inseparably associated with the name of James Mills Thoburn, who was born in Ohio in the year 1836. At the age of twenty-one he was graduated from Allegheny College, which is proud to number him among its *alumni*. After ten years' service in the Pittsburgh Conference he accepted the call to India. A party of nine, consisting of Messrs. Park, Judd, Waugh, Downey, and their wives, with Thoburn,

THE FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN INDIA.

sailed from Boston in April, 1859, and were welcomed at Calcutta by William Butler five months later. Soon afterward he was appointed to work at the attractive hill station of Naini Tal. This is a famous summer resort, situated about seven thousand feet above sea level, and on the shores of a lake from which it takes its name. In the winter it is comparatively deserted; but invalid soldiers, sent up to recruit from the plains, are to be found at all seasons. It was at Naini Tal that Mr. Thoburn gained his acquaintance with the Hindustani language; and established or developed a boys' school, a girls' school, and a boys' Hindu school. He paid some attention to the wants of a people called Taroos, who lived close to the great Terai jungle, which skirts the foot of the Himalayas. They had the reputation of being simple and honest in their habits, and without religious antipathies, having no caste. So unhealthy was the district they inhabited, that it was unsafe to reside in it until the very cool months. Actual acquaintance with this people, however, proved disappointing, for they showed themselves licentious and unimpressible.

A well-meant attempt was made in 1862 to perpetuate the name of the founder of Methodism, but came to naught. Some of the districts in Oudh, having reverted to the government, were offered for sale, and one of these was secured by Doctor Butler for the purpose of founding a Christian community. He gave it the name of Wesleypore—*pore* being the equivalent of the English "town." Well-conceived in many ways, it yet failed because of the unhealthiness of the locality; but another community was founded half-a-dozen years later, which accomplished its ends. This village, named Panahpore or "Place of Refuge," was established near Shahjehanpore, in a tract nearly nine hundred acres in extent. Until the year 1875 the community, which increased in numbers and general prosperity, remained under the management of the missionaries. Then it was placed in charge of the Rev. D. W Thomas, principal of the Theological Seminary at Bareilly, who conducted its affairs successfully for many years. Another Christian community on a less extensive scale was established in Paori, in the province of Gurwhal.

When, in 1864, Doctor Butler resigned his post as superintendent of the mission, he could report mission stations in nine of the most important cities in the empire; sixteen school-houses and ten chapels; two large orphanages and a Book Concern; twelve congregations and ten smaller organizations; and one hundred and sixty-one converts. Moreover, over thirteen hundred youths were under

regular instruction. The mission was now possessed of property worth over seventy thousand dollars. This was surely a noble record for eight years of endeavor. Doctor Butler was to achieve further successes in pioneer work on the American continent, in the ancient empire of Mexico.

One of the praiseworthy attempts to stem the current of infidelity among Indian youths, a current so pronounced in the secular government schools, was the founding in 1877 of the "Centennial School" for Christian boys at Lucknow. The name has reference to the centennial year of Methodism, celebrated in 1866, in America; but eleven years passed before the Indian scheme came to maturity. It is both a boarding and day-school. A Cawnpore "Memorial" school was founded about the same time, in memory of the tragic events of the great mutiny; and proved itself an excellent seminary, turning out well-trained pupils of both sexes.

A theological seminary at Bareilly has already been mentioned in connection with the model community near Shahjehanpore. In 1873 the Rev. D. W Thomas succeeded, after the most strenuous efforts, in raising an endowment of nearly sixty thousand dollars, and a building fund of ten thousand. Three years later Bishop Andrews dedicated a new building, accommodating classes, library, and a seminary chapel. With this institution Doctor Waugh and his wife were connected for several years.

The Rev. J L. Humphrey, one of the early associates of Doctor Butler, had

GUNGOOTREE, THE SACRED SOURCE OF THE GANGES.

SARNAT, NEAR BENARES.

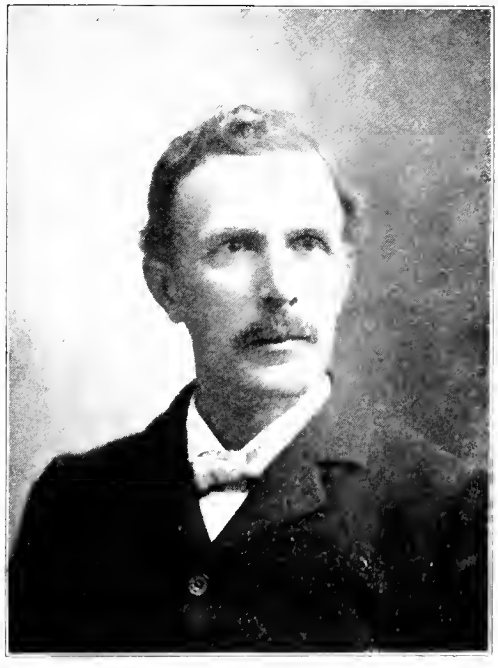
been impressed by the opportunities afforded to Christian enterprise in India by thorough familiarity with modern medicine. An acquaintance with medical education is part of the equipment of Brahmin priests, who are expected to be familiar with the duties of a physician. For a Christian missionary, therefore, to practice this calling was certain to be regarded as in strict harmony with his sacred profession. Moreover, sickness is so prevalent over the peninsula, that there is a constant call for medical aid; and the people had already begun to place unlimited faith in foreign methods. They were disposed to look upon every missionary as naturally conversant with the healing art; and for one of them to refuse his services was regarded as a lack of willingness to help. "He preferred to talk rather than to trouble himself with healing."

Mr. Humphrey took advantage of a trip home to graduate in medicine, and when he returned in 1868 he added medical duties to his other labors. In one year he attended to no fewer than thirty-five thousand patients. The arrival of Miss Swain, M. D., at once helped on wonderfully the work among the timid native women; and she was able soon to train faithful subordinates. In 1874 she was joined by Miss Julia Lore, M. D., who had been appointed by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. Doctor Lore began her duties in Moradabad, where a much needed dispensary was opened some months later. Nothing proved more effective in dispelling prejudice and promoting friendly feeling among the native women than the healing work of the medical missionaries.

The name of William Taylor was famous among the early adventurers to California because of his labors in preaching the gospel and stemming the iniquity of saloons and gambling dens. From California he proceeded to Australia, where social conditions then prevailed similar to those in California, and labored

zealously among the gold diggers. From Australia he sailed for South Africa, where he proved highly successful among the Kaffirs. A letter unanimously signed by the missionaries in India, came to him from Doctor Thoburn, containing a request that he should visit the great peninsula of Hindustan. He consented to the request, and arrived at Bombay at the close of the year 1870. Five days afterward he was in Lucknow, in the midst of his friends, Thoburn, Waugh, Parker, Messmore, and the others. As soon as he arrived he began to hold daily services, preaching in the mission chapel. Joel Janvier[1] he tried to employ as an interpreter, but found him too little conversant with English to suit his purpose. Not that Joel was without fire; for when Taylor chanced to infuse him with his own ardent spirit, the Hindu proved altogether too impetuous. Taylor made diligent endeavors to gain converts among the half-caste element, known as Eurasians—a name they themselves dislike, preferring the term East Indians. But he had only a qualified success. A tour made in the vicinity, to Shahjehanpore, Bareilly, Budaon, and other cities that we have already mentioned, failed to bring about the general revival he expected. After a summer in the hills, he returned in the late autumn to Ahmednugger, where he attended the annual meeting of the missionaries of the American Board and had considerable success in his preaching.

Passing westward, he found himself in the great city of Bombay, where his work began to elicit general attention, much of it hostile even in professedly religious quarters. He began to form the rapidly increasing multitude of converts in "fellowship bands," after the manner of the founder of Methodism. This movement led to a desire for further consolidation, and a native Methodist Episcopal Church was organized. Taylor insisted upon having its members support all their church services, asking from the missionary society merely some initial aid in transporting the first pastors to their different localities. His work among the Eurasians in this western portion of India proved singularly successful. The following years were marked by remarkable results in revival

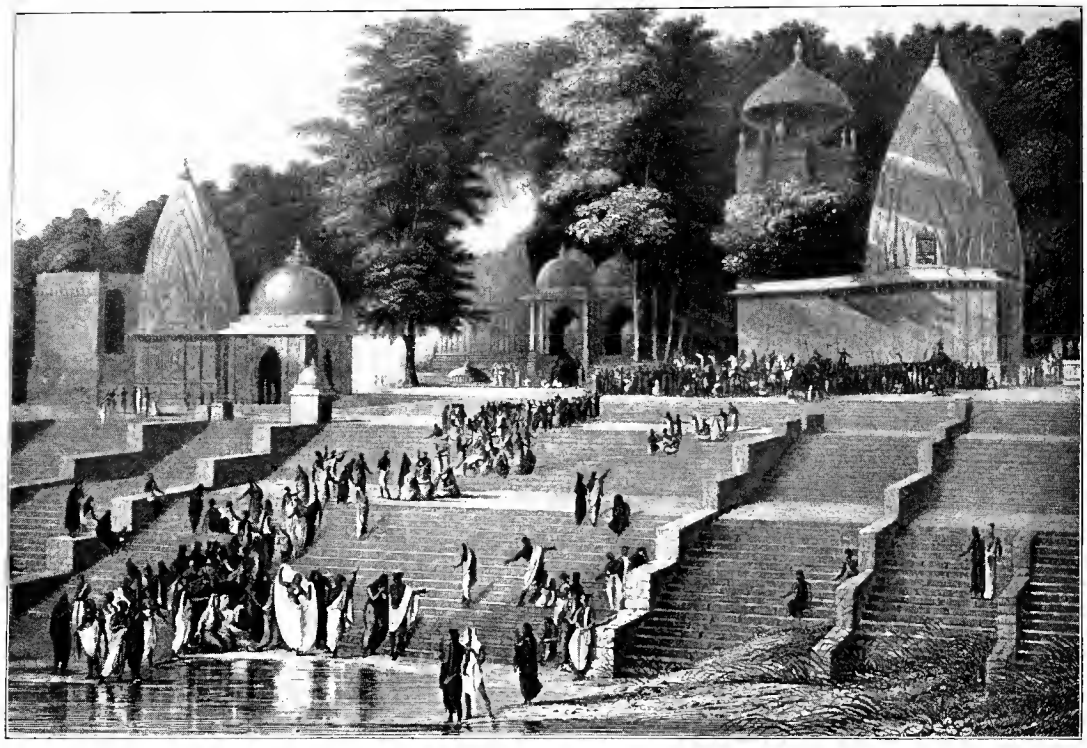


W. F. OLDHAM, D. D.,
Late of the India Mission.

work at Poona, Kurrachee, and other important cities. One helper after another joined him, and in the years 1874 and 1875 a band of ten helpers was sent from home by the missionary society. By this time Taylor was in America, trying to raise funds for the work.

The mission was already in organic connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church. This junction took place in December, 1873, through the action of Bishop Harris; and the first Conference

[1] See Appendix B.



SUTTEEISM, OR WIDOW-BURNING, ON THE GANGES.

of the new organization was held in January, 1874, at Lucknow. William Taylor was its superintendent, and James M. Thoburn, now stationed at Calcutta, one of its chief organizers. A few months later, at Madras, the work began and prospered, and the whole district was evangelized. Thoburn in Calcutta was not behindhand in his endeavors to spread vital Christianity in the great city, and stem the dreadful torrent of vice which flowed in its midst. He took measures that the South India Conference should be thoroughly established and brought into harmony with the northern body; being anxious to have a well-organized Methodism meet the heavy task of doing its duty in evangelizing the whole of India. Two means were adopted by him with this end in view. One was the introduction of unmarried women as missionary workers; the other was the granting to Indian Methodism a measure of local government by the institution of a "Central Conference." He summoned his sister Isabella to aid him.

It was at this very time that a body of earnest women were busy at Tremont Temple, Boston, in organizing the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of which the first annual report was to be issued in the year 1879; and Miss Isabella Thoburn was one of the two first missionaries whom the society sent out.

About this time work was begun in Burmah, so deeply associated with the labors of the sainted Judson. Thoburn determined to plant a mission in the busy city of Rangoon, to meet the demands of the English-speaking community; and it flourished later under the Rev. S. P Long and the Rev. Julius Smith. He also spread the work to the islands of the southeastern archipelago, even reaching as far as Manila and the Philippines.

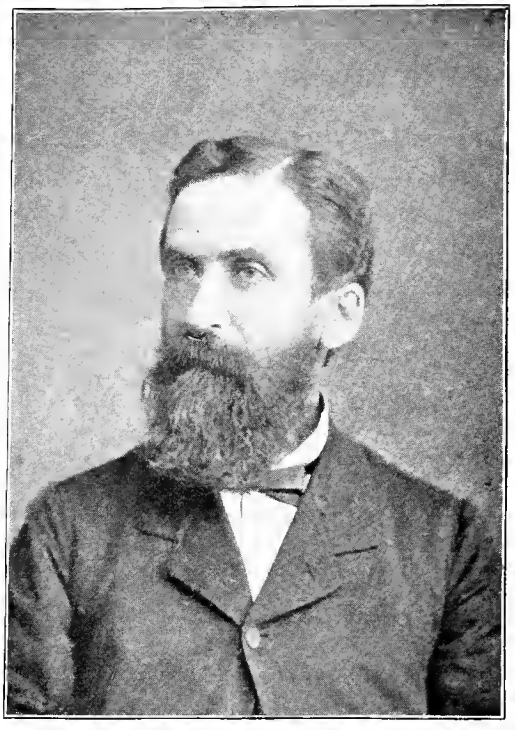
It was in the year 1888 that, in response to a general demand for more efficient administration, he was elected

"Missionary Bishop for India and Malaysia." During the period which has elapsed since his election the membership of his diocese has been quadrupled, and now three thousand five hundred native workers are busy under his supervision. An Epworth League has been organized, which shows an enrollment of over ten thousand members. Schools, academies and colleges for the advancement of the people are growing up daily, and increasing under his prudent and skillful management.

An interesting and unusual feature of Protestant missionary effort was developed at Calcutta in the year 1893. The subject had been freely discussed among ardent missionaries, whether it was not possible to have a class of unmarried men, who should live together for a certain term of years and prosecute the work of evangelization free from family ties. In the Bengal-Burma Conference of 1893 the movement took actual shape in the formation of the "Methodist Brotherhood of Calcutta." While no vow of celibacy is taken, young men consent to live together for the sake of mutual help, economy, and Christian fellowship. The experience of the first eight months, when four young men lived in this manner, showed an expenditure of a few dollars over nine hundred. Friends at Boston University furnished four-fifths of the necessary funds. The system allowed them ample time for study, and for cottage prayer-meetings and other duties.

One of the most striking results in India resulting from the enterprise of this Woman's Foreign Missionary Society has been the work of Miss Mary Reed among the lepers in Chandag Heights. Her story is a touching one. Miss Reed is a native of Ohio, where she was born in the year 1857. In 1884 she was sent out to India by the society, and began work in the zenanas, at Cawnpore. Six years later she became conscious of growing physical disability, and returned home

HINDOO TEMPLE, BENARES, IN A STATE OF DECAY



BISHOP J. M. THOBURN,
Of the India Mission

for treatment. To her horror, she discovered that she was suffering from leprosy. She then resolved to return to the East, and devote herself to her fellow-mortals there who were suffering in the same sad way. She knew that there lived at Pithoragarh, at the foot of Chandag Heights, among the Himalayas, a group of outcast lepers, and thither she proceeded. Only one of her relatives, a sister, was in her confidence when she left home in 1891. The intervening years have been a record of patient and successful work, and an institution has been built up that in many respects is a model of orderliness and excellence. Happily, seven years later, the physicians began to hold out hope of ultimate recovery, and could at least declare that the disease was checked.

Other leper work has been attended to by Methodist missionaries. For several years an establishment has been in operation at Mandalay, in Burma, first under the charge of the Rev. W R. Winston, of the Wesleyan Methodist mission, and later under that of the Rev. A. Woodward. It is provided with dispensary, operating-room, hospital wards, and church. All but the very latest comers have become converts. Another leper institution at Singapore, under government supervision, is visited regularly by Mrs. F. H. Morgan, of the American Methodist Church.

Besides this great army of two hundred thousand lepers in India, it is estimated that there are an equal number in Japan, and six hundred thousand more in the Chinese empire. Christian benevolence is now, through missionary societies, striving not only to ameliorate the condition of the unfortunates, but provide asylums for untainted children. In these endeavors Methodism has been among the most forward of the churches.

The General Conference of 1900, which met at Chicago, showed its deep interest in the work in India by appointing two new missionary bishops to serve in the field. Bishop Parker was born in St. Johnsbury, Vermont, in 1833. He was educated at the Biblical Institute at Concord, New Hampshire, and entered the Vermont Conference in 1857 In 1859 he was appointed a missionary to India, and in company with James Baume, Charles W Judd, J. W Waugh, J. R. Downey, and James M. Thoburn, his associates in missionary work, arrived in Calcutta in August of that year. He immediately began evangelistic work among the natives, and was assigned to Bijnour, a district in which there were at least a million of people who never had been visited by a missionary. Here he learned the Hindustani language. From there he went to Moradabad and began work among the Sikhs, a class of inquirers from which a large number of the converts of our Church in

India has come. Upon the organization of the India Conference by Bishop Thomson in 1864, Doctor Parker was appointed a presiding elder, a position which he has filled almost continuously until his election to the episcopacy. The great revival among the natives through which the membership of the Church in India was increased fifty thousand, began in 1885, under his leadership, in the Rohilcund district. Bishop Parker has also been a leader in the educational work among the natives, and was the first to suggest the ideas which have inspired the munificence of Doctor Goucher, of Baltimore, to found many Christian schools in India.

Bishop Warne was born in Ontario, Canada, in 1854, and was educated at Albert College. He entered the Ontario Conference in 1874, and spent three years as a missionary in Manitoba. The three years following this he spent in the Garrett Biblical Institute. After serving as pastor for a few years in the Rock River Conference, he went to India in 1887 and became pastor of the English Methodist Episcopal Church in Calcutta, where he served consecutively for thirteen years until his election as bishop. Doctor Warne was for several years secretary of the Epworth League for India, and is at present the general secretary of the Lord's Day Union there.

To-day the Methodist Episcopal Church has five separate mission organizations in Hindustan. There is the North India Mission, with sixty-six missionaries, twenty-six of whom are under the Woman's Board. The Northwest India Mission was separated from it in 1893, and organized as a separate Conference. It has a staff of thirty-three missionaries, one-third of whom have been sent out by the Woman's Board. The South India Mission, dating from 1876, with its centers at Godavery, Haiderabad, and Madras, has a staff of thirty-five, seven of whom are under the Woman's Board. The extensive Bombay Mission, which dates as an organization from 1892, has a staff of fifty, eleven of whom are under the Woman's Board. Last comes the Bengal-Burma Mission, organized as a Conference in 1893. It has a staff of forty-three missionaries, one-third of whom are under the Woman's Board. Bishop Thoburn has not only supervision of these five Conferences, but also of the Malaysia Conference, organized in April, 1893. This Conference, besides its eighteen regular members, four of whom are under the Woman's Board, has several missionaries connected with it from

MISS MARY REED,
Missionary to the leper colony at Chandag, India.

MISS ISABELLA THOBURN.
Principal of Woman's College, Lucknow, India.

England and Germany. The story of its planting and growth is interesting.

The city of Singapore, the capital of the Straits Settlements, is one of the busy marts of Asia, where not only two seas, but two worlds, may be said to meet. All the vessels which sail eastward from India or the Indian ocean touch at its harbor; and it now numbers a Chinese population of nearly one hundred and fifty thousand, and is one of the most thriving Chinese settlements in the world. The white population includes about ten thousand Europeans and Eurasians, and the remaining sixty thousand are of Malay and other native stock. When Doctor Thoburn, early in the eighties, extended his work eastward to Rangoon, an invitation came from Singapore, a thousand miles still further off, to place a mission there. An appeal for unpaid workers he made, which appeared at home in the *Western Christian Advocate*, elicited twenty rejoinders, but none of the twenty were deemed exactly eligible for the Singapore work. At the close of the year 1884, when matters were still undecided, Bishop Hurst visited India, and discussed the question of the Singapore field with Doctor Thoburn. It was brought up and received special attention in the South India Conference, which met at Haiderabad in that year; and the conclusion was reached that Singapore should be included in the Burma presiding elder's district. The gentleman finally chosen to inaugurate the work was William F. Oldham, who had been born in India, and had served in the survey service of the Indian government. His wife was also a native of India, though, like him, of European parentage. After his conversion the two crossed to America to complete their education, and were returning to India at the time the Haiderabad Conference met. Mr. Oldham accepted the post, and sailed for his destination without his wife, but accompanied by Doctor and Mrs. Thoburn and Miss Battie, the latter of whom were to assist the two preachers in "singing the gospel." Their services were well attended, and at the end of two weeks a regular Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in the city.

MRS. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES,
An earnest worker in the Church.

Mr. Oldham, who was a self-supporting missionary, set himself to gain access to the Chinese residents, who are known there as Babas; and a lecture he delivered before their debating society, which was known as the "Celestial Reasoning Association," led to his becoming the tutor of his host's children. His work among the Babas proved prosperous; and he was soon able to expend twelve thousand dollars on the erection of a large boarding-school, a sum to which the home missionary society contributed one-half and the Chinese residents the remainder. A church building was soon afterward completed, and the Chinese proved to be willing and liberal donors. Mr. Oldham was also able to attend to the wants of the Tamil population, twelve thousand in number, who had immigrated from India to Singapore.

In 1888 the work in Malaysia was erected into a separate mission, distinct from the South India Conference. A corps of twelve, four of them ladies, took charge of the work; and the Minneapolis branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society consented to help them. Miss Sophia Blackmore, a Wesleyan Methodist from Australia, was the first representative of the society; and in 1892 was joined by several other associates. Her first duties lay among the Tamil women.

The Malay population was not left uncared for. Doctor West, who resided in the Chinese quarter of the great city, not only conducted a dispensary there, but also preached in the streets to the Malays. Meanwhile the Anglo-Chinese school prospered so wonderfully that the government granted it additional land, and three thousand dollars toward the enlargement of the building. It was decided that theological and normal classes should be started for the preparation of native preachers and teachers. Within its walls not only Chinese youths, but also Malays, Tamils, Siamese, and Eurasians received a modern education.

Soon afterward a printing-press was established for the printing of Malay books and leaflets. At this period, also, the mission extended its work to the great commercial city of Penang, situated to the north, on an island close to the Malay peninsula. An Anglo-Chinese mission was organized on the model of the one at Singapore, and a Chinese girls' school was also established.

BISHOP W. A. CANDLER,
Who has established missions in Cuba.

Meanwhile the great island of Borneo began to attract the attention of the Singapore missionaries. The British North Borneo Company had recently come into possession of a large strip of territory, having a coast line of nine hundred miles, and placed under the control of the Straits Settlements government. The headquarters of this new possession were at Sandaken, half-way between Singapore and Hong-Kong, and a thousand miles from each. Doctor Lewring, who had begun services among the Ger-

BISHOP F. W. WARNE,
Of the Southern Asia Mission.

mans in Singapore, paid two visits to Borneo: one in company with Doctor West, the other in company with Doctor Floyd. Finding an interesting class of people in the northern portion, under British rule, Doctor Lewring decided to locate himself at the mouth of the Kimanis river. The inhabitants of this part of Borneo are chiefly Chinese; but the Malays are also numerous, while the savage Dyaks, the original inhabitants, are to be found in the hills and remoter districts. Work was also tentatively begun in the island of Java.

Doctor West visited the island of Sumatra, the chief port of which, Siboga, is about nine days' sailing from Singapore. The Rhenish Missionary Society had planted several stations there, which the doctor visited. An English lady, named Miss Needham, who resided at the capital, Slindong, lying forty-five miles inland from Siboga, was very anxious that he should establish a Methodist mission in the interior. On the entire east coast there was but one missionary.

The General Conference, which met at Omaha in 1892, decided that the Malaysia Mission should be erected into a Mission Annual Conference; and Bishop Thoburn had this object in view when, in April, 1893, he summoned the members to attend a Conference in Christian Institute, Middle Road, Singapore. A Woman's Conference was also organized, after the manner followed in the India Conferences. As yet there was no Malay church, nor were there any Malay converts; but work was continued, chiefly through the medium of the printing-press, to gain a hold upon that interesting people, who are Mohammedans. The work among the Tamils prospered, educationally and otherwise.

The Rev. William Butler, who was chosen by the Church to begin the great work in India, was also pioneer in another historic land. The great republic of Mexico, a home of Spanish Catholicism, remained untouched by Methodism until the early seventies. In November, 1872, the veteran Irishman, ardent as ever, was appointed to the difficult task of laying the foundations of the Mexican work. The framing of the grand new constitution of 1857, under the direction of the great statesman, Juarez, had overthrown many of the obstacles that lay in the way of the free propagation of gospel truth. Legally speaking, it was now the privilege of every Mexican to enjoy religious liberty; but social ostracism and tyranny were still rampant. The arrogance of the ultramontane priests became so unbearable that President Juarez was compelled to banish two of the bishops and several of the clergy for treason. It was largely through the influence of these refugees, brought to bear upon the Empress Eugénie, a devout Catholic, that the French emperor was induced to send an army of occupation, with the view of placing an

Austrian archduke on the throne. With Maximilian began and ended the domination of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in Mexico. He struggled, it is true, against their arrogant pretensions, but vainly; and the whole scheme came to utter ruin.

The triumph of Juarez and the patriot republicans was the signal for the entry of Protestant missions. Bishop Gilbert Haven landed at Vera Cruz at the close of the year 1871, and took advantage of the newly completed railroad to proceed to the city of Mexico. Here, six weeks later, he was joined by Doctor Butler and his family, and he remained for another three weeks to settle upon a scheme for the judicious management of the new mission. A good friend of the Church, Washington C. De Pauw, whose name is commemorated in one of its educational institutions, had donated the sum of five thousand dollars to aid the society in securing suitable property; and the gift proved remarkably serviceable. The first buildings to be secured were in the city of Puebla, where they bought for ten thousand dollars the former premises of the Inquisition, containing within its walls many of the dismal records of that frightful tyranny. On the secularization of church property at the close of the war, it had passed into the hands of a Jewish merchant, Señor Adolpho Blumenkronn. The two found greater difficulty in securing suitable buildings in the city of Mexico. At length, however, they were fortunate in obtaining the monastery of San Francisco, a commodious structure situated in the very heart of the city. Four thousand monks are said to have lived at one time within its walls. Previous to the Spanish occupation it is said to have been the site of Montezuma's palace. It cost over sixteen thousand dollars, but was well worth the money. By Christmas of 1873 a chapel, erected in its costly and spacious court, was ready for dedication; and six hundred persons were present at the ceremony. Sixteen years later it was remodeled. Its frontage now displays a bookstore, editorial and agents' rooms, and four parsonages for the missionaries; while in the rear are a spacious church and vestry, school premises, and a mission press. There are few more commodious premises of the kind in existence.

In the spring of 1873 Dr. Thomas Carter, accompanied by his family, joined the mission. Doctor Butler was thus enabled to extend the work. He opened a station at Pachuca, the capital of the state of Hidalgo, among the English-speaking miners there, and another station was soon planted in the vicinity. During the next year several new arrivals from home increased the mission force, one of them, John W Butler, a son of the superintendent.

The work at Puebla, opened by Doctor Drees in 1875, aroused at the begin-

BISHOP JOHN C KEENER,
Who planted the Mexico Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

BISHOP E. W. PARKER,
Of the Southern Asia Mission.

ning, and even later, much fanatical opposition; but good results could soon be reported. Early in the following year a theological school was established, which proved a help to the struggling mission. In the year 1892 a new church, one of the handsomest in the whole country, was dedicated. At the city of Guanajuato, three hundred miles from the capital, where Mr. S. P. Craver began work in the year 1876, the bigotry of the people found vent in several serious assaults, with clubs and stones; and the missionaries escaped violence only by obtaining the help of the police.

The work was extended to the neighboring city of Leon, but had to be abandoned for the time being. In the year 1881 it was resumed. Three years later the Mexican mission was organized by Bishop William Harris into an Annual Conference. At this time it numbered twenty-three foreign and twelve native preachers; and over six hundred full members and a slightly larger number of probationers. The mission in the capital proved signally successful, a result to be attributed in large measure to the devoted labors of the Rev. John Butler. By 1900 the number of congregations in the country had increased to one hundred and twenty-five, representing nearly five thousand members and ten thousand adherents. The Sunday-school pupils numbered nearly three thousand, and the day pupils over a thousand more. The native members had begun to provide for their own wants, and raised in 1900 over sixteen thousand dollars. The mission press is also active in sending forth Christian literature. Two medical missions have been established: one at San Luis Potosi, under the care of Dr. C. B. Hanson, and another at Guanajato, under Dr. Levi B. Salmans. There were in 1899 twenty-one missionaries attached to the Mexico Conference, one-third of them sent out by the Woman's Board.

Meanwhile the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was busy in the field. Early in the year 1873 Bishop Keener arrived at the capital, and was able to inaugurate the mission under the most favorable auspices. Suitable buildings were purchased, the Rev. Joel T. Davis was appointed superintendent, and two Mexican helpers were associated with

him. One was the Rev. Alèjo Hernandez, of the Corpus Christi Mission in the north; the other was Sostenes Juarez, who has been termed the apostle of Protestant Christianity in Mexico. In midsummer, 1875, when the new San Andros chapel was completed, over four hundred people were present at the ceremony; and in the following November the superintendent could report sixty members and two flourishing day-schools. With the arrival, in 1878, of the Rev. W. M. Patterson, who came to replace Mr. Davis, the work entered upon a period of expansion. Señor Juarez went to Leon, Señor Mota to Cuernavaca, and Mr. Patterson to Toluca, leaving Señor Escular to attend to the work in the capital. By the close of the year the superintendent could report a native preaching staff of twelve, with eight teachers, and a membership of over two hundred and sixty. New arrivals from home increased the efficiency of every department, and, in the autumn of 1886, Bishop Keener felt justified in erecting the Central Mexican Mission into an Annual Conference. Its publication, termed *El Evangelista*, sends out over eight hundred thousand tracts annually. At the Conference which met in 1899 there were present ten foreign and thirty-nine native workers. The total membership numbered over twenty-eight hundred; with forty-four Sunday-schools, attended by thirteen hundred pupils, and day-schools accommodating six hundred pupils.

The work of Señor Hernandez in the north has been referred to. Set on foot in the valley of the Rio Grande by the West Texas Conference, under the direction of Bishop Marvin, it proved remarkably successful. In the year 1878 there were two American and thirteen native preachers busy at work, and twenty organized societies had been formed. Two years later the San Antonio and San Diego districts were formed; and in 1882 there were twenty-three charges, with a native membership of nearly a thousand. In the year 1885 Bishop McTyeire organized the Mexican Border Mission Conference. In 1890 the superintendent could report seven missionaries, forty-two native preachers, thirty-six local preachers, a membership of nearly two thousand, and Sunday-school pupils numbering almost as many. A Northwest Mexican Conference was afterward organized, covering the states of Chihuahua, Durango, Sonora, and Sinaloa, and the territory of Lower California. In 1899 the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with three Annual Conferences, was represented in Mexico by twenty-seven foreign and ninety-seven native workers, and a membership of nearly six thousand. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Church is represented in the Northwest Mission by four ladies, and in the Central by seven. The Mary Keener Institute, in the city of

REV. JOHN C. SYMONS,
President of the Australasian General Conference, 1888.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AT PANDACAN, MANILA, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Dedicated, August 12, 1900; the first Protestant church dedicated in the Philippine Islands.

Mexico, is a busy teaching center, fast becoming known as the best place in the city for Mexican children to learn English. The poet of Mexico, Señor Juan de Dios Peza, has placed two of his children under its care.

Brazil figures early among the foreign missions of American Methodism. The Rev. Fountain E. Pitts, who visited the southern continent in 1835, recommended the establishment of missions at the chief seaports. As early as 1836 the United Church was represented by two preachers, Justin Spaulding and John Dempster, who were joined in the following year by three others. From Rio de Janeiro as a base they began the work of evangelization, largely through the medium of the Scriptures, which were in great demand. Financial embarrassment, however, led to their recall at the close of 1841, and it was not until a quarter of a century later that the Southern Church took up the field. They began with the province of Sao Paulo, and later entered Rio de Janeiro. In 1881 the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society sent out two representatives, who had, in 1900, increased to eleven, and we doing a large amount of e ucational and evangelist work. They have found less easy to secure suitab help in the way of Bib readers than in Mexico a elsewhere. Colleges ha been established at Petr polis, Piracicaba, and Mine ro, and churches have be built there and at the cap tal, as well as at Sao Paul Ribeirao, Juiz de Fora, a other centers.

It was not until the ye 1899, after the war, that t Woman's Board of t Southern Church establish operations in Cuba. The first place to occupied was Santiago, where the Ire Toland School was established. Yello fever unfortunately broke out and tarded the work. The next spot occupi was Matanzas, which figured in the ope ations of the war. Here a school h opened, under two teachers, althoug with inadequate equipment. The who staff numbers four. The superintende reports possibilities of successful educ tional work that are unbounded.

Bishop Candler has been remarkab energetic in establishing stations throug out the island. He has seen to the st tioning of preachers at Havana, at M tanzas, and at Cienfuegos, and inten that numerous other localities shall occupied before long. The pleasa island of Porto Rico is receiving atte tion from the New York Board. D Charles W Drees began the work b preaching in San Juan in April, 190 and the first preacher, the Rev. Jua Vollmer, arrived soon after, as a loa from South America.

When in 1836 the Methodist Episc pal Church established a mission in th

important city of Buenos Ayres, capital of the Argentine Republic, it was the only Protestant denomination represented in this part of the continent. Sixteen years before a class had met in the city for mutual edification, several of whom were Wesleyans, which formed a nucleus for evangelization. For some time there was a Presbyterian mission, but it left in 1836. For the next fifteen years or more, until the fall of the Dictator, Don Manuel de Rosas, it was unsafe for Protestants to attempt any proselytizing among the native population. In the year 1839 the Rev. W M. Norris was sent out by the board to begin work in Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, where a deadly internecine war was then raging. He saw reason to hope for good results, but was recalled two years later, along with his colleagues at Buenos Ayres. In 1842, after spending a year at home, he was reappointed to South America, and took up the Buenos Ayres Mission, where some of the residents had established a "Society for Promoting Christian Worship in Buenos Ayres." This society assisted in maintaining his expenses; but for several years, owing to the Civil War, work was carried on under great depression. It was not until 1860 that the Montevideo Mission was resumed; under more favorable auspices, however, than before; for the native population could now be approached without any fear of government interference.

By special request of the residents, half of whom were Protestant Swiss of the Lutheran faith, a missionary was sent in 1864 a hundred leagues inland to Esperanza, and during a stay of six years helped the Christian people there to build a church and parsonage and to organize a school. In the same year work was begun at Rosario, then a city of thirty thousand inhabitants, situated on the La Plata, about two hundred miles up the river from Buenos Ayres. Within the last forty years its population has increased nearly fourfold. Next year a church was dedicated in this city with school accommodations attached. Rosario is the headquarters of education for the whole country; and the Methodist Church there became a center for educational and publishing work in the republic. The handsome Methodist church at Buenos Ayres was completed in the year 1871. Six years later a weekly organ, named *El Evangelista*, was established, marking the activity displayed in Spanish work; and a theological school for training missionaries for the Spanish work was finally located in the great city. In 1873 the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society began to lend its efficient help, and a network of stations was planted in the surrounding territories, with Buenos Ayres, Rosario, and Montevideo as bases. It planted efficient schools in all three cities, and also in Peru, where, at Callao, several hundred children were soon receiving an education. This city is famous in the annals of missionary persecution because of the eight months' in-

REV. NICHOLAS ZAMORA,
The first native Methodist Episcopal preacher in the Philippines.

MEMORIAL CHAPEL, PLAZA DE ARMAS, HAVANA, ERECTED ON THE SPOT WHERE COLUMBUS CELEBRATED MASS AT HIS FIRST LANDING.

carceration, in the year 1890, of Mr. Penzotti, which led to the intervention of the United States and British diplomatic representatives, and the active endeavors in his behalf of the Evangelical Alliance. He had been three years at work in the republic when he was summarily arrested. In the year 1887 the aggressive staff of missionaries in the Argentine Republic pushed across the line to Peru, and planted a mission at Lima. Mr. Penzotti, who had been appointed to the work, took with him a band of Bible colporteurs, with the intention of extending his labors to Bolivia and Ecuador.

Bishop Taylor, who is better known because of his work in Africa, labored for seven years on the west coast of America, establishing missions in Peru, Bolivia, and Chili; as well as at Colon, on the Isthmus of Panama. When he left, in 1884, there was a church building at Coquimbo, in Chili; there were three missionaries at Iquique, in Peru, a church with a Wesleyan pastor at Colon, and an organization at Para, in Brazil. These formed the nucleus of the South American Annual Conference, established in Buenos Ayres in 1893, when Bishop Newman visited these regions. There are now twenty-two missionaries connected with the Conference, six of whom represent the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society.

The Western South American Mission Conference, organized in 1897, includes the countries bordering on the Pacific ocean, and for the present is confined to the republics of Chili and Peru. In November, 1893, the "Transit and Building Fund Society of Bishop Taylor's Self-supporting Society," an organization which sprang from his labors there from 1877 to 1884, offered the Missionary Society the property and missions in Chili

provided they should be conducted as self-supporting missions. After an acceptance and a reconsideration of the same, the board, in November, 1897, finally came to amicable terms with the Transit and Building Fund Society, promising that it "would not depart from the principle of self-support in Chili except in case of extreme necessity." There are at present about forty missionaries in the field; and the schools and orphanages under their management are in a state of high efficiency, and a power for good in the land.

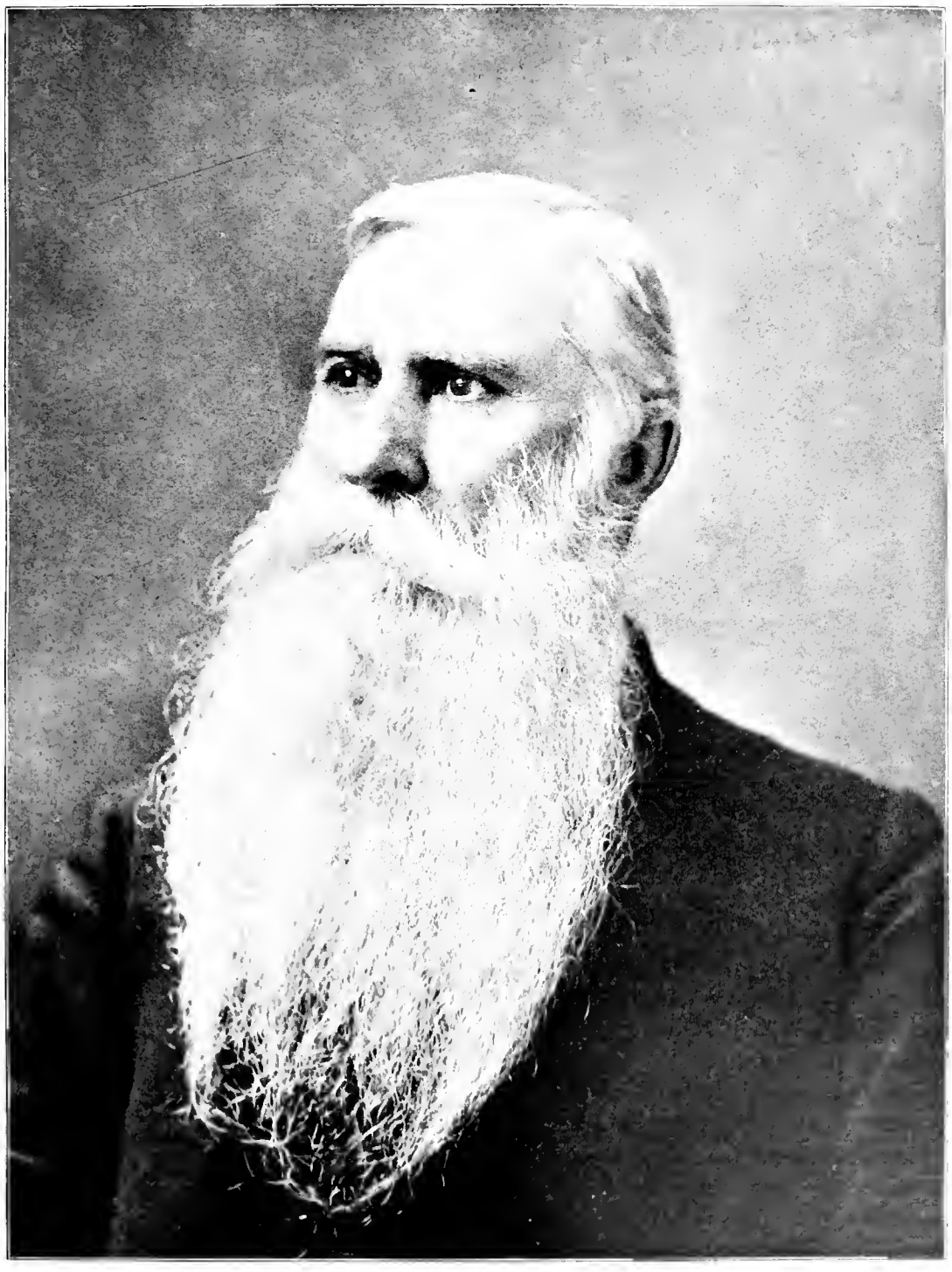
CHAPTER XXXIV

FROM THE YELLOW SEA TO THE BALTIC.

THE circumstances attending the arrival in China of the first missionaries from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have been related in a previous chapter. In the spring of 1835 the "Missionary Lyceum" of Wesleyan University, in Connecticut, discussed the question: "What country now presents the most important field for missionary exertions?" and decided in favor of China. The university's head, Dr. Wilbur Fisk, urged at this time the claims of China in an impassioned way. At Ann Arbor, Michigan, three years later, a youth named Judson D. Collins was converted, and became an ardent Sunday-school teacher and superintendent, and zealous in every form of Christian activity. He conceived a desire to go to China as a missionary, and, in the face of difficulties thrown in his way, showed such determination that funds were eventually found for the purpose. Accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Moses C. White, Collins left Boston harbor in April, 1847, in a vessel bound for Hong-Kong. In September of the same year the party landed at Foo-Chow, and began their momentous work.

Meanwhile, the questions arising out of the Opium War had brought before Wesleyans in England the responsibilities which rested upon them in the matter of christianizing China. Already the funds of the society were heavily burdened with claims from the West Indies, Africa, and the South Seas, and nothing might have resulted had not a humble Yorkshire youth named George Piercy been fired with an earnest longing to proceed to China and preach the gospel there. Unable to secure any financial aid in London, and learning much from Methodist soldiers stationed in the garrison at Hong-Kong, he paid his passage east out of his own scanty funds, and worked for some time among the soldiers, finally gathering together a class of twenty persons. Having made some progress in the Chinese language, he offered himself to the home society, and, after a strict examination, was accepted as a candidate for the ministry, to work under the direction of the missionary society. At the busy city of Canton, seventy miles up the river from Hong-Kong, he began his devoted labors. Thus, by the middle of the century, the three chief branches of Methodism were at work in different portions of the Celestial Empire, the most populous country on the face of the earth.

Foo-Chow, the capital of Fuhkien province, is a city containing half a million inhabitants. It is a river port, situated thirty-four miles from the sea, on the north bank of the Min. When the three American missionaries, the day after their arrival, looked down from a neighboring eminence upon its castellated walls, a sense of the tremendous task that lay before them impressed their minds with overwhelming power. But they braced themselves for the conflict. Settling upon a small island on the Min connected with the land by the "Bridge of a Thousand Ages," they labored in studying the language, distributing tracts and Scripture passages, and in preaching; but for ten years no convert entered their fold. Collins was compelled to return to America, only to die; his grave is in California. Mrs. White succumbed to the climate, and was buried there. A band of fresh helpers arrived, among them Dr. R. Maclay,



YOUNG J. ALLEN,
The veteran Missionary to China.

who worked later in the Japan field, and is passing the remainder of his days in southern California. The Rev. I. W Wiley, who arrived in 1851, became later a bishop of the Church; and it was he who, in December, 1867, had the satisfaction of organizing the Foo-Chow Conference. By that time the members and probationers amounted to a total of over two thousand. Bishop Wiley's name is associated in a peculiarly close way with the great city on the Min.

The ten years immediately preceding the act of organization proved to be a time of growth and hopefulness. In July, 1857, Ting Ang, a mature man of forty-seven, who had a wife and five children, after undergoing a complete course of catechizing, was baptized, and three months later his wife and two of his children followed in his wake. By the end of the year there was a native band of thirteen Foo-Chow Christians, some of whom proved stanch to the faith in presence of much persecution. A foundling asylum was, in 1858, established in the city; and the staff now began to push its stations westward, largely through the instrumentality of native helpers. A class of thirteen was formed at Kang-Chia, ten miles west of Ngu-Kang, hitherto the remotest of the interior outposts, and a chapel was built in the place. The press connected with the mission was active in publishing tracts and portions of Holy Writ.

At the first annual meeting of the mission, held in 1862, the appointments covered eight new fields of activity, and the membership had increased to eighty-seven. The year 1865 was marked by the visit of Bishop Thomson; and by the publication of Mr. Gibson's invaluable Reference Testament, which immediately became a standard work with foreign students throughout the empire. It was determined to prepare a similar version of the Old Testament, as well as a colloquial translation of the New Testament. A dictionary of the Fuhkien dialect was rapidly pushed forward to completion, and has since been published.

Two members of the mission, Messrs. Hart and Todd, entered, at the close of 1867, the important inland city of Kin-Kiang, situated on the Yang-tse river just north of Po-Yang lake. The city became a center of operations in the vicinity, and converts multiplied. In the month of June, 1868, the Foo-Chow mission resolved to send a representative north to the capital, and shortly afterward Doctor Maclay and the Rev. H. H. Lowry were appointed to the "Peking circuit." The name of Mr. Wheeler, however, was eventually substituted for that of Doctor Maclay; and it was his destiny to be the pioneer of Methodism in the north of China. Mr. Wheeler reached Peking in the month of March, 1869, and was joined in the following month by Mr. Lowry. His first sad duty was to bury his only son in a cemetery outside the city walls. This huge Oriental metropolis has recently attracted the attention of the civilized world, and the dramatic events that have happened there centered for a time in the quarters of the Methodist Mission. Peking is girded by a triple rampart of walls. It has, moreover, a southern or Chinese city, with walls whose circuit extends to five and a half miles. The northern or Tartar city is of somewhat less area. Within it nestles the Imperial city; and within that again the "Forbidden city," where no foreigner's foot was ever permitted to tread; a spot seen for the first time by alien eyes in September, 1900, after the siege and capture of Peking by the allied troops. The whole inhabited area amounts to about twenty-five square miles

The premises finally secured for missionary purposes lay just outside one of the city gates, and close to the quarter occupied by the foreign legations. The premises had once belonged to the chancellor of the empire, and had housed his twenty-seven wives and numerous household retinue. To-day the old structures have been replaced by two mission-

A FOO-CHOW MISSION TRIO

REV. NGOE GI LANG, Presiding Elder of the Hoi-Tang District.

REV. M. C. WILCOX, PH. D., Presiding Elder of the Foo-Chow District.

REV. HUONG PAU SENG, Presiding Elder of the Ngu-Cheng District.

houses, a large chapel, rooms for a boys' day-school, and for students in the training-school. Some six years later the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society established a home and hospital on an adjoining piece of ground.

When Bishop Kingsley visited the empire in the first year of the Peking settlement, he divided the work into three missions, the original organization at Foo-Chow being placed under Doctor Maclay s charge, while Mr. Wheeler was intrusted with the management at the capital, and Mr. Hart with the management at Kin-Kiang. At the same time the bishop took steps to systematize the native help. Four Chinese were ordained deacons and elders, and three others were ordained deacons. In response to his appeal to the home organization for more assistance, six young men crossed the Pacific in the following year. At this time there occurred in northern China a foretaste of the massacres of 1900; and, significantly, in the same city. Over one hundred and twenty Christians, twenty-two of them foreign-

GRAVES AT FOO-CHOW.

ers, and several of them Protestant natives, were murdered at Tientsin, seemingly with the connivance of officials; and a feeling of uneasiness spread everywhere among missionaries, special anxiety being felt at Peking.

In the year 1881 a fourth division of the work was made by the establishment of the West China Mission, with a station at Chun-King. The Central China mission, with its base at Kin-Kiang, includes the three additional districts of Nanking, Chin-Kiang, and Wuhu; the North China district, with its base at Peking, includes the additional districts of Tientsin, Shantung, Tsunhua, and Lanchon; while the parent mission in the south, centered at Foo-Chow, includes the additional districts of Hok-Chiang, Hing-Hwa, Ing-Chung, Ku-Cheng, Yong-Ping, and Hai-Tang.

The West China Mission passed through severe vicissitudes, and was compelled for a season to suspend its labors. In July, 1885, the New York secretaries were astounded to receive from their Chung-King representative, Mr. Gamewell, a telegram, dated Shanghai, to this effect: "Riot; property destroyed. Missionaries safe." For twenty months all operations were suspended. The center of these riots was at Chung-King, which had been occupied in the year 1882. When the missionaries returned to the place they found their former homes a heap of desolate ruins. However, nothing daunted, they began rebuilding, and on a larger scale. In 1892 the mission purchased property in Chentu, the "Perfect Capital," a famous center of commerce and of wealth, and made it one of their chief stations.

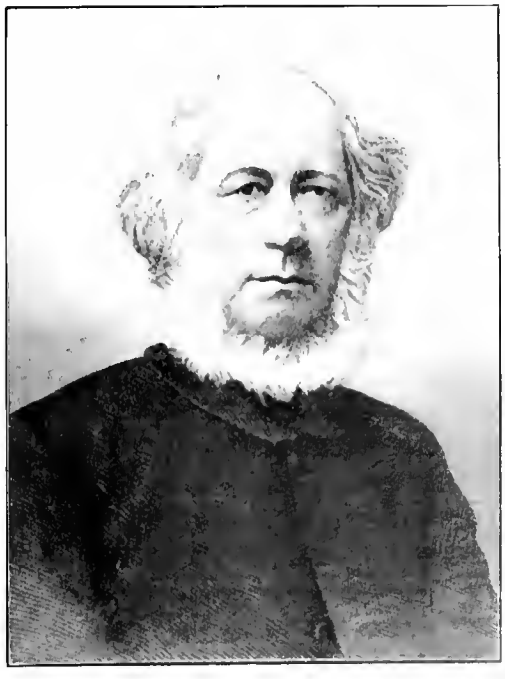
The most notable enterprise in the North China Mission was the development of the Wiley Institute of Peking into a Christian university. In 1888, largely through the efforts of one of the missionaries, Mr. Taft, the institution was organized on its new basis, with Bishop Fowler as chancellor; and two years later it was incorporated under the laws of the state of New York. In 1893 a handsome dormitory, named Durbin Hall, was completed, and now forms a striking feature of the campus. Its first president, Doctor Pilcher, died at his post in the year of the dormitory's completion. The university is the center of the educational work of the North China Mission. It is not, however, narrowly denominational, but is organized on a broad basis, that makes it a great evangelical center.

By a singular fate Bishop Wiley breathed his last in the Chinese city whither he had come thirty years before, as a Christian pioneer. When visiting Japan during the summer of 1884 he fell seriously ill; and his further voyage to China increased his physical weakness. On arriving at Shanghai he found himself unable to proceed up the river to Kin-Kiang, where he expected to meet the members of the Central Mission; and they had to repair thither to confer with him. In November he sailed south to

Foo-Chow, and, arriving in a state of prostration, was carried into a house that had been built on the site of his old home. After a few weeks of continued failing, he breathed his last on the twenty-second day of November, 1884, "like a warrior, who dies on the field amid the triumphs of victory." Isaac William Wiley was the first missionary elevated to the high office of bishop, and "always retained the true missionary spirit, so characteristic of true Methodism."

The work carried on in China by the Methodist Episcopal Church was represented in the year 1899 by four Conferences. The Foo-Chow Conference had on its staff thirty-six missionaries, fifteen of them ladies who represented the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. The Hing-Hwa Conference, which was separated from that of Foo-Chow in the year 1896, is located in the same great province of Fuhkien. It has on its staff eleven missionaries, five of them under the Woman's Board. The Central China Mission has its central station at the ancient capital of China, Nanking, and has on its staff forty-two missionaries, thirteen of them ladies supported by the Woman's Board. The North China Conference has on its staff thirty-three missionaries, and it is they who have been called upon to pass through the late terrible ordeal. The total of the China staff of the Church thus amounts to the imposing figure of one hundred and twenty-two.

During the weary ten years when the missionary force at Foochow was waiting to see some results from its endeavors, good work had been done at Shanghai by the band of Southern Methodists. The first syllable of the name of this now world-famous seaport implies that the place was originally of the second grade. When it was opened in the forties to foreign trade, there was a population of about forty-five thousand; and thirty-five foreign firms had already settled on the foreign concessions when Doctor Taylor and his friends arrived. In the year 1850 a chapel, seating one hundred and fifty, was opened. The earliest converts were Mr. Jenkins' teacher and his wife, the former of whom became a vigorous and successful preacher to his countrymen. About this time the dreadful Taiping rebellion broke out, and devastated the interior and the coast regions round Shanghai. Its leader was a young man named Hung Sing Tsuen, whose imagination had been fired with a medley of native traditions and of Christian teaching learned from a missionary. He professed to have obtained revelations from the "Heavenly Father" and "Celestial Heavenly Brother," and to have received a commission to overthrow the reigning dvnasty at Peking. After ten years of



ERASTUS WENTWORTH, D. D.,

Born, 1813, in Stonington, Connecticut; educated at Middletown Wesleyan University; joined Black River Conference, 1841; elected President of McKendree College, 1846; was Missionary in Foo-Chow, China; elected Editor of *The Ladies' Repository*, 1872

THE CITY OF NANKING, CHINA.

disturbance, the rebellion was finally quelled through the genius of Chinese Gordon and the valor of his ever-victorious army These years of ferment were naturally unfavorable to Christian proselytism.

In 1852 Doctor and Mrs. Cunnyngham joined the mission staff, and, two years later, Messrs. Kelley, Lambuth, and Belton arrived from home with their wives. In 1856 only the Lambuths and Cunnynghams remained. The new treaty privileges, resulting from the Tientsin convention of 1858, gave Doctor Cunnyngham an opportunity to visit Hang-Chow, an ancient city situated two hundred miles from Shanghai, at the terminus of the Grand Canal, and having a population of three-quarters of a million. Dr. Young J. Allen and the Rev. M. L. Wood were sent out at this time, that they might take advantage of the more favorable circumstances. Mr. and Mrs. Wood, however, were compelled, from reasons of health, to return in 1861, after a year in China, leaving their associate, Doctor Allen, behind.

Since July, 1860, this ardent and devoted Georgian has made China his home, and his name a household word among the people of that whole region. Born in Burke county, Georgia, in 1836, a posthumous child, he lost his mother a fortnight after his birth, and was brought up by a maternal aunt. His later education was received at Emory College. In 1859 he was admitted into the Georgia Conference, and it was Bishop Pierce who appointed him forthwith a missionary to China. His wife, who has been his faithful helpmeet in his labors, was Mary Houston, of Coweta county, in the same state, and a graduate of Wesleyan College, at Macon. They were married in 1858, the year before they sailed for the Orient.

This was an eventful time in Chinese history, only eclipsed by the recent terrible doings. In the year of their arrival an Anglo-French army marched up to Peking and captured the city. The Chinese people, however, were kept in ignorance of the disaster to their arms, and were actually led to believe that the

foreign devils, as they were termed, had been vanquished and driven back to the sea! The Civil War in Doctor Allen's own country dried up the sources of revenue for the mission, and all of his colleagues sailed for home. He himself remained, relying partly on the foreign community to help him in his labors, partly on his own receipts as a teacher in the Chinese service. All his spare funds he devoted to the extension of the work. The great city of Soo-Chow, called the "Paris of China," because of its pleasure-loving inhabitants, which had been desolated in the troublous times of the Taiping rebellion, attracted his attention. Here, in 1864, the first native preacher of the mission, Lieu Ya-Koh, was stationed; and, as the first-fruits of his labors, before the year was out, Nyoh-Lan was baptized at his house.

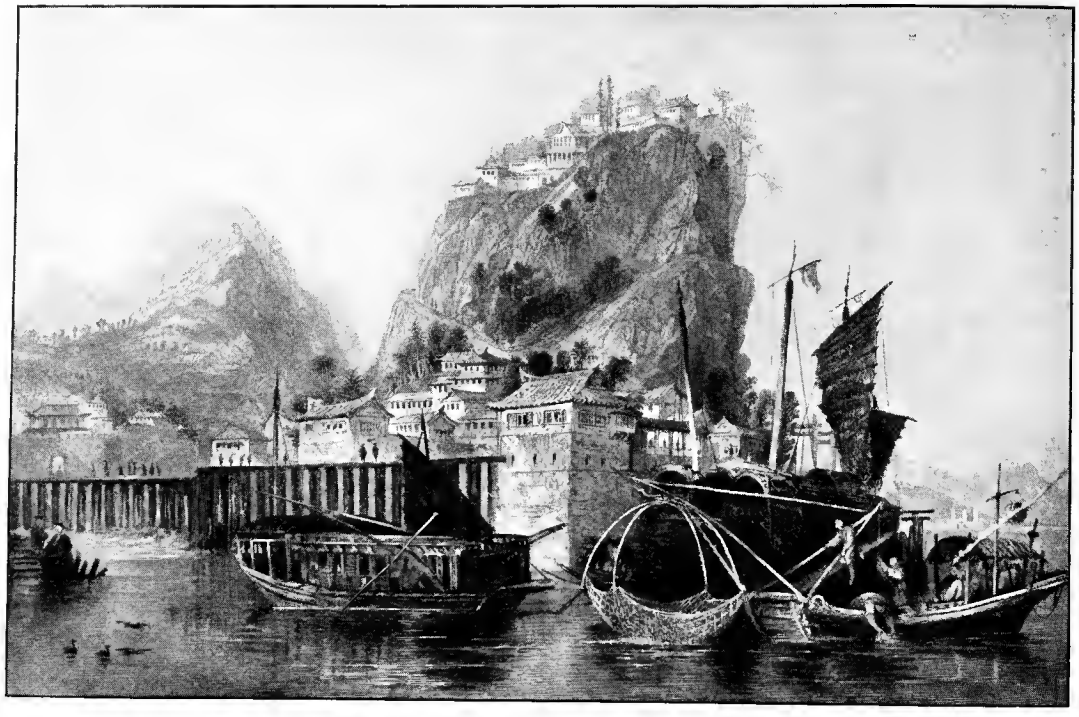
Next year Mr. Wood, who had remained at his post with Doctor Allen, was replaced by Dr. J. M. Lambuth, and he and Doctor Allen continued, for the long period of nine years, the sole representatives of the mission. It was a period of peace and prosperity. Not until 1876 did the depreciation of silver begin, which has since worked such havoc in the eastern trade. China was still the principal tea-producing country of the world, and its ports were the chosen homes of enterprising and wealthy merchants.

Doctor Allen came early to the conclusion that the Chinese, being a literary people, must be attacked from the side of literature. His efforts as an editor began in 1868, with the publication of the *Wan Kwo Kung*, or *Review of the Times*. He busied himself also with the translation of educational treatises on history, science, and other subjects, for the use of Chinese students. He felt that the whole structure of Chinese thought must be attacked in its entirety. Their ideals must be altered; for instance, the contempt for labor, shown in the cultivation by literary and business men of the absurdly long nail attached to the little finger; and the national philosophy of life, which teaches that woman represents the evil spirit in life.

He was able to enlist the enthusiastic aid of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of his Church, one of whose pioneers, Miss Laura A. Haygood, died at her post in Shanghai in the year 1900, after a long and valuable period of activity. This society, which began its operations in 1878, has established centers at

EMMA POAGE YUN,

Educated at Clopton Seminary, Shanghai; wife of Rev. T. H. Yun, formerly Minister of Education in Korea.



MOUTH OF THE RIVER CHIN-KIANG, CHINA.

Shanghai, where it planted the McTyeire Home and School, and the McGavock Memorial; at Soo-Chow, where it hopes soon to have similar institutions, and already possesses the Mary Lambuth School and the Davidson Bible College; and at Sung-Kiang, where there is the Hayes-Wilkins Bible College for the training of Bible women. In the Shanghai district it supports over twelve missionaries, and in the Soo-Chow district eight missionaries. In the latter city the staff attached to the Mary Black Memorial, an institution devoted to medical treatment, attended to over four thousand patients in the year 1899–1900.

Doctor Allen takes especial interest in his Anglo-Chinese college, which has for its object the thorough imbuing of Chinese lads with western ideals; and he occupied the presidency for eight years. In 1886 the mission organization was accepted and formally erected into a Conference by Bishop Wilson. In the following year the college was established. Since his resignation in 1895 he has devoted himself to literary work; and in the year 1897 no fewer than two thousand volumes of his more recent books were issued by one publishing house—"The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese."

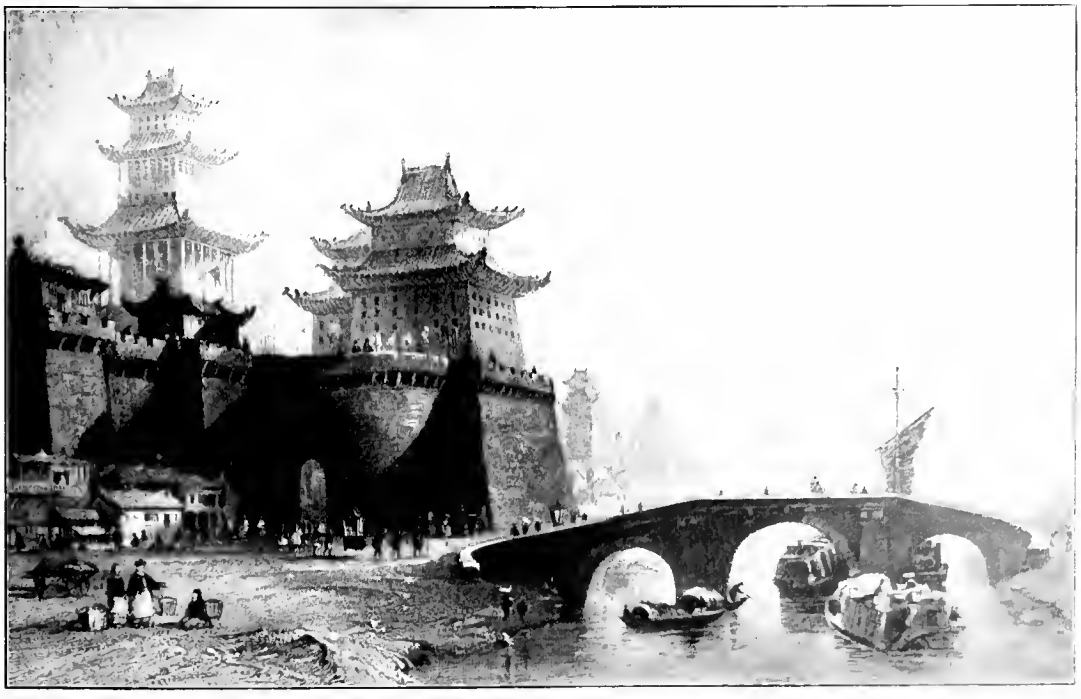
The work begun by Mr. Piercy in the South, at Canton, under the auspices of the English Wesleyan Society, was greatly aided in 1860 by the legacy of Thomas Pool, who bequeathed the sum of fifty thousand dollars to aid the missionary cause in India and China. New missionaries arrived from home, commodious schools and chapels were built, and the city was divided into two circuits. Doctor Nenyon's hospital accomplished much in the way of modifying and removing the bitter hatred of foreigners; and mission operations were extended to outlying districts. Josiah Cox, who made a trip up the Yang-Tse river in 1862 as far as its junction with the Han, settled upon Han-Kow, situated at the confluence and considerably further up than

Kin-Kiang, as a suitable station. Some years later Dr. Porter Smith established a dispensary in the city, and was able in one year to treat no fewer than twenty thousand native patients.

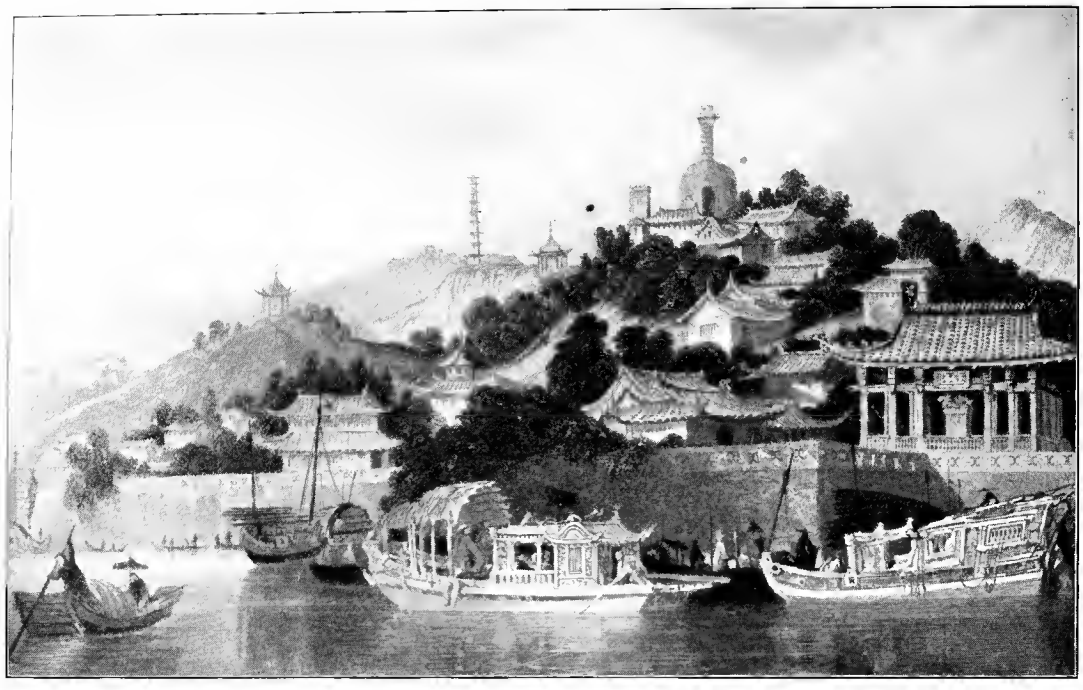
In the Missionary Conference held at Leeds in 1897, Charles Bone, who was sent to China, seventeen years before, and worked in and around Canton, represented the China Mission. For some years he filled the principalship of the theological institution of the district, and he is also known as the translator into Chinese of the Book of the Revelation of St. John.

Other Methodist denominations have entered upon the China field. The United Methodist Free Church sent as its representative the Rev. William Fuller, who located himself at Ningpo, the chief city of Che-Kiang province, and one of the five treaty posts. Five other members subsequently arrived; and Wen-Chow, a city lying to the southwest, was made a sub-station. Mr. Soothill, one of the later arrivals, translated the Scriptures into the Wen-Chow dialect, and the British and Foreign Bible Society have published this version. In 1898 there were forty-nine native workers and a membership of nearly one thousand.

The Methodist New Connexion has been represented in China for the last forty years of the century. John Innocent and William Hall were the two preachers who first began work, finally choosing Tientsin as their chief location. Here the mission established two colleges, one for young men, the other for young women, who should be trained to serve as lady helpers. There are, or were—for Tientsin has suffered grievously in the late rebellion—two chapels in the city. Work was also begun in Taku, where a native church was formed; in the city of Hsing-Chi, lying to the westward; and at Kai-Ping, near which are extensive collieries. The mandarins who owned these mines offered the mission facilities for operations, if it consented to send a medical man to the place. There is now an extensive circuit in the neighborhood,



WESTERN GATE, PEKING, CHINA.



GARDEN OF THE IMPERIAL PALACE, PEKING, CHINA.

largely worked by native help, a distinctive feature of this missionary enterprise.

The Christianity that was introduced in the sixteenth century into Japan by Xavier and his helpers was suppressed amid rivers of human blood. The political pretensions of the Pope of Rome, so deeply resented in their time by European nations, were excessively offensive to patriotic Japanese, who preferred national isolation to the possibility of national subservience. And yet the faith still lingered in some districts. Many thousand hereditary Christians, living in the neighborhood of Nagasaki, kept up secretly the Catholic rites, and Roman Catholic missionaries were able some fifty years ago to resume work there almost without a break. In the capital, however, Christianity was merely a tradition. One spot, not very far from the Imperial University, was locally known as "Christian Valley," because a Jesuit priest, who was landed on the shores of Japan in the seventeenth century, lingered on there in confinement; and the tombstone of another priest is still shown in a neighboring cemetery. This man was attached for many years to the monastery adjoining the place.

The treaties wrested from the Japanese government in 1854 as a result of Commodore Perry's warlike demonstration in the bay of Tokyo, opened up the country to Protestant enterprise. It was not, however, until 1873 that the Methodist Episcopal Church took advantage of the situation. In that year Dr. R. S. Maclay, having been transferred from Foo-Chow in China, took up his residence in Yokohama, the foreign port connected with Tokyo, and situated on the shores of its bay, about eighteen miles to the south. Three other members were appointed from home Conferences: the Rev. John C. Davison from Newark, the Rev. Julius Soper from Baltimore, and the Rev. M. C. Harris from Pittsburgh. Mr. Davison was to find the scene of his labors at Nagasaki, on the island of Kyushu, where he was still busy at work in

the year 1900. Mr. Soper was sent to the great capital, where Mr. Harris afterward joined him. Just at this juncture the Rev. Irvin Correll and his wife, who were on their way to Foo-Chow, were compelled, by the critical condition of Mrs. Correll's health, to break their journey at Yokohama. Bishop Harris, who happened to be sojourning there at the time, transferred them to the Japan work, and located them at Yokohama.

In the early seventies the northern island of Yezo attracted the attention of the imperial government, as a suitable place for colonization, and as a useful bulwark against Russian aggression, if so utilized. Except for a small district in the southwest, it was wild and uncultivated, being the home of a primitive race of savages, known as Ainos. The excellent land-locked harbor of Hakodate attracted considerable native and foreign shipping, and was rightly considered a good locality from which to evangelize the northern portion of the main island. Mr. and Mrs. Harris were located there for a short time; and a girls' school was established on the hill, whose Gibraltar-like proportions make it a landmark far and near. Miss Mary S. Hampton and others labored diligently in this place, and built up the work of female education.

The government center of administration was located at Sapporo, considerably to the north. An agricultural college, manned by American instructors, was established, and Sapporo became a city on the western model. It is the center of the Sapporo district of the Yezo Mission.

The work in Tokyo developed largely on educational lines. An excellent lot, facing the bay, was obtained in the foreign concession at Tsukiji, and a commodious building, to serve as a girls' school, was erected upon it. The Woman's Board founded and supported the institution, which, under the management of Miss Spencer, Miss Holbrook (now Mrs. Chappell), and Mrs. Van Petten, who arrived in Japan between 1876 and 1881, was brought into a high state of efficiency.

By the purchase of valuable and very desirable ground in a suburb of the city lying beyond the famous Aoyama cemetery, the mission was able to build an extensive college for the training of young men. Aoyama College is now a busy educational center, well equipped for academic and theological work. One of its earliest graduates, Mr. Y. Asada, is now professor in the Philander Smith Biblical Institute connected with the institution. He graduated at the Imperial University of Japan, and proceeded thence to Chicago University, where in 1893 he obtained his doctor's degree with signal honors.

An excellent girls' school was also

REV. GEORGE R. LOEHR,
Of the Anglo-Chinese College, Shanghai.

REV. DAVID HILL,
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary to China.

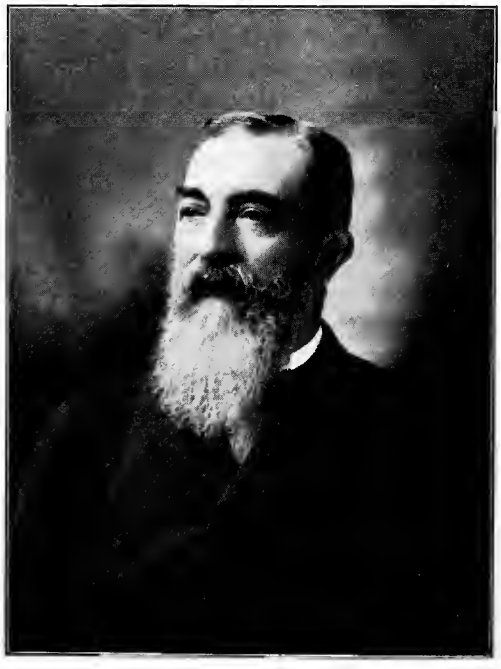
established and developed at Nagasaki, under the able management of Miss Elizabeth Russell. Its handsome buildings are conspicuously placed upon the crest of a hill, and form a notable feature in the landscape of this historic bay.

In July, 1898, the district of South Japan was organized into a separate Conference, which in 1899 included eighteen missionaries, eight of whom were under the Woman's Board. An interesting feature of its work is the mission to the Loochooans, a race of islanders having many peculiar ways. A Japanese pastor, Mr. Nagano, is in charge of this work.

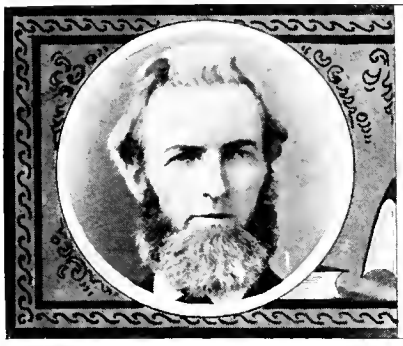
It is probable that the main portion of the Japan work will soon be divided into a central and a northern division. The staff numbers no fewer than fifty missionaries, who are scattered over an area of many hundred miles, from Sapporo in the northern island of Yezo, to Nagoya on the Tokaido. Hirosaki, Sendai, Yamagata, and other important urban centers are receiving diligent attention, and present hopeful results. Measures are on foot to bring about a union of the Methodist bodies in Japan in respect to their theological work, so as to prevent waste of material; and the well-equipped Philander Smith Biblical Institute at Aoyama, where Doctor Asada is a professor, is joining heartily in the movement.

The Japan work of the Canadian Church, begun so auspiciously at Shizuoka and in the capital by Doctor Cochran and Doctor D. Macdonald, was energetically developed in the years following 1880. A well-equipped Anglo-Japanese college, for the education of both sexes, was built at Azabu, one of the most desirable districts in Tokyo, and a theological department was attached to it. Here, in the spring of 1890, one of the instructors, Mr. Large, was cruelly assassinated in presence of his wife, the lady principal of the girls' school. The work of this mission has already been described in the chapter on Canadian Methodism.

The missionary work of the Methodist Protestant Church began in the year 1882, when Miss Guthrie, who had



BISHOP ALPHEUS W. WILSON.



J. W. LAMBUTH,
Father of W. R. Lambuth.

W. R. LAMBUTH,
Missionary Secretary.

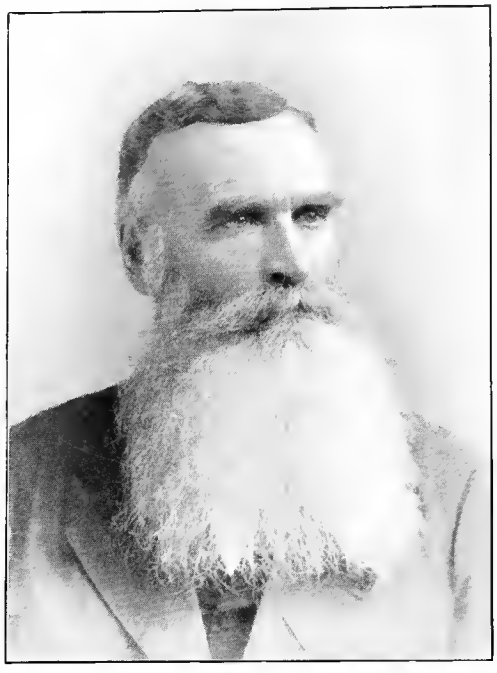
MRS. J. W. LAMBUTH,
Mother of W. R. Lambuth.

hitherto worked in connection with the Union Missionary Society of New York, associated herself with the denomination. A Woman's Board was formed, and later, at the General Conference of the Church, a Board of Missions, the Rev. F. C. Klein, of Baltimore, being appointed to serve in Japan. From Yokohama, where Miss Guthrie first engaged in work, operations spread to Fujisawa and Nagoya, the latter a busy commercial center on the main route from Tokyo to Kyoto.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, determined in the year 1885 to enter the Japan field, and, on the motion of Bishop Keener, the Mission Board appropriated three thousand dollars for the purpose. In the following year Bishop McTyeire, who was in charge of the China Mission, appointed Messrs. J. W. and W. R. Lambuth and Mr. O. A. Dukes to the island empire. The district chosen was the center of the main island, of which Kobe is the chief foreign port of entry and Ozaka the great commercial emporium. As events have turned out, Yokohama has gradually yielded its precedence to Kobe, which now ranks first in importance as a foreign port. Kobe has proved to be an excellent base for operations in the great Inland Sea, on the shores of which is situated the great city of Hiroshima. This is a military and naval center of the first grade, and the port from which the bulk of Japanese emigrants sail to Formosa, Honolulu and elsewhere in the Pacific. Another circuit was formed in the district round Lake Biwa, a wide expanse of fresh water stretching northward from beyond Kyoto. That ancient capital was itself occupied in the year 1898.

A call which came from Uwajima, a town situated on the southwest coast of the island of Shikoku, received an immediate response. The medical services given by Dr. W. R. Lambuth to old Prince Date, lord of the place, secured for the mission a friendly reception. Finally the whole of the Shikoku and Kyushu work was centered at Matsuyama, also, like Uwajima, in the province of Iyo, but further to the north. During the next eight years a good many changes took place in the personnel of the mission. Dr. W. R. Lambuth and Mr. Dukes were compelled to leave home because of family reasons; and the elder Lambuth was, in 1890, called to his reward. He died in Kobe, and the affectionate lads of the Kwansei-Gakko asked permission to draw his hearse through the streets as a testimony of their esteem. Under the management of S. H. Wainwright this Anglo-Japanese college has grown and prospered.

The Evangelical Association or "Albrights" sent representatives to Japan



BISHOP WILLIAM TAYLOR,
Missionary to Africa.

soon after the Methodist Episcopal Church entered the field. Doctor Krecker, who won regard by his disinterested medical labors, fell a victim to his devotedness in the year 1883, and was the first missionary to be buried in the great cemetery at Aoyama in Tokyo. For many years the city of Ozaka was held by the organization, but this work was finally handed over to the Cumberland Presbyterians. In 1893, Bishop Esher, when visiting Japan, organized the mission into an Annual Conference, with eleven elders, three deacons, and five local preachers. It now includes fourteen or fifteen organized churches, representing a membership of over eight hundred.

The claims of the neighboring peninsula of Korea, which was daily entering into closer relations, commercially and politically, with Japan, forced themselves in 1884 upon the notice of Doctor Maclay. He visited the country and planned the establishment of a mission there. Seoul, the capital, situated several miles inland from Chemulpo, its port, was the earliest place occupied. The Methodist Church was the first organization of the kind to be recognized by the Korean government. Dr. W. B. Scranton and Mr. H. G. Appenzeller were the two representatives sent out to the Hermit Nation; and it was through his medical equipment that the former gentleman was able to gain an easy entrance into the ancient capital. The educational work of Mr. Appenzeller followed in the wake of Doctor Scranton's dispensary. The boys' school received from the government the high-sounding name of *Pai Chai Hak Dang*, or "Hall for Training Useful Men," and the girls' school the name of "Pear Flower School;" while Doctor Scranton's hospital was designated the "Wide-spread Relief Hospital." The first Korean to profess Christianity and be baptized was a young man in attendance at the boys' school. The school hall was dedicated by Bishop Warren when he visited Korea in the year 1887 The mission was early assisted by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, which began its educational work in May, 1886, and its hospital and dispensary work some time afterward. To this building the king appropriated the name, "House for Many Sick Women"—*Poo Goo Nijo Goan.*

The staff now shows a force of seventeen workers, with nine auxiliaries from the Woman's Board, three of whom are graduates in medicine. Besides the work in Seoul and Chemulpo, there are now outlying circuits at Pyeng Yang Yang, Wonsan, and other localities. A printing-press, under the management of Mr. H. B. Hulbert, busies itself in the publication of gospel and other literature, among its books being a translation of the "Pilgrim's Progress."

The circumstance that a Korean named T. H. Yun, belonging to a prom-

nent Korean family, was educated in America and became there a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, ed Bishop Hendrix in 1895 to recommend that a mission be established in hat country, where Mr. Yun held an mportant post. This recommendation resulted in the appointment of the Rev. C. ? Reid, of Shanghai, as superintendent, with four others to assist him, two of hem married missionaries. Work was begun at Seoul and at Songdo, an important city on the main route to China, ying fifty-six miles to the north, where Mr. Yun's family and immediate friends re resident. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Church supports four members in Korea. Miss Carroll, who took up the work in Songdo n 1899, found fourteen baptized members and fifty-nine probationers as the esult of two years' labor in the city. The principal work of the mission lies n Seoul, where Mrs. Campbell has organized a girls' boarding-school.

The work in Africa, begun at the lose of the century at Sierra Leone, was ontinued in the year 1816 by the founding of a similar settlement on an island ying at the mouth of the river Gambia. Five years later a station was opened on he mainland, and the physical, mental nd spiritual needs of the natives were ared for; but so numerous and severe vere the difficulties and dangers, that he missionaries again returned to St. Mary's island. Another island, known s Macarthy's, was secured, where a number of half-wild young aborigines vere collected together, and placed in mission school. So serious was the nortality among the white people, that his work had to be intrusted to a native eacher, who proved efficient. St. Mary's sland continued to be the center of influence for the whole district, although he death roll remained heavy.

Work on the African Gold Coast began in response to a native demand. Some colored youths, who had learned to read the Bible at Cape Coast Castle, sent a request to England for more copies. The sea-captain who conveyed this request and delivered it at the Wesleyan Mission House, offered to take out a missionary free of charge; and, if he were not successful, to bring him back. The result was that the Rev. J. Dunwell sailed with the good captain and began operations. In the year 1861 there were in all on these coasts thirty ministers and about nine thousand members.

Twenty years later the work in South Africa was of sufficient importance to be organized into a Conference. At the close of the century this Conference numbered close on two hundred ministers, with a membership of sixty-three thousand. The Rev Charles Briscoe, who represented South Africa at the Leeds Conference of 1897, was the first minister of any church to begin work on the now famous Rand Gold Field. For six months he lived in a wagon, in what

BISHOP J. C. HARTZELI

REV. LUDWIG S. JACOBY, D. D.,
Pioneer Methodist Evangelist in Germany.

is now the heart of the populous city of Johannesberg, devoting himself to the mining population, among whom he labored seven years. Thereafter he directed his efforts toward organizing the native population in this locality made so famous by the recent tragic war.

One of the natural results of the Civil War was to diminish the interest felt by Christian people throughout the United States in the Liberia scheme. Whereas thousands of dollars had formerly been given willingly, only hundreds were now forthcoming. The appropriations made when Burns and Roberts were bishops reached at times a total of thirty thou sand dollars; but this income sank in the seventies to twenty-five hundred dollars. People preferred to treat the emancipated negro within their own borders.

Moreover, the policy adopted by the authorities in the United States, of managing the affairs of Liberia through a local bishop of African race, was not deemed an unqualified success. Bishop Haven's visit to the republic in 1876 was acceptable to very many because it again brought the management into immediate relations with the entire Church. During his tour of inspection, the bishop was impressed with the need of evangelizing the tribes who inhabited the interior. He urged upon the Church the duty that lay upon it to begin aggressive operations in this quarter; and something was forthwith done in the way of sending out a new staff of workers. But no really fresh start was made until, in the General Conference of 1884, William Taylor was elected missionary bishop of Africa. His work in India has already been dealt with. Born in Rockbridge county, Virginia, in the year 1821, he was brought up a farmer and tanner. In 1842 he joined the Methodist ministry. His work was distributed over many lands; and his name had become a household word in California, in Canada, in Australasia, in India, and in South America. And yet it is probable that his labors on the Congo and Coanzu rivers in Central Africa will form his chief claim to remembrance. In January of the year 1885, he landed in Liberia, and thirteen months later made the region to the south, where he had been working in the Portuguese province of Angola and the Congo Free State, the "South Central District" of the Liberia Conference.

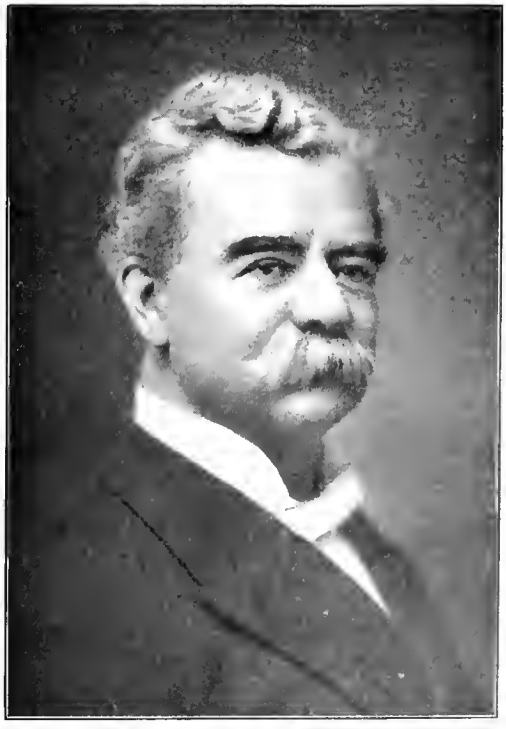
His favorite "Self-supporting Plan" was first started in the southeast of Liberia, in the Cavalla river district. Seventeen petty native kings invited him to begin operations in their dominions, offering not only to furnish ground and clear it, but also to supply his teachers with timber for building their houses. Most of these offers he accepted, and they were honorably fulfilled, schools being established in many places. By the year 1892 the bishop could report twenty-six self-supporting stations in southeast Liberia. His great difficulty lay in persuading the natives to be self-supporting,

when they knew or imagined that their neighbors were in receipt of aid from the other side of the ocean.

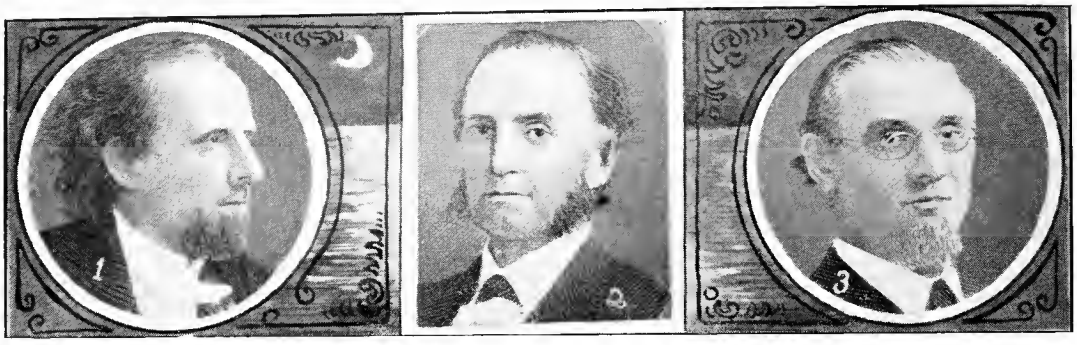
A network of stations was planted along the Congo river from its mouth as far as Kimpoko on Stanley pool; and another network further south in the Angola territory, along the Coanzu river, from Loanda as far as Malanga. Another feature of Bishop Taylor's work was the "Nursery Mission," for the rearing of very young children under competent missionary matrons. The object in view was to get hold of the children before they were corrupted by evil examples; and to train them from their earliest years to good habits, so that they might serve as capable teachers and artisans.

Growing infirmities having led to the resignation, in 1896, of the veteran Taylor, Bishop Hartzell was appointed in his place. The new administrator s first duty was to see to the legal transfer of properties held or bequeathed to his predecessors, whose "Self-supporting Missions" were not directly under the control of the Church. The Building and Transit Fund Society of New York held titles to various properties, and these had to be transferred. The General Missionary Committee finally saw its way clear to accept all of Bishop Taylor's self-supporting missions in Africa, and constituted them foreign missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

At the General Conference of 1900 Bishop Hartzell was able to report satisfactory progress in Liberia, where the church at Monrovia is the largest and most influential in the republic. The Monrovia Seminary had been stimulated and developed, especially in the department of industrial work, and its name changed to the College of West Africa. In 1897 he had organized the Congo Mission Conference at Quihongoa, and could report a total working force of eighty. The Angola work he considered a most important and promising field, its native population being of a superior kind. The Church had six industrial schools there, and five organizations; and a printing-press ready to be set up. Across the continent, in Portuguese East Africa, three mission stations had been planted, in a comparatively healthy region. Four missionaries, with a well-trained native staff, were at work in the midst of a population of three million. At New and Old Umtali, in Mashonaland, Rhodesia, two hundred and fifty miles by rail from the Portuguese port of Beira, school and church work was also begun under the best auspices, and the wants of both immigrants and natives were attended to. Already the European population numbered close on a thousand. Securing the co-operation of the British South Africa Company, he was able to obtain lands and buildings free of charge. He arrived at a friendly understanding with the Wesleyan



BISHOP D. H. MOORE.



FORMER MISSIONARY SECRETARIES OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.
1. THOMAS M. EDDY. 2. R. L. DASHIELL. 3. JOHN M. REID.

Church in these districts, and arranged their respective spheres so that there should be no overlapping of mission or missionary work.

It is the opinion of Bishop Hartzell that the healthful and attractive Madeira islands should be made a basis for operations on the continent, as well as a sanitarium for sick members of the staff. Already five missionaries and two Bible readers are at work in and around Funchal, the chief city, where there is a resident English colony of several hundreds, as well as a floating population of sea-going men. Fourteen miles inland there has been formed a society of native Portuguese, numbering thirty communicants. In all his trips to and from Europe to West or East Africa he makes Funchal a stopping-place.

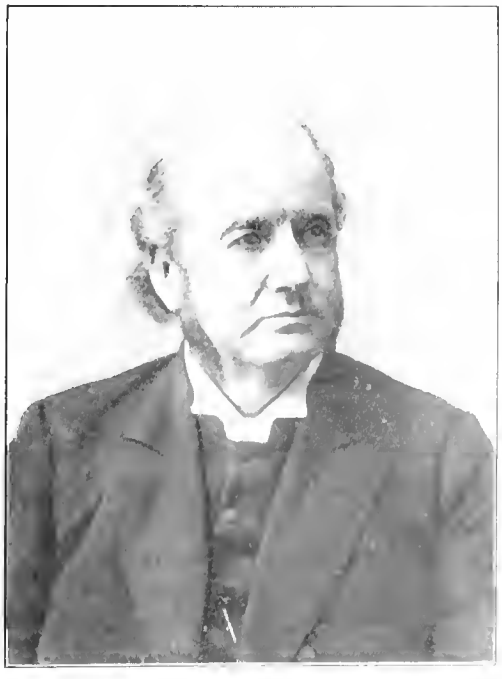
The Methodist Episcopal Church was the first organization to begin work in the ancient principality of Bulgaria, then groaning under Turkish rule. In the year 1852 the general committee resolved to set apart the sum of five thousand dollars for the evangelization of Bulgaria, and five years later two missionaries, the Rev. Wesley Prettyman and the Rev. Albert L. Long, arrived at Constantinople, with joint authority to institute the mission. From Constantinople they sailed to Varna, at the mouth of the Danube, the chief port of the province, and thence proceeded to Shumla, forty-five miles inland. They continued their journey, through an inviting country, to Rutschuk. Their final decision was to make Shumla their central location—a city of forty thousand inhabitants, one-fifth of them native Bulgarians. Next year they were strengthened by the arrival of the Rev. F. W Flocken. This allowed Mr. Long to open a new center at Tirnova, a compactly built city, lying romantically among the foot-hills of the Balkan mountains, about seventy miles from Shumla. Here, in December, 1859, he began to hold regular public religious services in the Bulgarian language. To Mr. Flocken fell the task of beginning work at Tultcha among the Molokans, dissenters from the Russo-Greek Church, who eschewed image-worship, and were simple and conscientious in their ways. Among them was found an excellent native worker, Ivan Ivanoff, whose conversion was a blessing to his brethren.

In the year 1863, Mr. Long, who had removed to Constantinople, became associated with Doctor Riggs in the publication of the Bulgarian New Testament, which the British and Foreign Bible Society was on the eve of publishing. In the following year he began the publication of a journal which he called *Zornitza*, or "The Day Star," and which found a wide circle of readers among Bulgarians. Next year Bishop

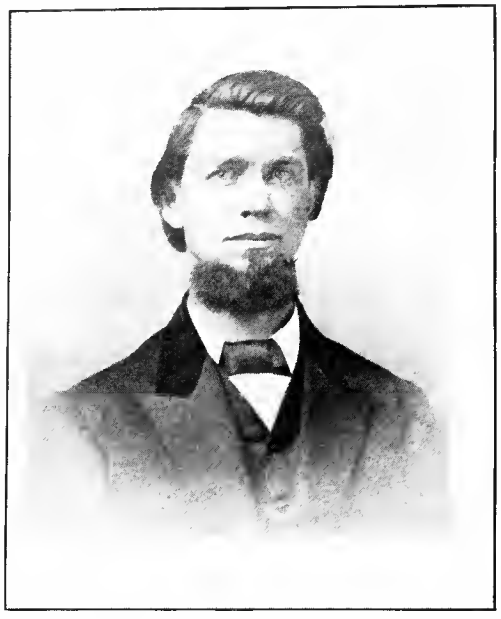
Thomson visited the mission and inspected it thoroughly. At Sistof, Gabriel Elieff, the first convert, had gathered round him a number of persons interested in Bible reading and prayer. The bishop was highly pleased with the work, and advised the home board to send more missionaries.

The breaking-out of the Russo-Turkish war in 1877 was a heavy blow to the mission; and severe persecutions also placed many trials upon it. Again in 1885 war broke out, and the country was aflame with patriotism. Yet, through all the commotion, the mission held on its way. The annual meeting of the year, held at Loftcha, could report a flourishing girls' school supported by the Woman's Board and under the management of Miss Schenck, a theological school at Sistof, training twenty students, under Mr. Ladd, and a printing-press busy at work. In the year 1892 Bishop Joyce organized the Mission Conference, and ordained three pastors as elders, and four preachers as deacons. In the following year the report showed fifteen circuits, two foreign missionaries and their wives, one representative of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, fourteen native ordained preachers, and nine native teachers. While only one hundred and fifty members as yet were enrolled, still this was no gauge of the wide and deep influence exercised by the mission upon the people of the principality.

The kingdom of Italy, although it had been considered a suitable mission field as early as the year 1832, when Dr. Charles Elliott urged its claims in season and out of season, received no representative from the Methodist Church until the year 1871. At the St. Louis Conference of that year, Bishop Ames appointed the Rev. William Vernon missionary to Italy, with the charge laid upon him to fix upon some suitable locality as a permanent center for operations. Landing at Genoa in the following August, he visited the chief cities of Italy, and finally settled upon Bologna as the most convenient center; but Rome was chosen later. Florence, Milan, and Perugia were entered shortly after; and the mission secured various important accessions to its ranks. Prof. Alceste Lanna, under Doctor Vernon's influence, joined the Church, and was followed in the next year by Professor Caporali. On Christmas, 1875, St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church was dedicated at Rome. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society entered upon the field shortly afterward, and opened a home and ophanage at Rome. A theological school, organized at Florence under a regular faculty, was subsequently removed to Rome. The capital was also the center of a vigorous publishing-house which supplied the country with good literature. In the year 1899 there were three districts: the Bologna, with a boys'



BISHOP ISAAC W. JOYCE.
Spent two years in the Orient; returned to America in 1898.



L. M. VERNON,
First Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church to Italy.

industrial school attached to it, located at Venice; the Naples district; and the Rome district, with its theological school, its boys' school and college, its girls' home school, its Isabella Day nursery, and its young ladies' institute. The last-mentioned, under Miss M. Ella Vickery, saw at the close of 1900 the completion of a splendid marble building for its accommodation, known as Crandon Hall, and erected by the Methodist women of Chicago and the Northwest.

In a former chapter reference has been made to the extensive work carried on in Germany by Methodist evangelists, Ludwig S. Jacoby being the great pioneer of the enterprise. As early as the year 1850, a Methodist religious paper, entitled the *Evangelist*, was started at Bremen; and a circuit was formed in and around this busy seaport, with fifteen appointments. In spite of much persecution from magistrates and lawless mobs, the work grew apace. Eight years later there was founded, at Frankfort, the Book Concern of Germany, under the name *Verlag des Tractathauses*. In the same year a school for Bible instruction was begun, which developed some years later into the Martin Mission Institute, named after John T. Martin, of New York, who gave it twenty-five thousand dollars as a centennial gift, adding another thousand dollars for a library. This has been built at Roedenberg, an elevated suburb of Frankfort. A journal was published for children, named the *Kinderfreund*, and, after 1860, both it and the *Evangelist* were issued from the mission press. A *Missions Bote*, or "Missionary Messenger," was also begun.

The work spread in 1856 to Switzerland, where, at Basle, the Conference was held in the year 1864. Already the National Churches had begun to take umbrage at the gains made by Methodism, which were their own losses; but Doctor Christlieb warned them that the best way to fight Methodism was to do as it was doing. By 1883 there were eight journals—two of them weekly, three monthly, and three quarterly. When the Conference of 1886 met at Zurich, under the presidency of Bishop Foss, it was decided to divide it into a Germany and a Switzerland Conference. The latter included a part of France. Seven years later, when Bishop Vincent convened the Germany Conference at Bremen, he saw the work divided into two. The North Germany Conference includes the districts of Berlin, Bremen, and Leipsic and Berlin; and the South Germany those of Frankfurt, Heilbronn and Stuttgart, and Karlsruhe.

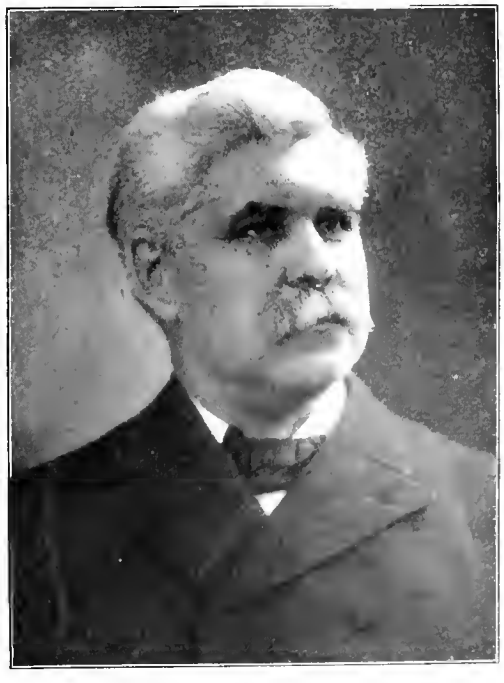
The Switzerland Conference kept rapidly increasing in numbers and general strength. A Book Concern, founded at Zurich as a branch of the Bremen *Verlag des Tractathauses*, became in 1891 an independent house, with the title *Christliche Vereins Buchhandlung;* and in 1894 it began to publish a weekly *Evangelist*

and *Kinderfreund* of its own. In the year 1899 the Conference could report a membership of over seven thousand, with forty-seven chapels and churches, and about the same number of preachers. It comprises the three circuits of Bern, St. Gallen, and Zurich. At this time the work in Germany showed a hundred and seven ordained preachers, and a hundred and eleven houses of worship; with considerably over eight thousand of a membership.

Before the middle of the century, that zealous evangelist, Olaf Gustav Hedstrom, who, at the time of his conversion in 1829 was working as a tailor in New York, became eager to influence his Scandinavian countrymen. Swedish sailors were constantly in the ports, and Swedish immigrants were pouring into the country. One of the latter, Peter Bergner, arrived with his family in New York in the summer of 1832. He had been a student at Upsala University, and was so versed in the languages that people called him "Polyglot Peter." From the first he did his best to provide gospel services for his countrymen. An accident laid him aside from active duties, and during his time at the hospital he gained a closer insight into Christian truth and experience. He was employed as a tract missionary, and formed an intimate association with Pastor Hedstrom. Benevolent New Yorkers became interested in the project of helping the Scandinavian sailors, and in 1845 bought, in the name of the Asbury Society of New York city, a vessel which was rechristened the "John Wesley." It was stationed in the North river, and Hedstrom was appointed the head of the North River Mission. Fifty Swedes attended the first service, at which Peter Bergner acted as precentor. The vessel became an asylum for poor immigrants, where they could find temporary quarters; and it also served as a labor agency. Hundreds of fair-haired immigrants were directed to localities in the West, where positions awaited them.

From New York the work spread to Europe. In the year 1849 Mr. Petersen visited Norway on an evangelical tour; and, in the face of much opposition and contemptuous interference from the State Church, he succeeded in making many converts. From 1853, when he was appointed missionary, until 1856, he worked alone. Sarpsdorg, Fredericksshald, and Christiania, the last-mentioned in 1864, were occupied in turn. In 1876 Bishop Andrews formed the mission into an Annual Conference, the members numbering nearly three thousand, who contributed out of their scanty means fifteen hundred dollars annually to aid in the work.

In the year 1865 Mr. Cederholm, one of the Norwegian missionaries, crossed over into Gottland, an island in the Baltic belonging to Sweden. In the



WILLIAM BURT,
Superintendent of Methodist Episcopal Missions in Italy.

CRANDON HALL, ROME, DEDICATED, OCTOBER, 1900.
The handsome new quarters of the Methodist Ladies' College in the Italian capital.

same year Doctor Durbin visited the mission, and active work was pushed on the mainland, at the capital, Stockholm, and in other leading cities. In the year 1868, when Bishop Kingsley made his visit, he erected the mission into a separate organization, with Victor Witting, who had directed a powerful revival at Gottenberg, as its superintendent. The church at Carlskrona was the first Methodist edifice to be erected in the kingdom. Eight years later Bishop Andrews organized the Sweden Conference at the historic town of Upsala, where the Swedish kings used to be crowned. This city was chosen as the best place for locating the theological school. When Bishop Vincent met the Sweden Conference at Nordkoping in 1893, he found a membership of nearly fourteen thousand, churches and chapels numbering over a hundred, ten Epworth Leagues, and seventy-five ordained and one hundred and twenty-seven unordained preachers. The Methodists of the island of Gottland, which was then visited by a strong religious movement, had a newspaper of its own, the *Sandebud*, which reached a circulation of nearly thirty thousand.

Denmark, through its noble missionary, Schwartz, had, during the eighteenth century, done not a little for the cause of missions. The impetus of this Moravian fervor, however, spent itself, and the Lutheran Church showed itself very lukewarm. In 1857 Mr. Willerup, who was at the head of all the Scandinavian work, and was himself a Dane, removed to Copenhagen that he might begin the good work there. In 1866 a church was dedicated in presence of several distinguished men. The name of Harold Dollner, a benevolent New York merchant of Danish birth, is to be remembered as a liberal donor to this mission. In 1886 the mission suffered the loss by death of Mr. Willerup, and also of Mr. Dollner. Two years later a theological college was opened at Copenhagen; and in the following year the Dollner Memorial Church at Odense was dedicated; a very handsome building. When, in 1893, Bishop Vincent held the annual meeting, the mission had fourteen ordained and thirty-seven unordained preachers, fourteen places of worship, and over twenty-three hundred members. Since then these figures have increased by nearly fifty per cent. Its influence in arousing the dormant Lutheran Church to modern methods of Christian activity has been very notable.

Finland and St. Petersburg were also visited by the zealous Scandinavian Mission. In 1892 Bishop Joyce organized the Finland and St. Petersburg Mission separately from the Sweden Conference. At the close of this year, a time of much economical depression, it could report four hundred and sixty members, and six hundred and seventy Sunday-school pupils. A religious paper, in Finnish, the *Rauhan Sanoma*, or "Messenger of Peace," was published monthly; and Methodist literature was issued from the press. There is a Finnish district with four circuits, named, respectively, Helsingfors, St. Petersburg, Viborg, and Tammerfors. At the last-named place, which gives its name to the district, a theological seminary has been established, attended in the year 1899 by five students. The Swedish district has nine circuits, and twenty-one regular preaching-places, and prospects are bright in this ancient home of the race.

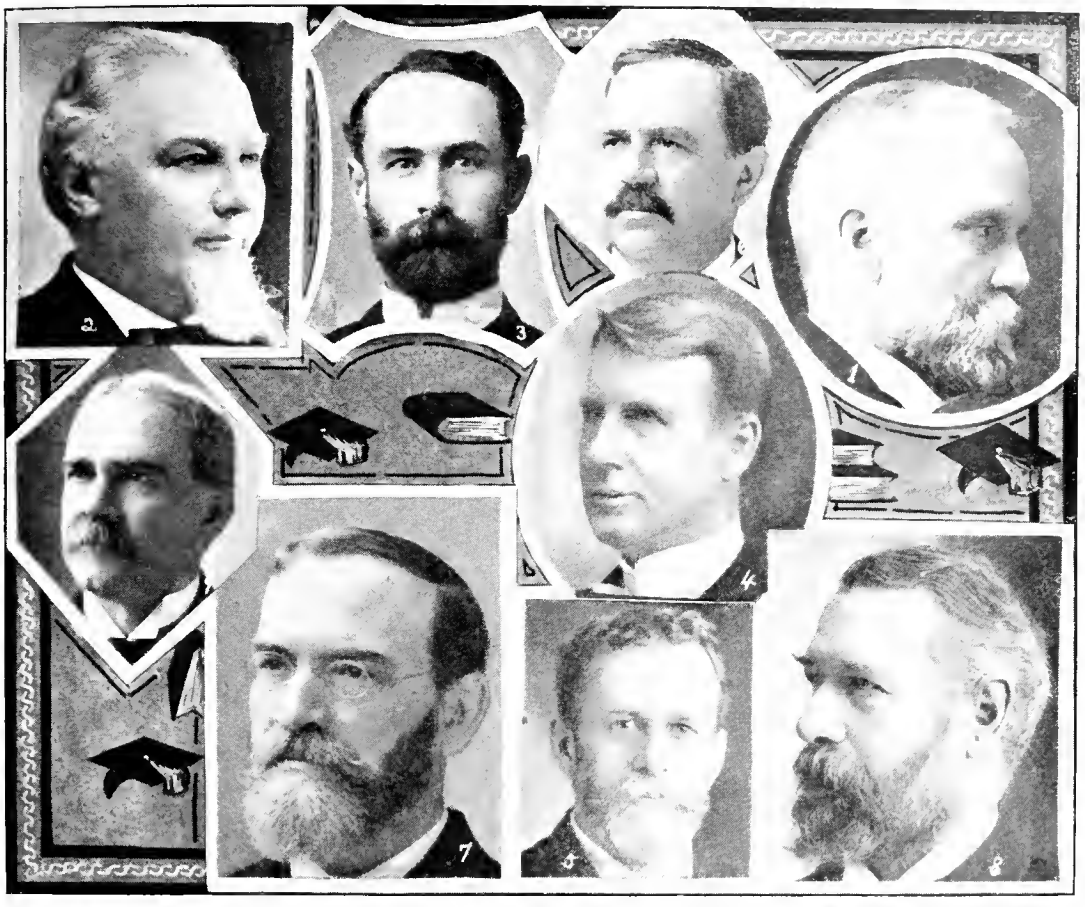
CHAPTER XXXV

THE METHODIST OUTLOOK OF TO-DAY.

WE HAVE traced the beginnings of Methodism from its earliest stage in the Foundery near Finsbury Square in London, until now, when it is spread over the whole earth, and numbers nine million adherents. For the best part of a century it was looked at askance by the classes as it leavened the masses. At the beginning of the century the term Methodist, even in the lips of so fair-minded a man as the historian Macaulay, was still a reproach. But gradually as its actual working showed itself, the cultured and learned began to acknowledge its value; and the close of the nineteenth century sees its founder ranked side by side with Savonarola, the great Florentine; with Martin Luther, the apostle of modern Germany; and with Howard and Wilberforce, the noble philanthropists, as one of the world's chosen benefactors. "I doubt," states Dean Farrar, "whether even now he is adequately appreciated. I doubt whether many are aware of the extent to which to this day the impulse to every great work has been due to his energy and insight. The British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the London Missionary Society, even the Church Missionary Society, owe not a little to his initiative. The vast spread of religious instruction by weekly periodicals and the cheap press, with all its stupendous consequences, was inaugurated by him. He gave a great impulse both to national education and to technical education, and, to quote from Isaac Taylor, he furnished 'the starting-point for our modern religious history in all that is characteristic of the present time.' "

The glory of Methodism is its eclecticism. It has not been the foe of any other system, but rather the stimulator of them all. Its symbol is not hatred, but love; not antipathy, but sympathy. Its energetic and glowing Arminianism was a protest against the hard, half-fatalistic doctrines of an exaggerated Calvinism, and has been characterized as "simply the mind of the Catholic Church down to the time of Augustine." To the essential doctrines of the Church of England, in their sanity, breadth and noble humanity, it has always been conservatively loyal. The sound theology which underlies its teaching is essentially a genial interpretation of the entire Scripture, on the basis of the best evangelical tradition of the ages. Moreover, it has itself had the benefit of an historic experience of revival work, giving it a stability that is lacking to others. The German Pietists, to whom the founder of Methodism owed so much, timidly retired from the affairs of an external church and a human organism. While producing individual types of high excellence, Pietism did nothing to perpetuate its system, by making its influence immediately felt upon society at large. Methodism, on the contrary, wherever it planted itself, sought to use all the means at its disposal, from printing-press to college, for the expansion of the kingdom of God upon the earth. Its saplings develop everywhere into great trees.

Methodism was wonderfully adapted for the state of society in which it grew up. The work of the Reformers had been effective in stamping out the gross heresies of Romanism and founding right-thinking communities; and the task before Christian men was not so much

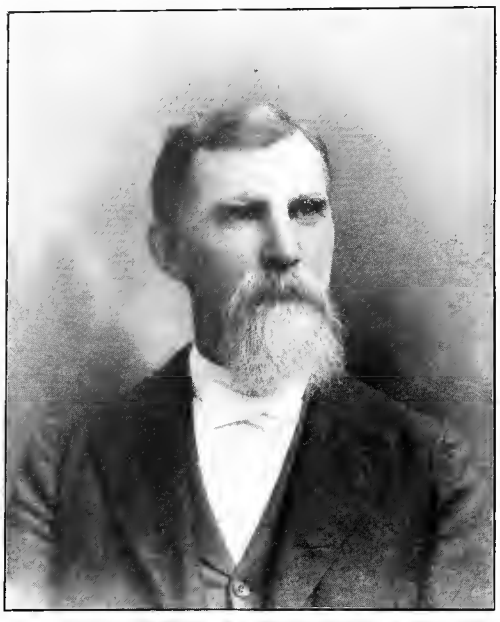


COLLEGE PROFESSORS AND PRESIDENTS.

1. BORDEN PARKER BOWNE; born at Leonardville, New Jersey, in 1847; was graduated at University of New York, in 1871; Professor of Philosophy in Boston University since 1876; author of "Philosophy of Herbert Spencer," "Studies in Theism," "Principles of Ethics," "Metaphysics," "Introduction to Psychological Theory," "Philosophy of Theism," and "Theory of Thought and Knowledge." 2. HENRY A. BUTTZ, President of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey. 3. GROSS ALEXANDER, Professor of Greek and New Testament Exegesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. 4. JAMES WHITFORD BASHFORD, President of Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. 5. JOHN F. GOUCHER, President of Women's College, Baltimore, Maryland. 6. PROF. WILBUR OLIN ATWATER, Department of Chemistry, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut. 7. WILLIAM FAIRFIELD WARREN, President of Boston University since 1873. 8. CHARLES JOSEPH LITTLE, President of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois. 9. GEORGE EDWARD REED, President of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

doctrinal as *practical* depravity. The two centuries after the Reformation had been fruitful in inculcating among the common people a fairly adequate and just acquaintance with Holy Writ. What the times have required then and since is the vitalizing of truth; the rescue of men from practical heathenism; the bringing together of a nominal and a thorough-going Christianity, so that we may live up to our profession and our privileges. To this great object Methodism has been conspicuously faithful; and it has been particularly successful in its attainment.

Six years before his death there occurs in Wesley's Journal a paragraph, already quoted in the preface of this History, reviewing the progress of the previous fifty years. "I was now considering," he writes, "how strangely the grain of mustard-seed, planted about fifty years ago, has grown up. It has spread through all Great Britain and Ireland; the Isle of Wight, and the Isle of Man; then to America, from the Leeward Islands, through the whole continent, into Canada and Newfoundland. And the Societies, in all these parts, walk by one rule, knowing religion is holy tempers; and



JOHN O. WILLSON,
Editor of the *Southern Christian Advocate*, Columbia, South Carolina.

striving to worship God, not in form only, but likewise 'in spirit and in truth.'" Surely the record to-day is still more startling, with a wide-world organism counting, as we said, no less than nine million adherents.

Everywhere Methodist union is in the air and the Church forces are consolidating. A great Australian union will be consummated in the second year of the twentieth century. This consolidation will give Methodism the position it has in Canada: that of the most powerful of all the Christian organizations in the whole federation. Another striking example of the grain of mustard-seed growing into a great tree.

A notable feature of Australia, as of the United States of to-day, is the massing of the people in the cities. No Church which does not prosper in its town missions can have a future in Anglo-Saxondom. Happily Methodism has risen to the occasion, and is straining every effort to reach the many in the crowded quarters of the large cities of the antipodes, as in the like portions of New York, of London, and the other great cities of the northern hemisphere.

Perhaps the most effective engine in securing men and women for the service of the kingdom was Wesley's employment of lay-preachers. By George the Second's time the period had gone by when the lay element could be ignored; and Wesley showed great prescience in reviving this practice of the early Christian Church. Saint Luke had been "the beloved physician." It was a humble lay-preacher of Damascus, named Ananias, who visited Saul of Tarsus, and instructed and baptized him. The restoration—mark the term—of the "order of lay-readers" was one of the acts passed by the convocation of Anglican archbishops and bishops which met in 1866 at Lambeth. In passing it, they merely followed in the wake of the unmitred bishop who had practically restored the order more than a hundred years before. Begun so early as 1740, it naturally grew and strengthened in the congenial environment of its birth. The Christian world was calling aloud for practical experimental Christianity, and for real "testimonies" emanating from the heart. This lack was wonderfully supplied by the devoted army of lay-helpers who were sent by the great modern apostle hither and thither over the land. The parish system, which, in a pre-industrial age, had proved so useful in furnishing the people with Christian privileges, had, in the British isles, largely outgrown itself; and Methodism supplied the lack. Like the system of political representation, changed so radically by the Reform Bill of 1832, the church parishes were out of date as real divisions of population. Especially was this the case in Yorkshire, both spiritually and politically; and Wesleyanism found there an abiding home.

The wonderful suitability of the revived "order" of lay-preachers to Ameri-

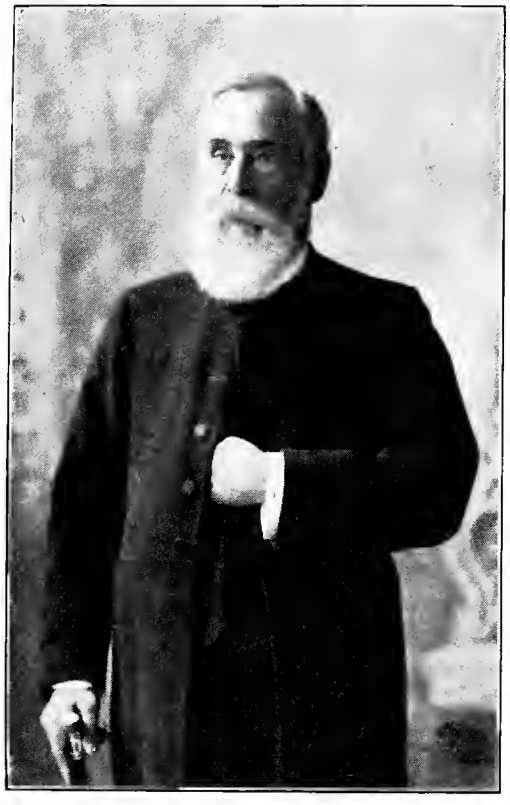
can needs has been the marvel of the century. Upon Francis Asbury fell the mantle of Wesley; and, chiefly through the devoted labors of the Staffordshire man, Methodism was so planted on this continent as to become the strongest and most distinctively national of the Christian Churches. Such it has been termed in the ninth edition of the great *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

The itinerant method, by which a preacher is allowed to give his very best for a season, and then move elsewhere to resume his labors, is undoubtedly suited to the needs of communities where the community is constantly changing. The system has kept Christian effort moving ever in the van of industrial progress. As agriculture has pushed steadily westward, Methodist chapels have dotted the plains and called the people to religious devotions—devotions not imposed upon them by any hierarchy, but such as they themselves may take part in and may direct. The spirit of unction has never been absent in the classes and services; the assurance is present that God's voice speaks through the tongue of every sincere believer, and that all converted souls may enjoy the privilege of encouraging the brethren.

It is the testimony of W E. H. Lecky, one of the foremost philosophic historians of the day, that Methodism has "emancipated great numbers from the fear of death, and imparted a warmer tone to the devotion, and a warmer energy to the philanthropy of every denomination among English-speaking peoples." These characteristics, which kept it moving in the forefront of advancing civilization in the nineteenth century, will make themselves manifest in the practical problems which must present themselves before the people of the twentieth century. It is evident that these problems will, in this country, at least, be more intensive than before. The great fact of the day is the massing together in cities of men and women, who are removed from the social bonds that linked them to localities and traditions, and who are only too prone to accept a theory of the world in which success is the only criterion of worth. A vital Christianity, preaching the gospel of human love and brotherhood, must step into the arena and save the masses from this practical heathenism. It must be a Christianity freed from all effete intellectual dogmas, such as have no hold upon the human heart of to-day. Methodism, born to supply the early religious needs of an expanding industrialism, and trained by long habits of adaptability to meet new social necessities as they arise, can well step into the breach. It presents no dogmas that are not the essentials of the teaching of Christ; it is instinct with the feeling of the brotherhood of man. A National City Evan-

W. B. MURRAH,
President of Millsaps College, Jackson, Tennessee.

gelization Union has been organized in the Church for the distinct purpose of carrying the gospel in the most practical and effective manner to the unchurched masses of the cities of the United States. It publishes in New York a magazine, *The Christian City*, wholly devoted to its interests, meets in annual convention,



WILLIAM HENRY MILBURN,

Member of the Illinois Conference and Chaplain of the United States Senate. First elected Congressional Chaplain in 1845, again in 1853, and Chaplain of the House of Representatives in 1885. In 1892 he became Chaplain of the United States Senate, a position which he still holds. He is the author of a number of books, among them "Rifle and Saddle-Bags," "Ten Years of Preacher Life," and "Lance, Cross and Canoe."

and is achieving a notable success in its important field. It is ably supported in its work by the several brotherhoods and special organizations of the Church.

What nobler picture of absolute devotion to the needs of his brother men than that of Wesley's departure from this life! "When John Wesley died," said Spurgeon, "he left behind him two silver spoons in London, two in Bristol, a tea-pot, and the great Methodist Church." If the Church only remains true to the magnificent Christian socialiam of its founder, it will prove itself the panacea of twentieth century evils. To quote another Baptist divine,[1] only second in influence to the great Spurgeon: "It was given to the Methodist Church, through John Wesley, to contribute the strongest possible argument in favor of the broadest interpretation of an atonement as being held and taught without the slightest derogation from the deity of Jesus, without the sapping of the soul's consecration to personal holiness, and without quenching the fires of enthusiasm for the salvation of men. Indeed, it was not only given to this Church to contribute that great argument, but also to infect the other Churches with it; so that to-day this self-same Wesleyan teaching is being heard in nearly all the pulpits of our land."

The last few years have seen a wonderful change in the foreign relations of the republic. The flag is now floating in quarters where no one expected to see it. With the flag come increase of commercial relations, and a host of busy traders. The attitude of trade, unfortunately, as carried on between people who are imperfectly acquainted with the habits and language of each other, is seldom friendly or favorable to the spread of the gospel. When two civilizations of a different kind meet, the evil ways of each are apt to be most in evidence. Happy is it for our country that in the fertile islands of the Pacific which have now become a part of her territory, gospel preachers have

[1] Dr. John Clifford.

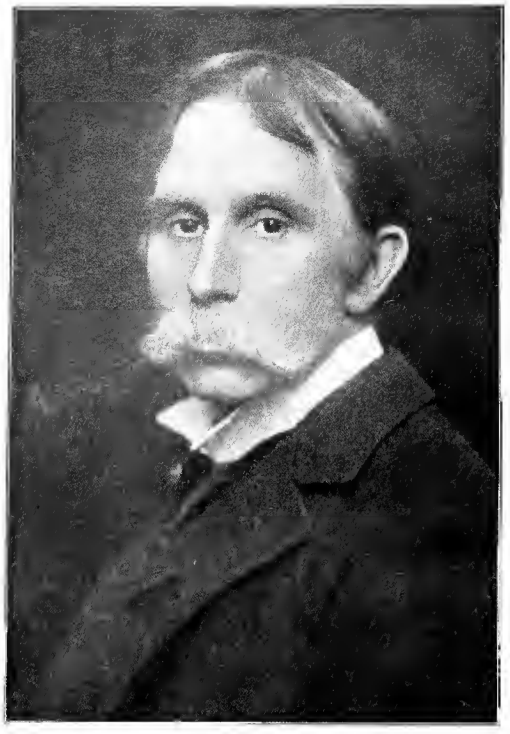
appeared almost simultaneously with her officials and her merchants. The Philippines were easily reached, by men accustomed to these lands and the ways of the inhabitants. The story of mission work on the Orient, as carried on by Methodist pioneers, has already been told in these pages. It showed a continuous advance from the Ganges eastward to the peninsulas and islands of the Golden Chersonese. The Philippines lie furthest to the east of all the group; and it was fitting that Bishop Thoburn, who saw the work begun in Singapore, should make an early visit to the new possession. Shortly afterward, four native congregations, who were nearly self-supporting, could be announced as growing and prospering; and four representatives of the Woman's Board had arrived on the field.

In the matter of the employment of its devout women for organized work, the Methodist Church has made use of its opportunities. Deaconesses were first employed in the German Mission of the

WASHINGTON DUKE,
Benefactor of Trinity College, North Carolina.

CLAUDIUS B. SPENCER,
Editor of the *Central Christian Advocate*, Kansas City, Missouri.

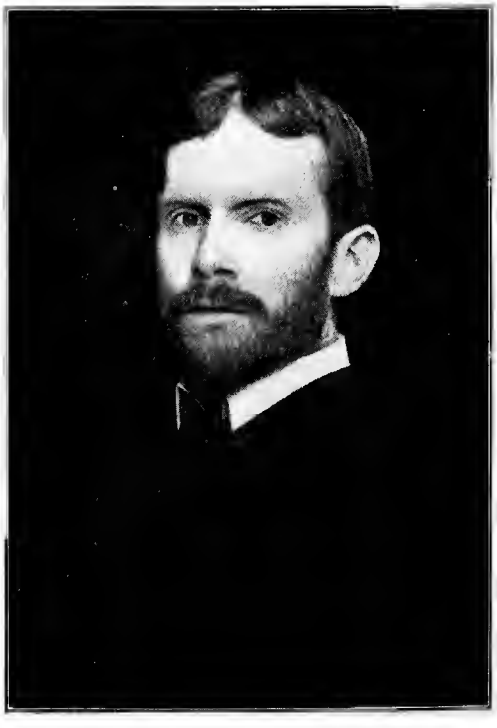
Methodist Episcopal Church by the Rev. Carl Weiss, who commenced with two deaconesses. The number has largely increased, and Methodist deaconesses homes are now found in many of the large cities of the German empire; there being a large Methodist home and hospital at Hamburg. Mrs. Lucy Rider Meyer was the first person to give the movement practical shape in the United States. She organized in the city of Chicago in 1885 a training-school for women who contemplated work in city, home, or foreign missions. In 1887 the scope of the work was enlarged by the addition of the Chicago Deaconess Home. In connection with the training-school and its home a hospital was opened, and the system thus established has extended over the entire country. At the General Conference of 1888 the Rock River Conference offered a memorial on the subject of deaconesses, and the Bengal Conference, through Bishop Thoburn, presented a petition for deaconesses to aid them in their work in India, where the problem of the zenana work presents itself for solution. The General Conference approved of the movement, and



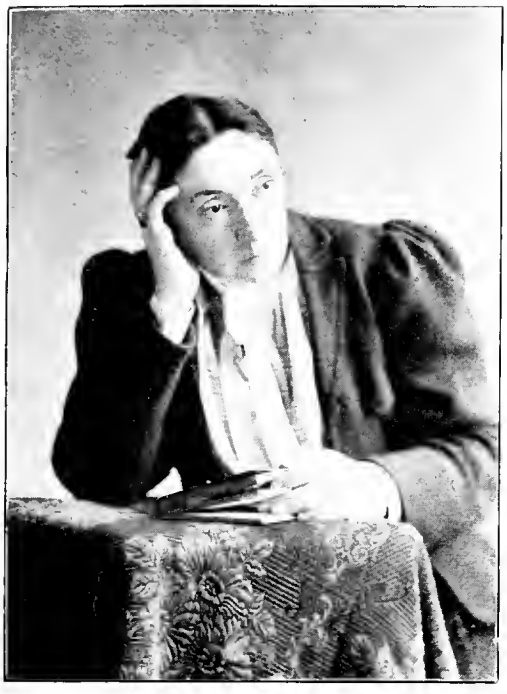
RICHARD WATSON GILDER,
Editor-in-Chief, since 1881, of *The Century Magazine*.

adopted the order as one of the working forces of the Church. The Woman's Home Missionary Society since its organization in 1880, under the efficient leadership of its officers, Mrs. Lucy Webb Hayes, Mrs. John Davis, Mrs. Clinton B. Fisk, Mrs. McCabe, Mrs. Rush, Mrs. Williams, and its host of devoted women, who have been abundant in wise and generous labors in all parts of the country, was quick to recognize the value of this new form of Christian service, and immediately began to establish and sustain deaconess homes in many of the large cities of the country. At the present time more than one thousand deaconesses are at work in the home and foreign fields, in the various forms of service in the hospitals, schools, homes and orphanages, and in evangelistic work. So rapid has been the increase in this branch of Christian service that some conservative thinkers predict that within a generation the number of deaconesses employed will equal the number of active pastors.

On January 27, 1881, *The Christian Advocate* declared in an editorial that the time had come when the Methodist Episcopal Church should turn its attention to providing charitable foundations. "It is to-day," it declared, "without a hospital, a bed in a hospital, or a dispensary. Now that we have supplied ourselves with schools, colleges, theological seminaries, missionary, church extension and Freedmen's Aid societies, is it not time that somewhere we build an asylum or a hospital?" This was a word in season. As a result of the editorial, there was established, through the munificence of George I. Seney, the Brooklyn Hospital, on a liberal foundation—the first Methodist Episcopal hospital in America. A few months afterward a similar hospital was established in Philadelphia, through the generosity of Scott Stewart, M. D. In 1887 a Meth



JOSEPH B. GILDER,
Editor *The Critic*.



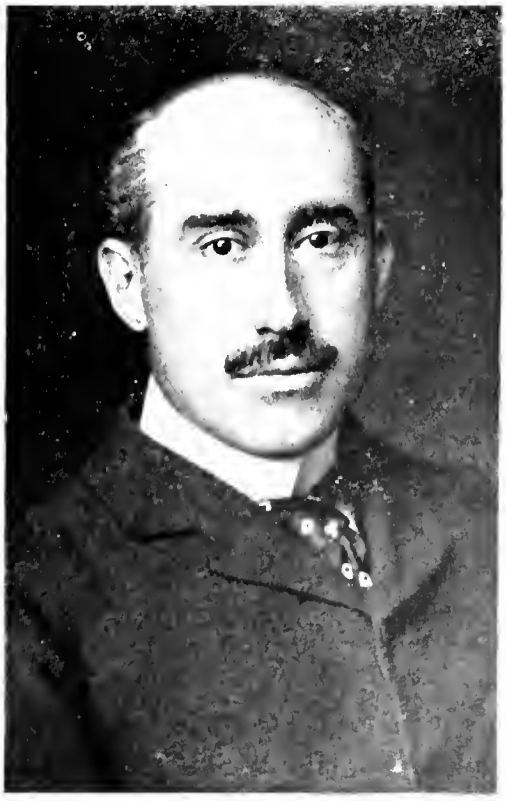
JEANNETTE LEONARD GILDER,
Editor *The Critic*. From a copyrighted photograph by Rockwood.

odist hospital was incorporated in Portland, Oregon. Since that time, under the stimulus of the deaconess movement, the number of Methodist hospitals has increased rapidly until at present there are twenty such institutions under the care of the Church.

Methodism has always been conspicuous for the number of its devout women. The mother of the Wesleys remains, indeed, for all time as a type of extraordinary consecration of natural gifts. The story of her life reads like a romance, so varied were her talents, so untiring her devotion. Susannah Wesley has proved the forerunner of many others like her, down to Frances E. Willard, who worked so nobly for the purification and elevation of our modern life. In the problems that are confronting us, the world must turn for help to women of this noble type, and it will naturally look to Methodism to lead the van. Intemperance, gambling, brutality, and callousness to suffering are all deplorably prevalent in our great cities—recruited so largely, as they are, from the dark corners of continental Europe.

The Woman's Home Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the present organization of which dates from the year 1898, has been active in good deeds. It maintains two mountain schools in Kentucky; the larger, known as the Sue Bennett Memorial School, being located at London in that state, and educating two hundred pupils. At Greeneville, Tennessee, it supports an industrial school and orphanage, situated in a fine campus covering sixty acres. There are also three Cuban mission schools under its care: one, that of Ybor City, educating a hundred and fifty pupils. The other two are situated at West Tampa and Key West, in Florida.

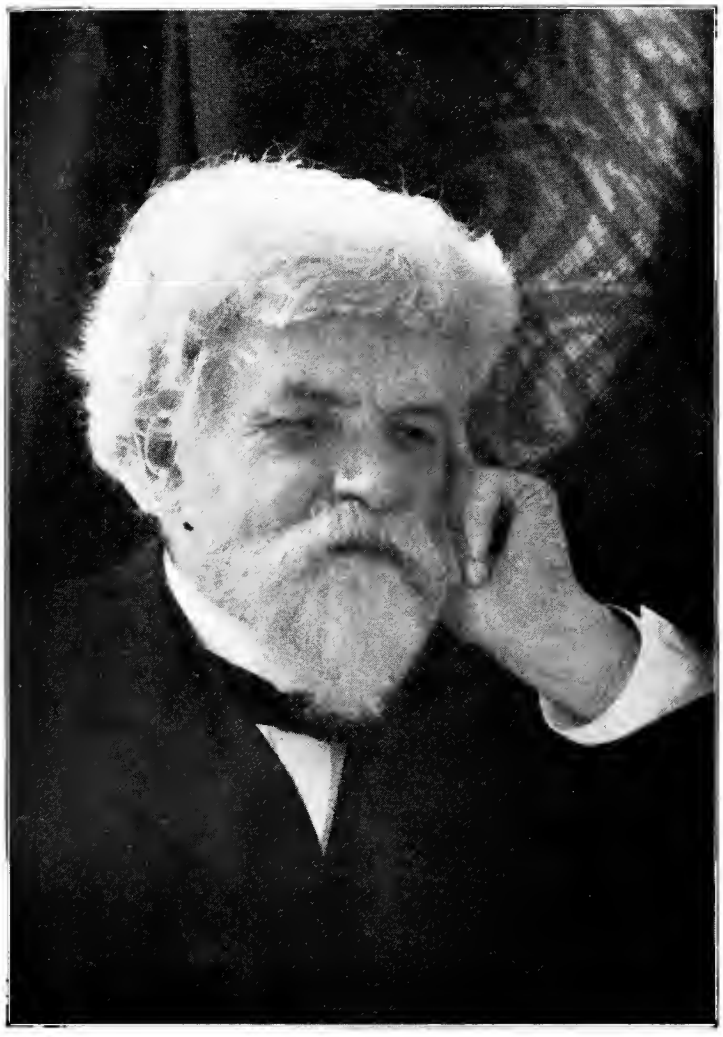
The board also maintains at Kansas City, Missouri, an admirably equipped



From "The Idiot at Home."—Copyright, 1900, by John Kendrick Bangs. Published by Harper & Brothers.

JOHN KENDRICK BANGS,
One of the Editors of *Harper's Magazine*.

institution, known as the Scarritt Bible and Training School. Connected with it is a well-organized medical faculty, for the training of nurses who look forward to usefulness in the home or foreign field. It is under the management of systematic training for Christian work A specialty is made of the problem which confront Christian workers in th city mission field. The school, whicl was projected by Miss Belle H. Bennett was founded by the liberality of Natha



EDWARD EGGLESTON,
Author of "The Circuit Rider," "Hoosier Schoolmaster," etc.

Miss Maria Layng Gibson, who is assisted by an efficient corps of instructors. The institution, open to students of all denominations, offers them the twofold advantage of the refining influences of a happy Christian home, and thorough, Scarritt, of Kansas City. Already it ha over a score of representatives in th foreign mission field.

Another benevolent institution, carry ing on a meritorious work, is the S Christopher's Home in New York, whic

has five cottages, accommodating a hundred and twenty-five children. On the other ocean, at Oakland, California, is to be found the Fred Finch Orphan-

ROBERT COLLYER,
Pastor of the Church of the Messiah, New York.

age. At St. Louis there is an excellent home, supported by the Southern Church; and the Provident Association, in the same city, of which Dr. Thomas Finney was, for many years previous to his lamented death, the superintendent, owes most of its efficiency to the generous giving of Mr. Scruggs. To laymen like him and Mr. Samuel Cupples, active members of the Methodist Church, South, the charities of that great city are indefinitely indebted.

The Wesleyans of England have established a children's home, with headquarters in London, for the training and equipment of orphans and others who

are destitute, and who are likely to find in the Canadian Dominion a home and a career. The distributing home is at Hamilton, in Ontario. The Methodists of Boston and New York have also busied themselves in caring for the immigrants who are landed at these ports, and have established immigrants' homes in both places. At Boston there is an Epworth settlement; and a band of thirty or forty students devote their spare time to the uplifting of the illiterate and ill-fed Italians, Jews, and Portuguese, who are crowded together in the poorer quarters of the city, and are liable to fall victims to unscrupulous harpies.

Some of the contributions of Methodism to the field of literature are worthy of notice. Richard Watson Gilder, who, as editor of *The Century* magazine, occupies one of the leading literary posts in the country, was born in a Methodist parsonage. His father, the Rev. W H. Gilder, of Flushing, established there a

MARVIN R. VINCENT,
Professor in Union Theological Seminary.

seminary known as St. Thomas Hall, at which his son was educated. At the age of nineteen young Gilder joined the Landis Philadelphia battery, which served in the campaign of 1863, and later he was in railroad service. Thereafter he threw his energies into literary and editorial work. Among his poems are "The Celestial Passion," "Two Worlds," and "In Palestine."

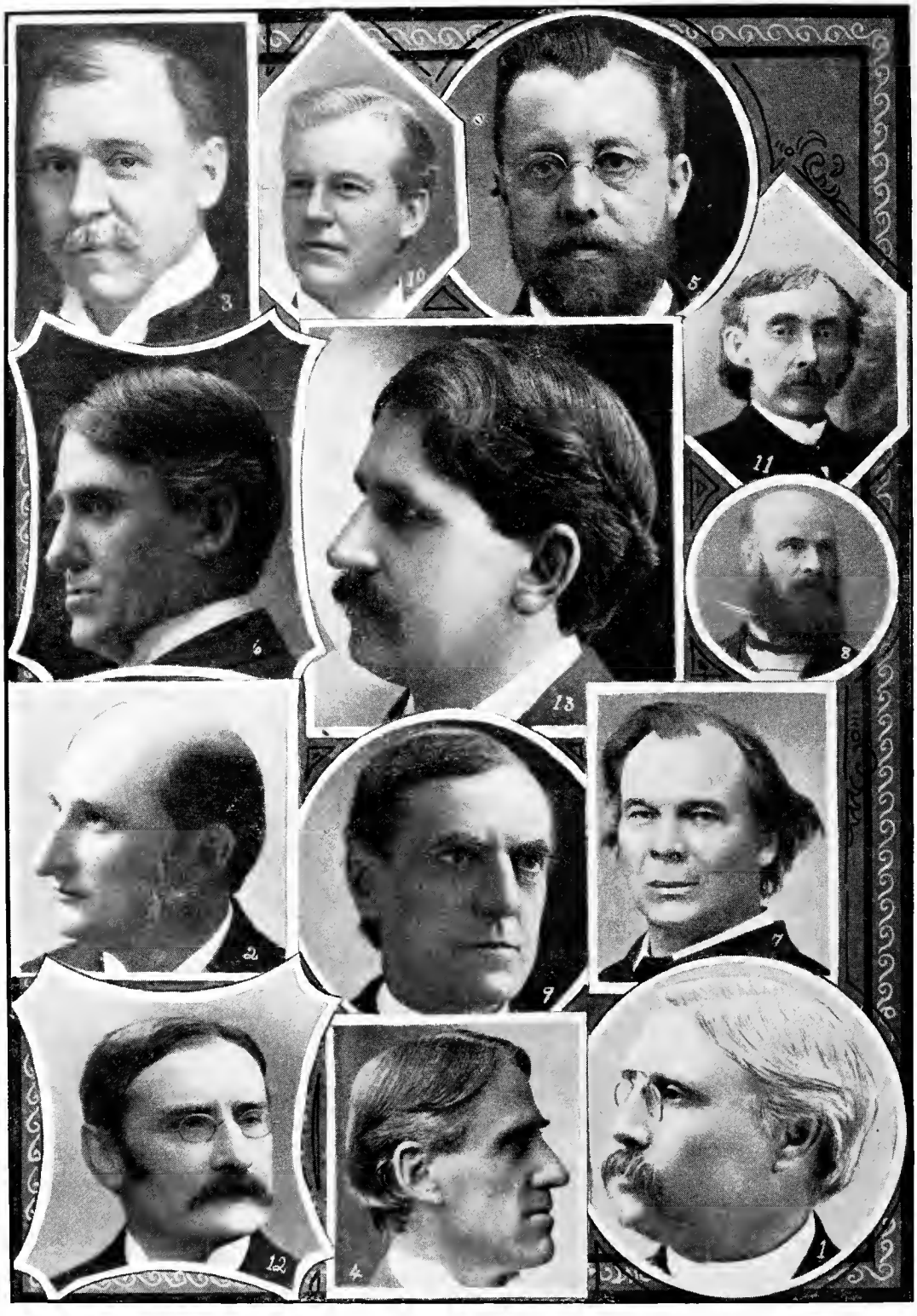
A younger brother has risen to fame in the literary world. Joseph B. Gilder is fourteen years the junior of Richard, and was born at St. Thomas Hall. After a short period at the Naval Academy he entered upon journalistic work; and in 1881 started, along with his sister Jeannette, *The Critic*, a paper which has ever since flourished. He was an organizer and the first secretary of the University Settlement of New York.

Miss Jeannette Leonard Gilder, their gifted sister, was born and brought up at St. Thomas Hall, the woman's college which her father had founded. After being associated with her elder brother in the editing of *Scribner's Monthly*, which later became *The Century*, she aided her younger brother in the founding of *The Critic*. Under the signature "Brunswick," her contributions to leading journals were for long widely known. She has acted as correspondent in the United States for the London *Academy*.

The name of Bangs is a historic one in American Methodism. Dr. Nathan Bangs was not only a pioneer preacher, but the historian of the Church. The literary vein has descended to his grandson, John Kendrick Bangs, who was born at Yonkers, New York, in the first year of the Civil War. Trained for the law, he has made a name in literature, and is associated with several periodicals—*Life*, and Literary Notes and Drawer of *Harper's Magazine*.

Numerous have been the contributions of Methodism to other Christian denominations, and eminent has been its influence upon society at large. The eloquent dean of Canterbury, Frederick William Farrar, owes much of his fire and fervor to his Methodist ancestry. Canon Richard Watson Dixon, who recently died, was a son of the Rev. James Dixon, a noted name in Methodist annals, and a grandson of Richard Watson, the theologian, whose name he bore. He inherited the literary tastes and religious ideals of his progenitors. At Oxford he was the poet of the pre-Raphaelitic Brotherhood; and one of his best-known contributions to literature is his "Christ's Company and Other Poems." Indeed, at one time there was a strong movement to make him professor of poetry in the ancient university. To the magazines established at Oxford and Cambridge, with a view to promote the ideas of the Brotherhood, he was a constant contributor.

The Brotherhood has done much to raise the whole tone of our modern art, and breathe into it a noble spirituality. The intense sensuousness and pure paganism of most of the Renaissance work had long failed to appeal to minds moulded in higher and nobler ambitions. Intense love of humanity, a purity as spotless in manhood as in womanhood, a contempt of gross lucre and debasing and enervating luxury were marks of the Wesleys, of Fletcher, and of the men who followed them and trod in their footsteps. The time came when the grandchildren desired to visualize the ideals which had been so real to their parents and grandparents, and yet had found no material expression. Youths like Burne-Jones and Edward Poynter, having learned to handle the brush with skill, sought their subjects in sacred art. The face of the former impressed



THE METHODIST CONTRIBUTION TO OTHER DENOMINATIONS.

1. JOHN L. HEWITT, A. M., D. D., Green Bay, Wisconsin. 2. WATSON LYMAN PHILLIPS, D. D., pastor of Church of the Redeemer (Congregational), New Haven, Connecticut; son of Rev. James Phillips, of Troy Conference; studied at Wesleyan University. 3. SAMUEL G. SMITH, D D , pastor of People's (Congregational) Church, St. Paul, Minnesota; of English birth; Methodist minister until 1886. 4. HENRY FAVILLE, D. D., La Crosse, Wisconsin; a graduate of Lawrence and Boston Universities; Methodist minister until 1881. 5. REV. W. FISHER MARKWICK, pastor of First Congregational Church, Ansonia, Connecticut. 6. REV. JOHN FAVILLE, pastor of First

his friends as being so full of spirituality that in Holman Hunt's paintings of the Christ the lineaments of his friend are constantly appearing in the sacred visage. Sir Edward Burne-Jones, born at Birmingham, and educated at Exeter College, Oxford, in the chapel of which is shrined his masterpiece, the "Adoration of the Magi," met and married in London the daughter of a distinguished Methodist, the Rev. George B. Macdonald.

Lady Poynter, wife of the president of the Royal Academy in London, is the daughter of the same distinguished Wesleyan minister, George B. Macdonald. Sir Edward, her husband, was born in Paris in the year 1836, and received his early education at Westminster and at Ipswich Grammar School. His first celebrated work, produced in 1867, has a religious theme—"Israel in Egypt." Another of his masterpieces, produced in the year 1891, is "The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba."

A third daughter married Mr. Lockwood Kipling and went with him to Lahore, in India, where he had charge of the art school. Their distinguished son, Rudyard, grew up among Indian surroundings, which he has made very real to his readers in his tales. His work is instinct with idealism. The only unmarried daughter of the Rev. George Macdonald lives with her brother, F. W Macdonald, a leading Wesleyan minister, who has served as president of the Conference. He was chosen by the Church to represent it at the great gathering at Edinburgh, in the fall of 1900, when the Free and United Presbyterian churches came together as the United Free Church.

No modern painter is more essentially an exponent of the spiritual and ethereal in art than George Frederick Watts, D. C. L., LL. D., a grandson of the great Adam Clarke. Since he exhibited his first picture in 1837 at the Royal Academy, he has been recognized as a master; and in the field of sculpture he has also gained fame. His masterpiece, exhibited at the Chicago Exposition in 1893, was bought by the United States government, and is now on exhibition in Washington. Its very name shows the painter's scope and ideals, which demand the fairest and noblest associations, leading back to the days of early childhood.

The glory of Ruskin's work is its intense purity, simplicity, and humanity—qualities which he shared with the pre-Raphaelites, whose exponent he was. Through Ruskin the Brotherhood assumed a strongly practical phase in the department of Christian socialism; and its adherents strove to make art and culture not a mere pastime for the wealthy and luxurious, providing the

> Soul a lordly pleasure-house,
> Wherein at ease for aye to dwell,

but a strenuous effort after everything ennobling in life. Ruskin communities, such as have been organized in some of the southern states, help not a little toward solving the problem of industrial brotherhood. It is worth remembering

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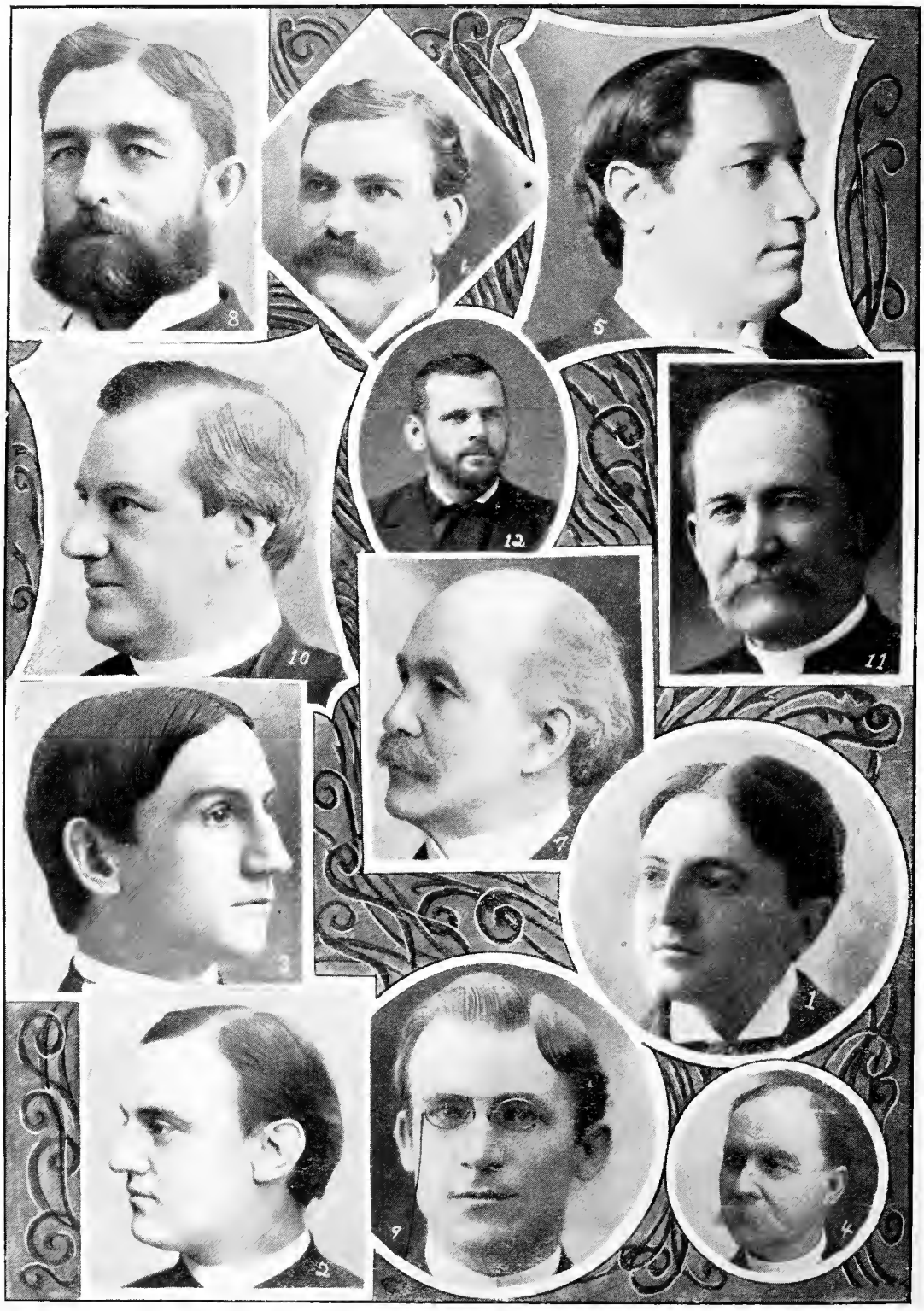
Congregational Church, Peoria, Illinois; brother of Rev. Henry Faville, D. D.; studied at same universities; in Wisconsin Conference from 1876 to 1886. 7. REV. THOMAS ARMITAGE, D. D., New York City; formerly pastor of Fifth Avenue Baptist Church; in Methodist Church from 1843 to 1848. 8. D. S. TUTTLE, D. D., Bishop of Missouri; born at Windham, New York, 1837. 9. BISHOP SAMUEL FALLOWS, of the Reformed Episcopal Church; of English birth; was for sixteen years in the Methodist ministry. 10. E. G. UPDIKE, D. D., Madison, Wisconsin; a graduate of Lawrence University; pastor of various Methodist churches until 1890. 11. REV. HIRAM W THOMAS, D. D., Chicago; pastor of the People's Church, McVicker's Theatre, Chicago; born in Virginia; entered Methodist ministry in 1856. 12. REV. J. BRIERLEY, Editor of the *Christian World;* Congregational minister; his father, a Yorkshireman, left the Wesleyan Connexion in the troubles of 1849; celebrated as an essayist. 13. F. W GUNSAULUS, D. D., pastor of Central (Congregational) Church, Chicago; a graduate of Ohio Wesleyan University; for several years a Methodist minister.



THE METHODIST CONTRIBUTION TO OTHER AMERICAN PULPITS.

1. REV. NACY M. WATERS, pastor of First Congregational Church, Binghamton, New York; pastor of various Methodist churches in Iowa and Illinois until 1898. 2. REV. P. A. BROWN, rector of St. Luke's Church, New York City; a young brother of REV. John Wesley Brown. 3. REV. GEORGE BOTTOME, Episcopal rector in New York City. 4. REV. W. A. SNIVELY, Protestant Episcopal clergyman, retired; a graduate of Dickinson College; author of "Parish Lectures on the Prayer-Book," "Testimonials to the Supernatural," etc. 5. REV. JOHN W. FRIZZELL, pastor of First Congregational Church, Eau Clair, Wisconsin; a graduate of Victoria University, Co-

that the soundest Methodism lay at the back of this noble movement.

Similar currents have been observable in the United States, where the Methodist Church, out of its overflowing resources, has been able to spare to others, without any loss to herself. A lad brought up in Ohio under Methodist auspices, and led into a consecrated life through the influence of that great preacher, Bishop Matthew Simpson, became the organizer and earliest head of the Armour Institute, of Chicago. It is true that Dr. Frank Gunsaulus attained his fame in a Congregational pulpit, to which he had been transferred from a Methodist church. It was while preaching earnestly to his audience on the duties and privileges of wealth that he struck an answering chord in the heart of the millionaire, Mr. Philip Armour, who convinced himself that Gunsaulus meant what he said in advocating the institutions he recommended.

The Protestant Episcopal diocese of Missouri has for its bishop a man brought up in a Methodist household. The accidental circumstance that an Episcopal church lay nearer to his home than the Methodist church, led to his attending an Episcopal Sabbath-school and becoming a protégé of the minister, a learned man. And so Daniel Tuttle, though born a Methodist, graduated in a different school of theology, and entered a different church. Doctor Holland, rector of St. George's Church, St. Louis, who was born in Tennessee, served for many years in the Southern Methodist Church, being associated at one time with the Baltimore *Christian Advocate*. It was not until the fall of 1871 that he joined the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Nor are these the only instances in the city of St. Louis. So numerous have been the contributions of Methodists there to other churches, that at one time the pulpits of the First Congregational Church, of the First Presbyterian Church, of the Central Christian Church, and of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, besides others, were occupied by pastors who had been brought up under the spiritual influences of Methodism.

Prominent men, whose early influences were the same, are to be found in denominations elsewhere. Such is the Rev. Wilbur Fisk Crafts, now superintendent of the National Reform Bureau, who was educated at Wesleyan and at Boston universities. He is at present devoting his life to promote legislation in behalf of morality on the North American continent. Another instance is the Rev. Martin Richardson Vincent, professor in the Union Theological Seminary of New York city, and widely known as one of the best expository preachers in America. To theology he has contributed a "History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," a critical comment on Philippians and Philemon in the "International Commentary," and a "Students' New Testament Hand-Book." The venerable Charles Comfort Tiffany, D. D., archdeacon of the diocese of New York, and well-known as an author, was born

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bourg, Canada; in the Methodist Conference of Minnesota for one year. 6. REV. W. O. CARRIER, pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Wausau, Wisconsin; educated at Albion College, Michigan; licensed to preach while at college; graduated from Auburn Theological Seminary, and then entered Presbyterian Church. 7. ELIJAH HORR, D. D., pastor of First Congregational Church, Worcester, Massachusetts; an *alumnus* of Hamilton College and graduate of Boston Theological Seminary; for fourteen years a member of the Central New York Conference; transferred to the New England Conference, which he left in 1886. 8. REV. WILBUR FISK CRAFTS, superintendent of the International Reform Bureau; a graduate of Wesleyan and Boston Universities; minister in the Methodist Church for several years. 9. CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D. D., pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City; born in Cambridge, Ohio, 1860; son of a prominent Methodist; educated at Ohio Wesleyan and Boston Universities. 10. REV. JOHN WESLEY BROWN, late rector of St. Thomas Church, New York City; born of Methodist parents. 11. ROBERT A. HOLLAND, S. T. D., rector of St. George's Church, St. Louis, Missouri. 12. REV. J. DEWITT MILLER, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Reformed Episcopal clergyman; formerly a Methodist minister.

N. B. C. LOVE,
Historian of Methodism in the Northwest Territory.

in Baltimore of Methodist parents, and was educated at Dickinson College.

The veteran journalist and author, Edward Eggleston, was born and brought up in Indiana among Methodist surroundings. In 1857, when twenty years of age, he began his career as a Methodist itinerant. Nine years later he entered the domain of journalism, and was editor-in-chief of the *National Sunday-School Teacher*, the *Independent*, and *Hearth and Home*. Since 1879 he has devoted his whole life to authorship. Others who might be mentioned are the Rev. John Wesley Brown, the late distinguished rector of St. Thomas Church, New York; the Rev. Thomas Armitage, D. D., who was for many years the esteemed pastor of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church of New York, and until his recent death one of the most influential ministers in the denomination; the Rev. Lindsay Parker, rector of St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Brooklyn, and the Rev. Joseph Henry George, principal of the Congregational Theological Hall, at Montreal.

Dr. Robert Collyer, the veteran pastor of the Church of the Messiah, New York, began life on this side of the Atlantic as a Methodist local preacher, and soon made his influence felt upon the audiences he addressed. His enthusiasm, his warm sympathy and genuine eloquence made him a favorite on the platform in all parts of the country. At the close of the century, being now fourscore years of age, he remains one of the last survivors of a noble company of lecturers who made the lyceum a popular educational force twenty-five or thirty years ago, and who numbered E. H. Chapin, J G. Holland, and Wendell Phillips among their conspicuous members. Doctor Collyer has published "The Life That Now Is," "A Man in Earnest," and "Things New and Old," and other popular works.

The energetic pastor of the First Congregational Church at Ansonia, Connecticut, the Rev. W F. Markwick, D. D.,

E. E. HOSS,
Editor of the *Christian Advocate*, Nashville, Tennessee; Fraternal Messenger to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1900.

was brought up a Methodist. Born in the old country, he received his education at Richmond College, London, and after graduation crossed to America. After serving in various churches of the New York East Conference, and founding Trinity Church, at South Meriden, he was called to his present post. Active in various departments of educational work, he has published two courses of lectures, "Theology for the Young," and "Fundamentals," and has contributed to many periodicals.

The Rev. George H. Bottome, now a Protestant Episcopal rector in New York city, is the son of a Methodist minister. His mother, Mrs. M. F. Bottome, president of the International Order of King's Daughters, is a devoted member of the Methodist Church. Numerous others might be mentioned who bear witness to the fact that there is a superabundance of vitality in the Methodist fold.

It is the glory of Methodism, that from the beginning she has been able to give of her doctrine, her enthusiasm, her men, without becoming poor. Some have thought it a sign of weakness that the Church was not able to retain and utilize all she produced; but, on the contrary, this is an unmistakable evidence of her wealth of life. It is no sign of weakness on the part of American farmers that, in addition to supplying the home market, they are able to produce food enough for millions of foreigners. It is not any evidence of weakness on the part of England that in the course of her history she has been able to furnish generals for the armies of other nations. The productiveness of the Methodist Church in the growth of preachers is without any parallel in other denominations. The itinerant system brings the Church into living connection with all the byways and hedges and out-of-the-way sections of the country, as well as into vital relation with the great centers of population. Hence, there come up, not only from the colleges and schools, but from the mountains and valleys and sparsely-settled regions of the land, every year, multitudes of young men to the Annual Conferences, seeking for admission on trial in the traveling connection. These young men are put in charge of small stations and circuits and missions, where, amid severe and limited conditions, nothing remains to cheer and reconcile them to their lot but their faith in God and the joy of seeing His work prosper in their hands. In this way Methodist preachers are developed. The raw material from which she has produced her preachers in the past is more abundant now than ever. If the Church keep her complicated machinery moving with fire from heaven, she will continue to have all her pulpits amply supplied, and will, as in the past, be able to make

B. P. RAYMOND,
President of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

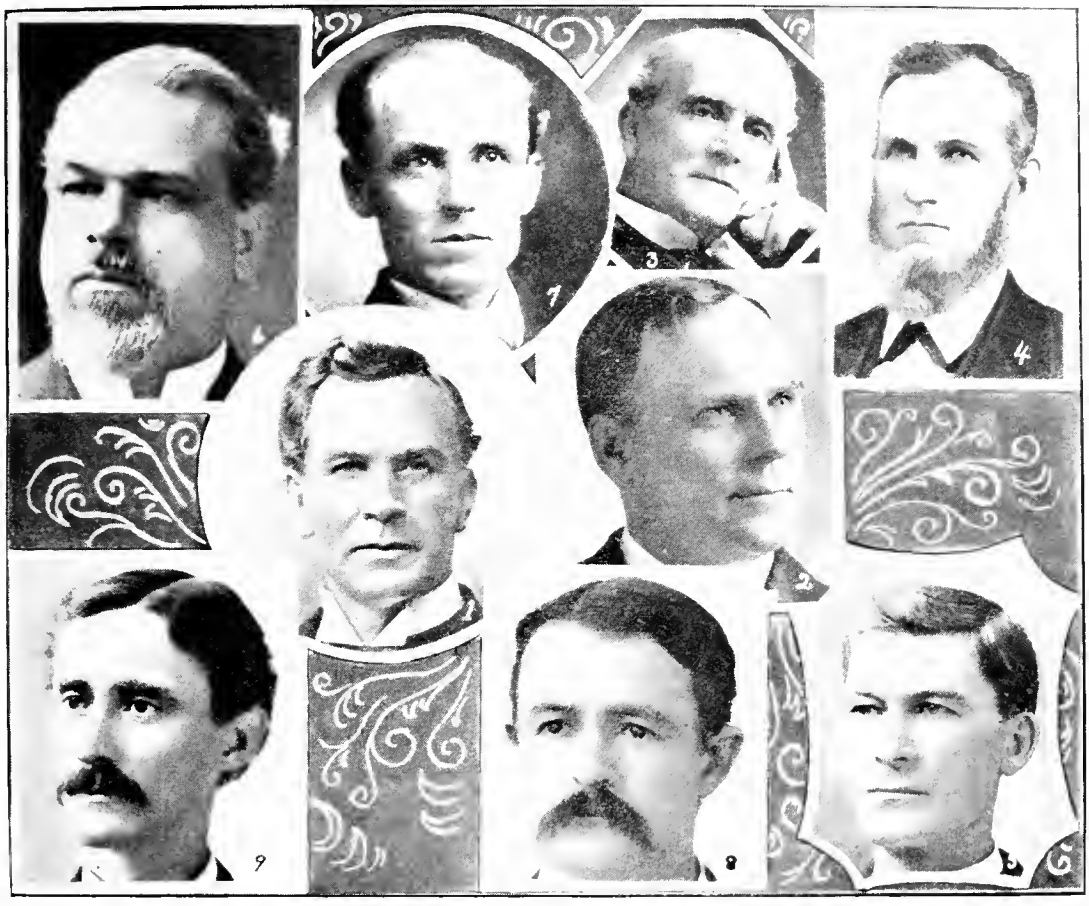
JAMES ROSCOE DAY,
Chancellor of Syracuse University.

generous contributions to other churches. The itinerant system is a military one, and it is therefore an indication of its thorough effectiveness, that it has been able to furnish so many captains for other divisions of the Lord's army.

Probably the leading literary force in Australia to-day is the Rev. William H. Fitchett, editor of the *Australasian Review of Reviews*, and of *The Southern Cross*, and principal of the Methodist Ladies' College, in Melbourne. Educated at Melbourne University, he has served as president of the Wesleyan Conference of Victoria and Tasmania. His intensely patriotic "Deeds That Won the Empire," published in 1897, was well received by the reading public, and led to the publication of his historical masterpiece, "How England Saved Europe."

In no quarter of the globe is there a fairer outlook for Methodism than in Australia. The story of its founding has already been told in these pages; how Samuel Leigh planted societies at Sydney and in New Zealand, and the sons of John Stephens planted the colony of South Australia on a stable Christian basis. That colony has been the first to witness within its borders a united Methodism. This union, consummated on the first day of the year 1900, must be traced in large measure to the noble liberality of its pioneers, who, when first approaching the shores where their future home was to be, celebrated the occasion by a prayer-meeting; and the first church edifice to be built was a Wesleyan chapel. In time Methodists of other denominations followed, and planted their chapels throughout the colony. The chief among these were the Bible Christians and the Primitive Methodists, who were nearly equal in strength, and together were almost numerically equivalent to the Wesleyans. The united Church starts out with five hundred churches, and property valued at over two and a half millions of dollars. Of the population of three hundred and

MRS. JANE T. H. CROSS,
A distinguished Southern writer before the war.



A GROUP OF COLLEGE PRESIDENTS.

1. WILLIAM W. SMITH, President Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia. 2. W. H. CRAWFORD, President Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania. 3. M. H. CHAMBERLAIN, President of McKendree College, Lebanon, Illinois. 4. J. H. BRUNNER, long connected with educational work in Tennessee. 5. S. M. HOSMER, President Southern University, Greensboro, Alabama. 6. C. E. DOWMAN, President Emory College, Oxford, Georgia. 7. J. W. KILGO, President Trinity College, Durham, North Carolina. 8. E. B. CRAIGHEAD, President of Central College, Fayette, Missouri. 9. J. W. ROBERTS, President Wesleyan Female College, Macon, Georgia.

fifty thousand, scattered over nearly a million square miles of territory, more than a tenth is enrolled in the Sunday-schools of the Methodist Church; while a fifth part attends its various places of worship. Among those who attended the 1900 Conference as lay-representatives were the premier of the colony and the chairmen of committees in the legislative assembly; the Hon. Sir Samuel Way, the chief-justice and lieutenant-governor, and other notables. The Conference was remarkable for the absence of all friction or disturbing controversy, and the harmony of its proceedings was an excellent omen for the future of the Church. There seemed to be present both a spirit of conservatism, and a judicial love of fairness. At the same time there was initiated in the city of Adelaide a "Forward Movement," which should band Christian people together in dealing with modern social problems.

The Methodists of the neighboring and much more populous colony of Victoria have also arranged for a union, to be completed in the year 1902. In the same year the Conferences in New South Wales—the oldest and most populous of the colonies—are to become one; thus completing the circle, and making Australasian Methodism organically one.

The united Church will be by far the strongest Protestant denomination under the Southern Cross. It can well afford to boast of its Prince Alfred and Way colleges, unsurpassed south of the equator. The future of Christianity, therefore, in this quarter of the globe, largely rests in the hands of Methodists. It is a great future and a grand responsibility.

Thoughtful writers of to-day predict in the immediate future the outburst of a great revival, which shall meet the ever-clamant religious wants of mankind. That it will have many formal

RUDYARD KIPLING.

similarities to revivals in the past is more than doubtful. Revivals of a strong and permanent kind are usually in great measure revolts from the particular methods of previous revivals. The divinely appointed man appears who can speak to the heart of the age, and it responds enthusiastically to his appeal. So it was with Luther and with Wesley. To quote the words of the accomplished essayist "J. B." (Mr. Brierley): "Suffice it to say that a very cursory examination of history reveals the fact that the men who have written their names most broadly on its page religious powers—whether an Augustii in one age, a Luther in another, or Wesley in a third—have been characte in whom a profound mystic apprehe sion of the spiritual world has bee united with a disciplined brain, absor ent of the best learning of the time. Whatever form the next revival ma take, the new impulse must have r quarrel with what is sincere and tho ough in modern scientific research; f the world has accepted science, in i best aspect, as one important phase God's truth. The Church of the futu must therefore accept the results learned investigators, in so far as the have honestly used the means with whic God has provided them. Happily, Metl odists are not hampered by the claims any antiquated priestly organization the pressure of semi-mediæval confe sions and creeds. In so far as thes tend to obscure the glorious teachin of the everlasting gospel, they will b overthrown and swept away by the con ing revival. Saintly as was the life Cardinal John Newman, whose influenc has done so much to change the whol aspect of the Anglican Church, yet h can scarcely be called pre-eminently Bible student. When asked to join th company of revisers, he had to confes that he had never made a specialty biblical studies. Strong in Latin theo ogy and mediæval tradition, he wa weak in immediate knowledge of th Scriptures. Here it is that Wesley wa strong, and here his followers have bee strong. Such men as the Wesleyan d vine, Doctor Moulton, head of the Ley School at Cambridge, were a tower strength in the company of Revisers.

Nor are Wesleyans pledged to a pur literalism in interpreting the Scriptures such a literalism as makes even a jus higher criticism impossible to its sup

"THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI," BY BURNE-JONES.

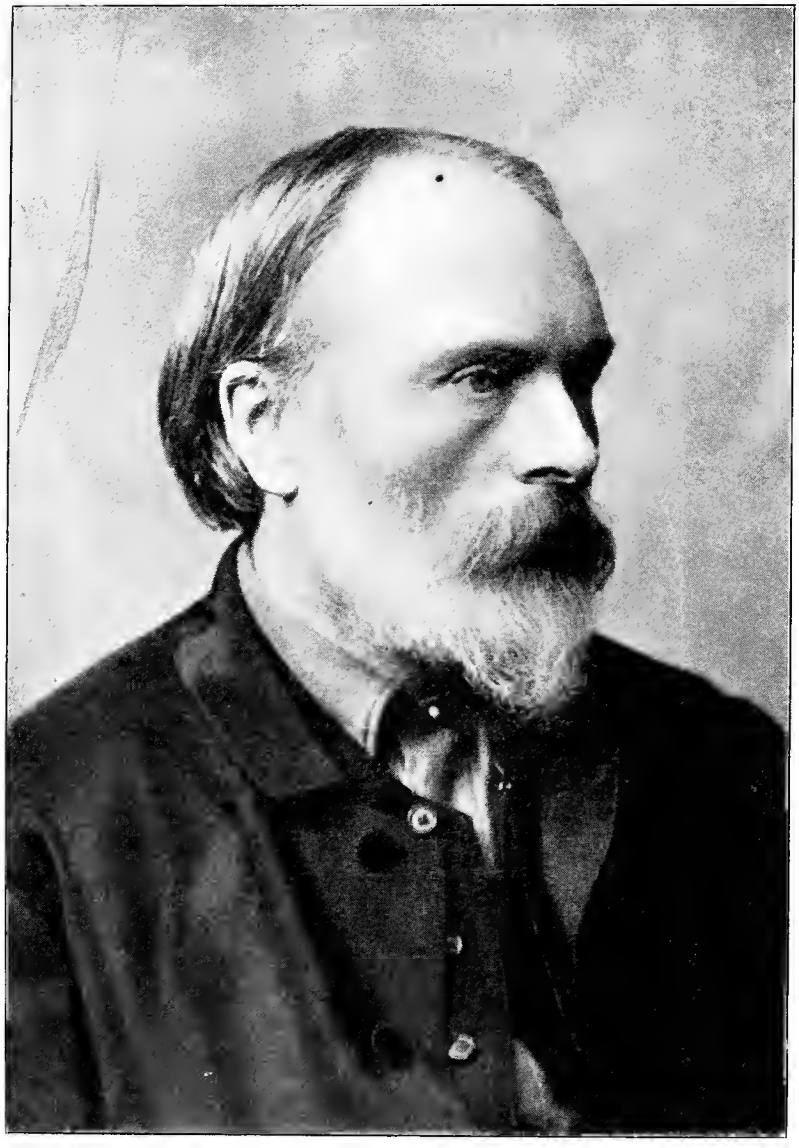
This magnificent piece of tapestry, executed by the painter's friend, William Morris, adorns the walls of Exeter College Chapel, Oxford. The figures are allegorical: the elderly king representing mind or wisdom; the younger helmeted figure, soul or purity, and the swarthy Nubian the carnal or animal. The tripartite nature of man thus bows before the Lord of glory. The sward in front, it will be noticed, is decked with little "white stars of Bethlehem."

porters. As a well-known church leader of to-day has remarked, John Wesley was the first of *scientific theologians.* In his translation of the New Testament, which anticipated our Revised Version in removing many inadequate or misleading renderings, a significant passage occurs in the very first chapter of the first gospel. St. Mark and St. Luke, he declares, in publishing the genealogical tables which are found in the opening chapters of their gospels, "act only as historians setting down these genealogies as they stood in those published and allowed records. Therefore they were to take them as they found them. Nor was it needful they should correct the mistakes if there were any. For these accounts sufficiently answered the end for which they are recited."

These significant words of the great Founder at once remove the barriers with which a system of verbal criticism could fence in and hamper the great Word of God. Lovers of the Bible, so far from having to fear the most recent and thorough historic and antiquarian researches, can eagerly look forward to every new discovery. Historic details may have to be modified or rectified, but the essential Bible will remain as before, its doctrines shining as a bright lamp, "to guide our souls to heaven." In welcoming new interpretations and fresh methods of inquiry, they will continue to exclaim with the hymnist:

> O may these heavenly pages be
> My ever dear delight;
> And still new beauties may I see,
> And still increasing light!

Throughout his life Wesley was gradually abandoning all the more distinctive



SIR EDWARD BURNE-JONES.

dogmas of his academic years, as soon as he found that they could not stand the test of facts. In the best sense of the term he was a *broad* theologian. He came closer to humanity as the years went by. His next interest, after inculcating godliness, was to preach the gospel of clean living. He insisted upon care of the body, and was a physician in more respects than one. All the sane sociological endeavors of our modern Christianity would have found in him the heartiest of sympathizers. That combination which will certainly appear in the next great revival—devotion to the teachings of Holy Writ, personal devotion to the Redeemer, an acceptance of the great facts disclosed by modern research, and an application of Christian aspirations to immediate sociological ends—is native to original Methodism and to the best Methodism. Who could devise a more generous religious declaration than the following, which was drawn out before Wesley had reached his threescore and ten years, and is to be found in the resolutions of the 1770 Conference?

"1. Who of us is *now* accepted of

God?—He that now believes in Christ, with a loving, obedient heart.

"2. But who among those that never heard of Christ?—He that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, according to the light he has.

"3. Is this the same with 'he that is sincere?'—Nearly, if not quite."

This is the best orthodox Christianity of to-day. No wonder, then, that a distinguished Frenchman, Monsieur Edmond Scherer, who succeeded to the critical chair left vacant by Sainte-Beuve, should have declared: "Yes, the England of to-day as we know it, with its pure and serious literature, its biblical language, and its national piety, with its middle classes whose exemplary morality constitutes the backbone of the country, is the work of Methodism. Methodism has done more than establish a sect, it has put life into all the others." If this is true of England, much more is it true of the United States and the British colonies. In them Methodism has definitely established itself as the predominant religious body.

In conclusion, stress must be laid on the fact that the doctrine of Christian Perfection holds a unique and vital place in Methodist doctrine. Wesley taught, and his followers believe, that the Spirit is effective in sanctifying believers from sin—that is, the divine estimate of sin—in this state of probation. As Wesley himself defined it, Christian Perfection is "the loving God with all our heart, mind, soul, and strength." To the outside world a matter for reproach, this distinctive doctrine is the glory of Methodism. "The atonement," says Dr. William Pope, "is not more certainly a finished work than the application of it by the Holy Ghost; the Spirit's 'it is finished' must needs follow the Son's, and in a voice that speaks on earth."

This glorious prospect, held out to all believers, offers a goal that is ever worth the striving after. It gives the teaching of Methodism a supreme unction, which, if the Church shows itself equal to its opportunities, may well place it in the forefront of Christian organizations. The world hungers after a perfect and complete salvation; the holy Scriptures promise it; and Methodist teaching, in a peculiar way, emphasizes that promise. To quote Charles Wesley's lines, taken from what has been described as the *Te Deum* of perfect love:

God of all power, and truth, and grace
  Which shall from age to age endure,
Whose word, when heaven and earth shall pass,
  Remains and stands forever sure;

That I Thy mercy may proclaim,
  That all mankind Thy Truth may see,
Hallow Thy great and holy name,
  And perfect holiness in me.

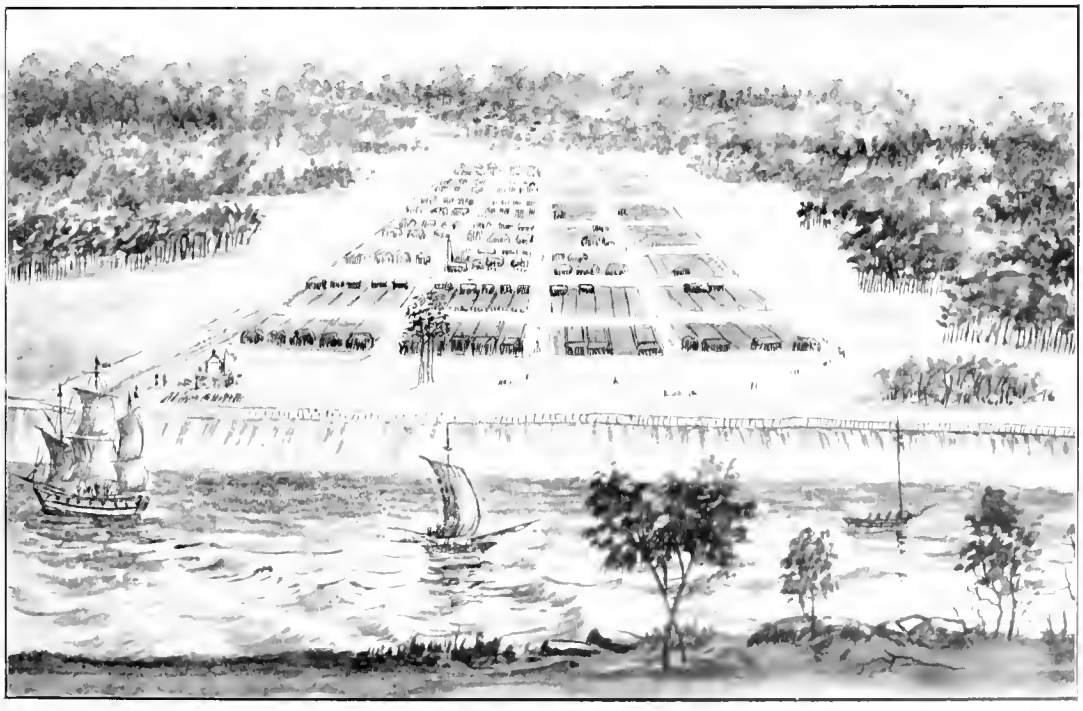
Wash out my old original stain:
  Tell me no more it cannot be,
Demons or men! The Lamb was slain,
  His blood was all poured out for me!

Sprinkle it, Jesu, on my heart:
  One drop of Thy all-cleansing blood
Shall make my sinfulness depart,
  And fill me with the life of God.

APPENDIX A.

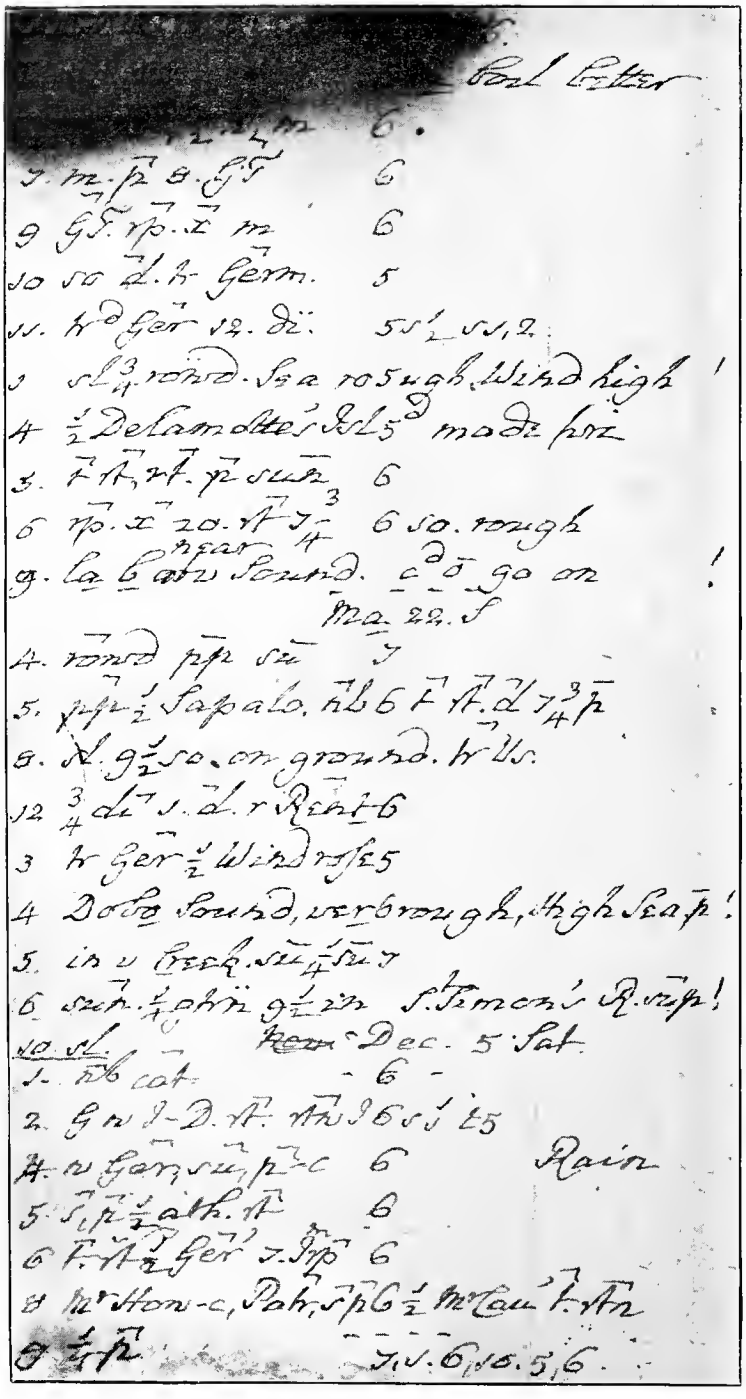
WESLEY'S GEORGIA DIARY AND HYMN-BOOK.

THE sojourn in Savannah was to Wesley what the residence in Midian was to Moses. Every day of Wesley's life in Savannah was important. Bishop E. R. Hendrix had the good fortune, while on a visit to England in 1900 as the fraternal delegate of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the British Wesleyan Conferences, to come into possession of the original diary kept by John Wesley during his stay in Georgia. This rare manuscript Journal has been in the hands of only two families since it was given in 1817, by the Rev. Henry Moore, to Miss Elizabeth Taylor, of Caermarthen. She left it by will in 1847 to the Rev. John Gould Avery, a Wesleyan preacher, who valued it so highly that it was retained in the possession of himself and his only daughter, Mrs. Norton Bell, the wife of a London architect, until bought in 1897 by Mr. R. Thursfield Smith, J. P., of Whitechurch, Shropshire, a retired engineer and iron manufacturer. The book is a small duodecimo, bound in leather, and contains one hundred and eighty-six pages. All but eleven of the pages are numbered, and are filled with Wesley's writing. Each of the numbered pages is devoted to the doings of a single day, and each line to the work of a single hour, except on one or two occasions when the writer was traveling. The whole, therefore, contains a minute account of the way in which Wesley spent every hour of every day during the time embraced in the record. The first entry is dated Saturday, May 1, 1736 (old style); the last is dated February 11, 1737. Wesley relates in his printed Journal that he "first set foot on

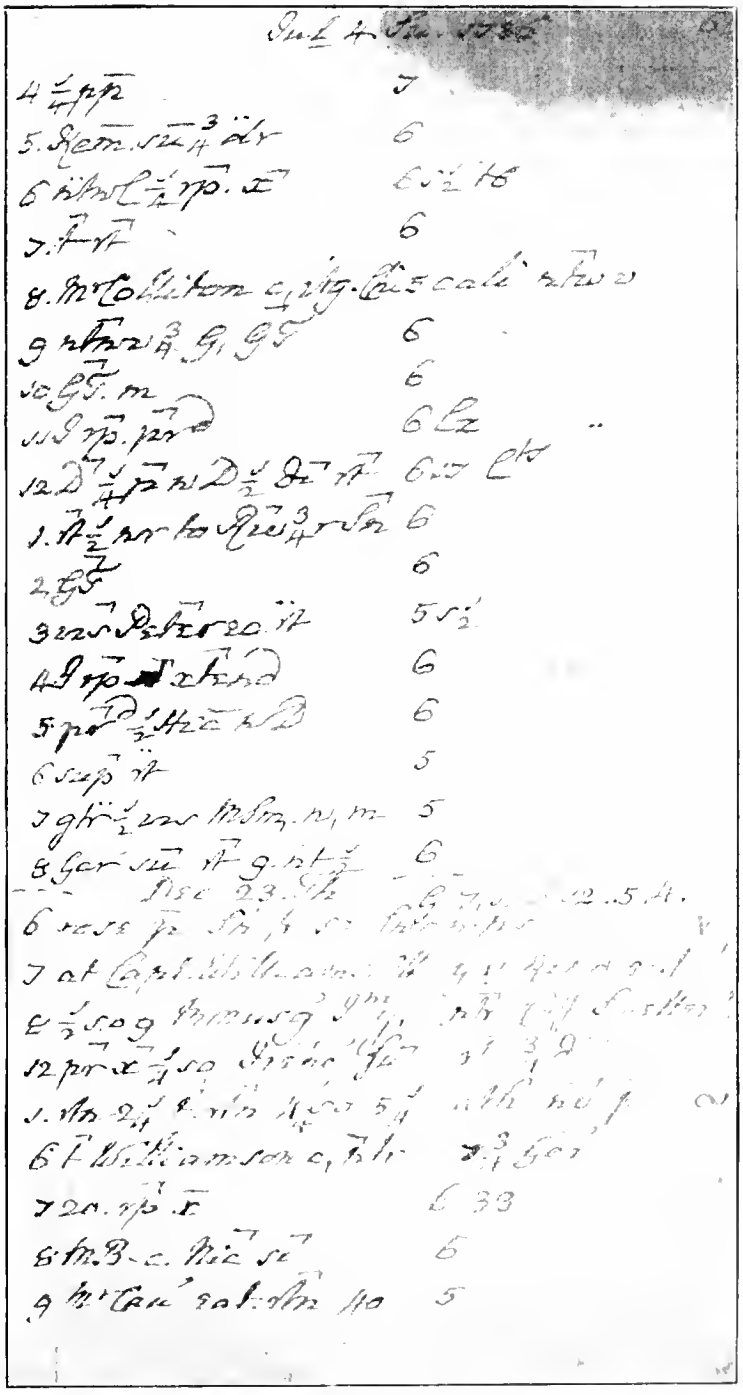


ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT AT SAVANNAH.

Showing the plan of the future city as laid off by Governor Oglethorpe.



Facsimile page from the Diary kept by John Wesley while in Savannah, Georgia.
Dated Saturday, July 3, 1736.



Facsimile page from Wesley's Savannah Diary; dated Sunday July 4, 1736.

TOMO-CHI-CHI AND HIS NEPHEW.
From the original drawing by Verilst, a London artist of the eighteenth century.

American ground" Friday, February 6, 1736, entering upon his ministry in Savannah on Sunday, March 7th. "On Friday, December 2, 1737," he continues, "I shook off the dust of my feet and left Georgia, after having preached the gospel there (not as I ought, but as I was able) one year and nearly nine months." He took his final leave of

COLLECTION

OF

PSALMS

AND

HYMNS.

CHARLES-TOWN,
Printed by Lewis Timothy. 1737.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE TO THE FIRST METHODIST HYMN-BOOK.

America on the twenty-second. This record, therefore, relates to the greater part of the time that he spent as a missionary in Georgia.

In the Journal the entries for the day begin at four o'clock in the morning, and end at nine at night; and almost every hour of the day is inserted, whether the writer was on land or sea.

GEORGIA INDIAN CHIEF.
Descendant of the tribes who had dealings with Oglethorpe.

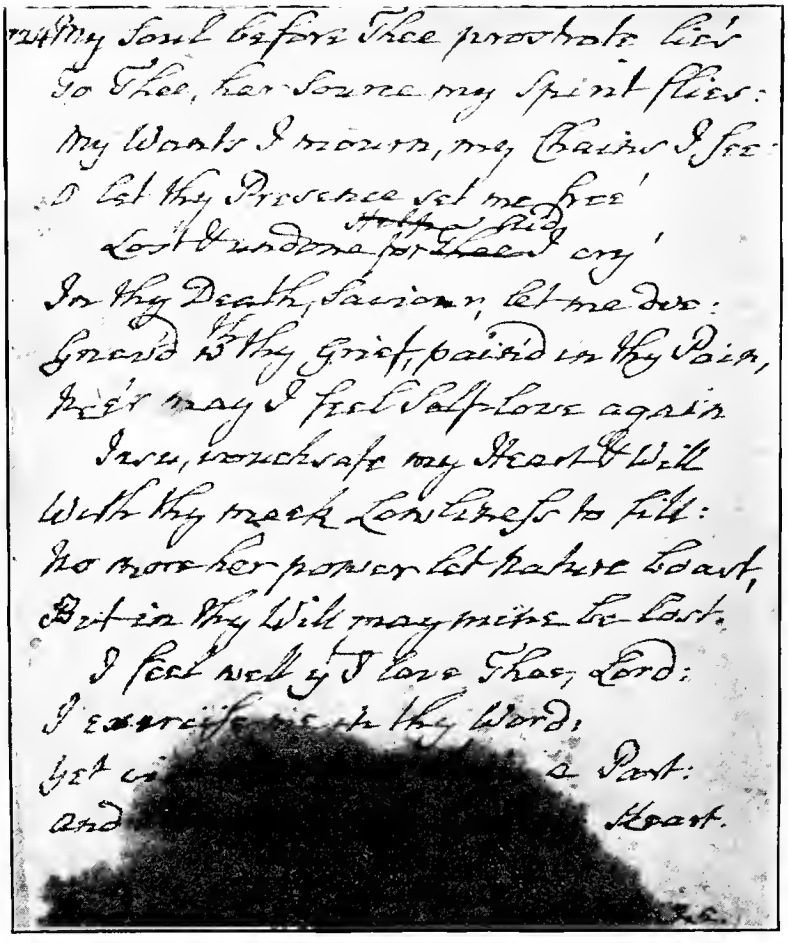
The dates are given at the head of each page with the utmost exactness. The writing is neat and clear, and resembles that found in Wesley's later manuscripts. It was all written with a quill pen, on good paper, and with dura-

GEORGIA INDIAN CHIEF.
Descendant of the tribes who had dealings with Oglethorpe.

HYMN OF JOHN WESLEY

MY Soul before Thee prostrate lies,
To Thee, her Source, my Spirit flies,
My Wants I mourn, my Chains I see
O let Thy Presence set me free!

Jesu, vouchsafe my Heart and Will
With Thy meek Lowliness to fill;
No more her Power let Nature boast,
But in thy Will may mine be lost!

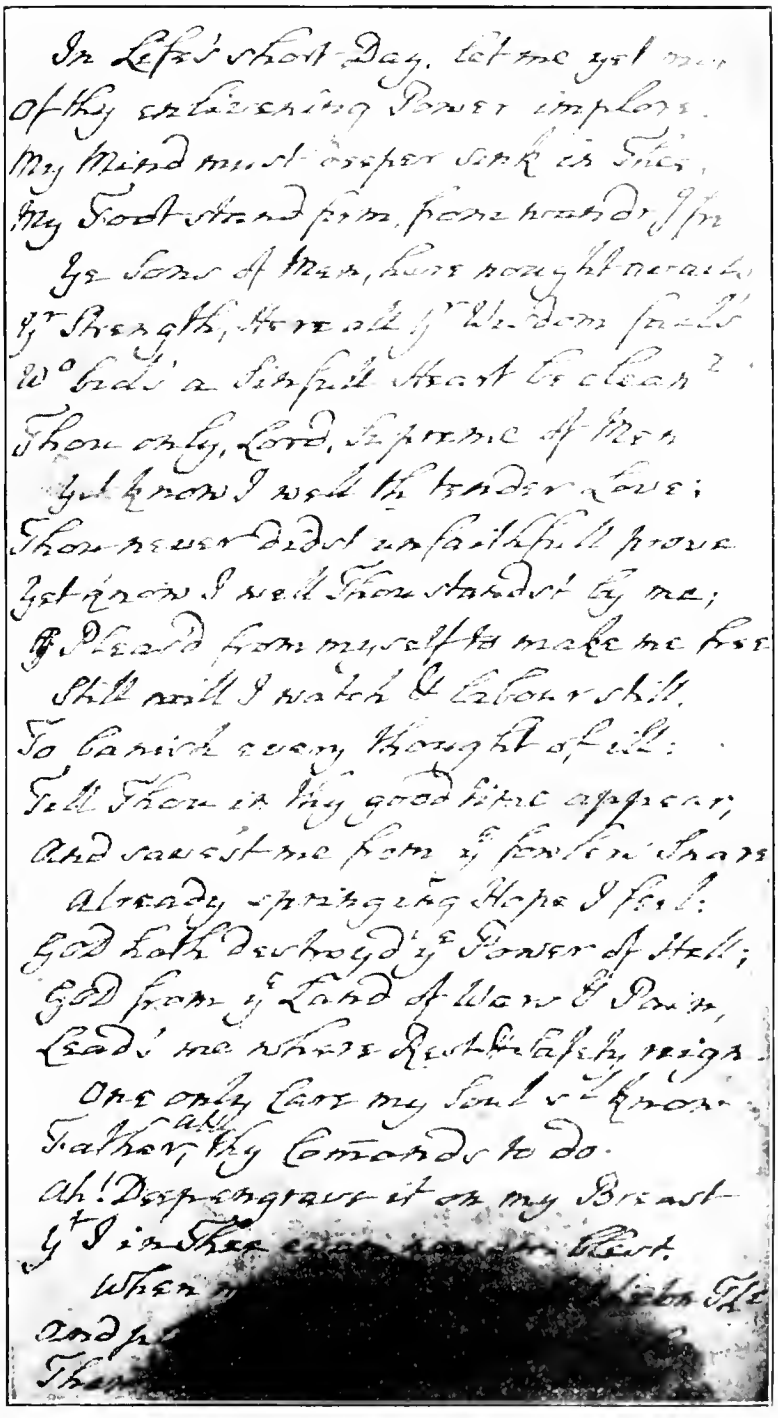


FACSIMILE OF ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF HYMN BY JOHN WESLEY.

Translated from the German during his residence in Savannah, Georgia, and contained in a "Collection of Psalms and Hymns," printed in 1737, in Charleston, South Carolina, by Lewis Timothy. This is the first Methodist hymn-book ever published.

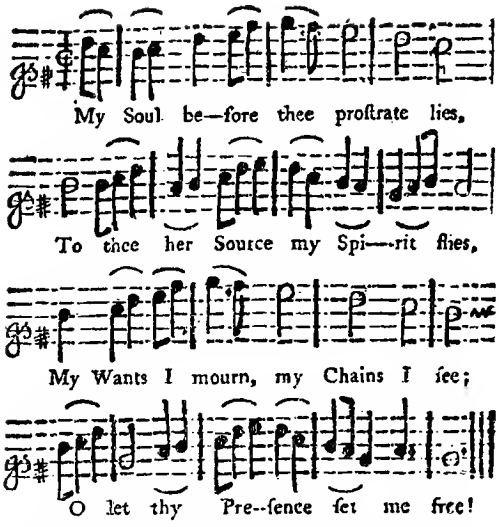
Lost and undone for aid I cry;
In Thy Death, Saviour, let me die!
Griev'd with Thy Grief, pain'd with Thy Pain,
Ne'er may I feel Self-Love again!

I feel well that I love Thee, Lord:
I exercise me in Thy Word
Yet vile Affections claim a part,
And Thou hast only half my Heart.



FACSIMILE OF ORIGINAL OF SECOND PAGE OF HYMN BY JOHN WESLEY.

Translated from the German during his residence in Savannah, Georgia, and contained in a "Collection of Psalms and Hymns," printed in 1737, in Charleston, South Carolina, by Lewis Timothy. This is the first Methodist hymn book ever published.



Musical setting to the preceding hymn. Found in "A Collection of Tunes, Set to Music, as They are Commonly Sung at the Foundery." Printed by A. Pearson and sold by T. Harris, at the Looking-Glass and Bible, on London Bridge, London, 1742.

ble ink. The book is stained with oil or sea water, for he carried it with him in his voyages during his stay in America, several of such voyages being referred to in the book. In one passage he uses the short-hand of Byrom's system, which he learned as early as 1731.

The book shows that he was often attacked by ailments which ordinary mortals would have regarded as severe. Again and again he is seized with "cholick," which he sometimes spells with and sometimes without the "k." The first registered attack was on May fifth. It was on this date he met with trouble by declining to baptize a child because the mother refused to "have it dipped." Wesley dined there and "took a glass of spirit and water to cure me of the cholick." Wesley abstained from spirituous liquors, "unless in cases of extreme necessity" or "at a wedding feast." On one occasion he suffered from an attack of "St. Anthony's fire," which "smarted much." He was also attacked by a "shocking headache," by intermittent fever, violent and protracted nausea, boils, and dysentery. He was also occasionally deprived of sleep by the attacks of nocturnal insects. He had often to take "physick," and was frequently "in pain" or "sick." The only robust exercise he took was "walking" or "felling trees," or "nailing pales."

References are made to different places about Savannah, such as Frederica and Thunderbolt; and to the different people whom he chanced to meet. He speaks of Tomo-chi-chi and the Indians.

While in Savannah Mr. Wesley acquired German, Spanish, and Italian. He prepared while there a small volume of seventy-four pages, with the title-page: "A Collection of Psalms and Hymns. Charles-town: printed by Lewis Timothy" This was the first Methodist hymn-book ever published.

APPENDIX B.

SINCE the main body of the History went to press, Doctor Thomas M. Finney, a Cape May commissioner from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and for fifty years an active minister in the St. Louis Conference, has passed to his rest. During his later years he was associated with charitable work as superintendent of the Provident Association in St. Louis. Largely to him belongs the credit of having built up this strong association. He died on the first day of October, 1900. At his funeral Bishop E. R. Hendrix read from the original manuscript "Everlasting Light," a hymn by Charles Wesley, because of its peculiar appropriateness to the career and ideals of his life-long friend.

He

Soft! attend that awful Sound.
Earth receives the borrowd Clay
But the sky-born Soul is found
In mansions of Eternal Day
Borne thro' the Open Fount of Jesus blood
He springs! he flies! he 'scapes into the arms of God

2

Joys all earthly joys transcending
Never-fading, never-ending
Inconceivable below
Rivers of celestial pleasure,
Bliss redundant above measure
From Jehovah's Presence flow

There the pure enraptured Spirit
Doth his Lord's delight inherit — Reward
Doth the Father's Glory see
There in hymns or silent praises
Blest on the Redeemer gazes
Blest thro' all Eternity

3

Mourners for ourselves alone,
O when shall we outtake
The saint to earlier glory gone,
And win the prize by Jesus won
And given for his sake

Jesus, Lord, to Thee we sue
Still thy foes with pity view
Vilest of the sinful race
Still in mercy's embrace
And bless with pardon from above
The Objects of thy dying Love

4.

When Thou hast thy Love reveald
In every panting heart,
Conscious of our pardon seald,
And ready to depart,

Jesus, manifest thy grace
And pity from above
Vilest of the apostate race
Within thy mercy's arms embrace
And ~~bless~~ crown us with thy Love

4.

Happy in thy love reveald
~~Diffused throughout the heart~~ To the expanded heart
Conscious of our pardon seald,
And thus made ready to depart
Our souls to that triumphant sout unite
And plunge in the full blaze of Everlasting Light.

APPENDIX C.

JOEL T. JANVIER died at Allahabad, India, on September 7, 1900. His son, bearing the same name, is a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church; one of his daughters is the wife of Professor Mukerji, of Bareilly; and another is the wife of the Rev. Isaac Feldhave, of Allahabad. The following extract from the *Star of India*, contributed by Dr. T J. Scott, gives an interesting account of the man:

"On Friday, the seventh instant, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the spirit of this noble man sped to the celestial home. In the death of 'Joel,' as he was familiarly called, earth lost one of the noblest souls of any age or clime. Mr. Janvier was born at Banda, in Pandelkhand, about 1830, of Rajput parents. He came to Allahabad while a lad, and was educated in the Presbyterian Mission. He obtained a fair knowledge of English, with something of Greek and Hebrew. He joined Doctor Butler in the founding of the Methodist Mission in Rohilkhand in 1856, through the cooperating kindness of the American Presbyterian Mission. From the time he joined the work till his sight failed, in 1884, he maintained an unbroken career as an able minister of the New Testament. After sight had failed he retained his connection with the list of active workers till 1888, meantime preaching regularly in the congregation at Bareilly. From the last-named date he retired to the ranks of "superannuated" ministers, but continued to preach on opportunity with great power, till 1898, when a stroke of paralysis silenced for the pulpit a voice that had long sounded as a gospel clarion. From the date of the paralysis he steadily declined, losing by degrees the use of his limbs and voice. More recently he removed with his son, Ezekiel, to Allahabad, in the vain hope of some benefit, and, as seemed congenial and fitting, closed his mortal life amid the scenes of early years and training. 'How are the mighty fallen!' "

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